ܒܪ̈ܘܠܐ ܒܕܝ̈ܪܐ

The Scattered Pearls

A History of Syriac Literature and Sciences

BY

IGNATIUS APHRAM I BARSOUM

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WITH A FOREWORD BY

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Foreword

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The late Patriarch Mor Ignatius Aphrem Barṣoum is regarded as the most illustrious twentieth-century scholar of the Syrian Orthodox Church and indeed one of its four pillars in recent times (the others being Mor Gregorios Bulos Bahnam, Mor Philoxenus Yuḥanon Dolabani and Patriarch Jacob III). He lived at a time that witnessed one of the most critical junctures in the life of the Church in recent history: as a monk, he witnessed the horrific,

barbaric massacres of hundreds of thousands of his church members and as a bishop and later as a Patriarch, he had the awesome task of healing the wounds of this devastated community. Yet, during these difficult times and amidst his numerous ecclesiastical duties, he dedicated much time and effort to scholarship and is now appreciated not only by his own Church, but also by the scholarly community. This was due to his passion for knowledge and scholarship that never ceased.

This book is the fruit of great labor on the part of the author. He had the privilege of inspecting many old manuscripts scattered at different churches and monasteries in the Ottoman Empire, which were later lost to the fires and destructions of the said massacres. He also visited many libraries in Europe and North America, reading the many Syriac manuscripts preserved there and researching the different components of Syriac art and science. The *Scattered Pearls* is indeed the pearl of all Syrian Orthodox literary productions of the twentieth century.

Western scholarship had been deprived of this monumental work for decades as it was available only in the original Arabic and later in a Syriac translation by Dolabani (1967). Only parts of its contents, particularly the later biographies, were made accessible indirectly through Rudolf Macuch's *Geschichte der spät- und neusyrischen Literatur* (Berlin-New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1976). We find it most rewarding indeed to make this valuable volume available in its entirety to Western scholarship, as well as the general English-speaking public, in a second revised edition, as the first edition, sponsored by members of the American Foundation for Syriac Studies, is now out-of-print.

We highly appreciate the enormous efforts of Dr. Matti Moosa who took upon himself the arduous task of translating the book from the original Arabic. We also extend our gratitude to Dr. George A. Kiraz of Gorgias Press for publishing the second revised edition of this essential work.

March 10, 2003
The Commencement of the Great Lent

Cyril Aphrem Karim

TRANSLATOR'S INTRODUCTION

The systematic study of Syriac literature and sciences and related subjects was a Western development, beginning in Europe at the end of the seventeenth century. Curiously, the Syrians and other Eastern writers have only recently devoted themselves to the scholarly study of Syriac literature. Even the art of poetry, considered one of the Syrians' foremost literary achievements, has received only scant attention from Syrian writers. Now lost is a treatment of that subject by Severus Bar Shabbo, a metropolitan of the Monastery of St. Matthew, near Mosul, Iraq, in the early 13th century.

In 1875, Rev. Gabriel Cardahi published a treatise in Arabic on the meters of Syriac poetry, along with short biographies of some Syrian poets and specimens of their work, but he gave no historical account of its development. In 1896, the Syrian Roman Catholic bishop of Damascus, Monsignor Yusuf Dawood (David), treated Syrian poetry and prosody in the final chapter of his extensive grammar of the Aramaic language. The Rev. Bulos Bahnam, the late Syrian Orthodox Metropolitan of Iraq (d. 1969), wrote for his Arabic magazine *al-Mashriq* (1946-53) a series of articles on Syriac culture. In 1949, two Egyptian professors of Semitic studies at the University of Fu'ād I in Cairo published a history of Syriac literature, an unfortunate work derivative in character and lacking annotation.

The first Western study of Syriac literature, by the learned French scholar Eusebe Renaudot, who died in 1720, has been highly praised by J. B. Chabot.[1] This manuscript was never published, however, and was consequently overshadowed by Guiseppe Simone Assemani's four-volume *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, the first volume of which appeared in 1719. Later writers on the subject have been more than slightly indebted to this nearly exhaustive work. William Wright's *Syriac Literature* (London, 1894)

[1] J. B. La Chabot, *Littérature Syriaque* (Paris: 1934), 9-10. Chabot also cites H. Omont, *Inventaire de la Collection Renaudot á la Bibliothèque Nationale*. See also by Chabot *Les Langes et la Littérature Araméenne* (Paris: 1910), translated into Arabic by Anton Shukri Lawrence (Jerusalem: 1930), 5.

originally appeared in the *Encyclopedia Britannica* in 1887 and was expanded for its posthumous publication in book form. *La Litterature Syriaque*, by Rubens Duval (Paris, 1889), provides a neatly organized, comprehensive history of Syriac literature down to the 13th century. Still another important work, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur*, by Anton Baumstark (Bonn, 1922), presents copious references and notes, but its information seems too compressed for the non-specialist. The second volume of Georg Graf's five-volume *Geschichte der Christlichen Arabischen Literatur* (Vatican City, 1944-53) is highly valuable for the study of the Christian literature of the Syrian Church following the Muslim conquest.

The study of Syriac literature, then, originated in the East, but was brought to its fullest development by Western writers. As Assemani, an Easterner by birth and tradition, used his important knowledge to shape Western ideas on Syriac literature, so today it is the Westerners following his lead who have formulated the views generally accepted in the East.

It is against this rather tenuous, uncertain background that Patriarch Barṣoum projects his *Scattered Pearls* (اللؤلؤ المنثور). We can justly appraise his historical account only by acknowledging its indebtedness to earlier scholarship, yet recognizing its uniqueness in an exaggerated nationalistic tone and in an unremitting accumulation of compendious, detailed information.

Bishop Gregorios Bahnam, in *Nafaḥāt al-Khuzām*,[1] has given us abundant information on the life of Patriarch Barṣoum. Born on June 15, 1887, in Mosul, Iraq, Barṣoum received his early education in a private Dominican school, studying French and Turkish as well as religious literature and history; later he learned Arabic under the training of Muslim scholars. At the Zaʿfaran Monastery in Mardin, Turkey, where he started his theological training in 1905, he gave himself to the study of the Syriac language and literature. After his ordination as a priest in 1908, he remained at the monastery to teach and, in 1911, he assumed the additional responsibility of managing the monastery press. Later in that year he began a scientific journey to all the monasteries and churches of Mesopotamia and Turkey. Soon after his return in 1913, he made

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[1] Bishop Gregorius Bulos Bahnam, *Nafaḥāt al-Khuzām ʾaw Ḥayāt al-Baṭriyark Aphram (The Breath of Tulips or The Life of the Patriarch Aphrem)*, in Arabic (Mosul: 1959).

another similar trip to examine the Syriac manuscripts in the great libraries of Europe.

On May 20, 1918, Patriarch Elias III named Barṣoum bishop of Syria and, after World War I, Barṣoum gained national recognition not only as a man of religion, but also as a man of learning. He championed the cause of Syrian unity, winning firm and popular support for his admonition to the French to regard themselves as liberators rather than conquerors. In 1919, he was chosen to represent the national rights of the Syrian Orthodox community in the peace settlement at Paris. He was disillusioned, however, by the atmosphere of self-interest which prevailed among the delegates representing the European powers and, at one stage of the conference, found himself defending not only the rights of the Syrian Orthodox but those of the Arab nations. Though Barṣoum did not succeed in protecting the Syrians' interests at Paris, the journey yet gave him ample opportunity for further study of Syriac literature before his return in May 1920. Two years later, the League of Nations' action making Syria a French mandate brought him the new responsibility of providing for refugees from Cilicia and he also undertook the building of many new churches in and near Aleppo.

Another journey took Barṣoum to Geneva and Lausanne as an apostolic delegate to the World Conference on Faith and Order (August 3-21, 1927). Soon afterwards he came as an emissary of the Patriarch to the United States, where he investigated the condition of the Syrian Orthodox Church, consecrated three new churches and ordained new priests. He also gave lectures on the Syriac language and literature at Providence University and the University of Chicago and served at the Oriental Institute of the latter institution until his return in 1929.

After the death of Patriarch Elias III in 1932, the Synod of Bishops named Barṣoum his acting successor. On January 30, 1933, he was formally elected Patriarch of Antioch, assuming the ecclesiastical name of Mar Ignatius Aphram I Barṣoum. The new Patriarch quickly showed himself to be an active church head, establishing new dioceses and founding a theological seminary at Zaḥle, Lebanon (later moved to Mosul and then to Beirut) and served as its leader until his death on June 23, 1957.

Despite the numerous responsibilities of his work in the church and frequent interruptions for travel, Barṣoum devoted

much of his time to writing. Chief among his published works are the following:

1) A treatise refuting *al-Zahra al-Dhakiyya fī al-Baṭriyarkiyya al-Suryāniyya al-Anṭākiyya*, written by Isḥaq Armala in 1909. After this refutation appeared in 1910, Armala apparently replied, for Barṣoum published another refutation in 1912.

2) *Kitāb al-Tuḥfa al-Rūḥiyya fī al-Ṣalat al-Farḍiyya* (*The Golden Key of the Obligatory Prayers*), 1911.

3) *al-Zahra al-Qudsiyya fī al-Taʿlīm al-Masīḥī* (*The Divine Flower of the Christian Catechism*), 1912.

4) *Nuzhat al-Adhhān fī Tārīkh Dayr al-Zaʿfarān* (*The Excursion of the Mind in the History of Zaʿfarān*), 1912.

5) A translation of *Tahdhīb al-Akhlāq* ("The Training of Characters"), by Yaḥya Ibn ʿAdi, published in *Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature*, 1928.

6) An edition of Bar Hebraeus's *Risāla fī ʿIlm al-Nafs al-Insāniyya* (*A Treatise on the Human Soul*), 1938.

7) A translation of Bar Hebraeus's *Kitāb Ḥadīth al-Ḥikma* (*The Speech of Wisdom*), 1940.

8) *al-Durar al-Nafīsa fī Mukhtaṣar Tārīkh al-Kanīsa* (*The Precious Pearls of the Compendious History of the Church*), 1940.

9) *al-Luʾluʾ al-Manthūr* (*The Scattered Pearls*), 1943 [this book].

10) *al-Alfāẓ al-Suryāniyya fī al-Maʿājim al-ʿArabiyya* (*The Syriac Words in the Arabic Lexica*), 1951.

11) *Qīthār al-Qulub* (*The Harp of the Hearts*), a volume of collected poems, published in 1954.

Patriarch Barṣoum produced many other works, which have never been published. His Syriac-Arabic lexicon and his compendium of church history in the 20th century are written in both Syriac and Arabic. His history of Tur ʿAbdin, in Syriac, has been translated into Arabic by Bishop Bahnam. In Arabic, he also wrote a history of the Patriarchs of Antioch and the famous men of the Syrian Church, a history of Syrian dioceses, an index of Syriac manuscripts and translations of ten liturgies of the Syrian Church. Also, he translated into Arabic the second part of the *Ecclesiastical History* of Bar Hebraeus in 1909 when he was a monk at the Monastery of Zaʿfaran. The unique copy of this translation is now in the possession of this translator. *Al-Luʾluʾ al-Manthūr* was not, then, the solitary work of an unlearned eastern Patriarch, but

part of the considerable output of a man thoroughly conversant with his subject.

What purpose did Barṣoum have in writing this book? We may begin to answer this question by considering its title. The French title, *Histoire des Sciences et de la Litterature Syriaque*, misleadingly suggests that the book resembles the Western studies of Syriac literature. We should prefer the Arabic title, *Kitāb al-Lu'lu' al-Manthūr fī Tārīkh al-'Ulūm wal-Ādāb al-Suryāniyya* (*The Scattered Pearls of the History of Syriac Sciences and Literature*), which implies metaphorically that the work aims to present information that lies outside the scope of Western studies. The *Introduction*, written not only in Arabic but also in French and Syriac, indicates more exactly the nature of the work. Barṣoum states that he hopes to fill the existing gaps in the knowledge of Syriac literature and to pay tribute to the language of his church. He notes that at the beginning of the twentieth century, there commenced a revival of interest in the history of science and literature, but adds that "Aramaean science and literature" have received insufficient treatment from Western writers. Duval, Wright, Baumstark and Chabot, he says, have devoted their attention to what they recognize as "science and literature" in the general sense (but, it is implied, that they have passed over the extensive body of sacred literature in Syriac). Also, Barṣoum notes, of these writers only Baumstark gives any consideration to Syriac literature after the end of the thirteenth century. Barṣoum proposes to treat here several subjects omitted by earlier writers, including calligraphy, versification, the rites of the church, geographical sketches of Syrian cities, historical documents, the history of Syriac literature since 1290 and works and manuscripts previously unknown. In another chapter he summarizes the works of those Orientalists who have preserved Syrian culture and criticizes writers who have sought to lessen the influence of the Syrians' knowledge.

The immediate audience for which Barṣoum writes includes two groups: historiographers and philologists seeking further knowledge of Syriac literature and the faithful members of the Syrian Church, whose national feeling he hopes "may be reinvigorated in their ancestral spirit." Additional evidence of the restricted audience to which the book appeals lies in the assertion that it "treats only Western Syrian scholars and writers to the exclusion of the Eastern Syrians ('Nestorians') and what is known

of the meager culture of the Malkites and the Maronites." For Barṣoum, the prospect of a fruitful and beneficial "social result," the resurrection of the cultural heritage of the Syriac-speaking community, is full recompense for the difficulties and material expenses of preparing this work, which represents the "fruit of our untiring labor over a period covering nearly a third of a century of our episcopal and Patriarchal life."

Structurally, the book is divided into three distinct sections. The first, containing thirty-one chapters, concerns religious literature and other related writings extant in Syriac. After introductory chapters on the Syriac language and literature and expositions on Syrian centers of learning and libraries, Barṣoum treats in detail the Christian literature which has survived, including liturgies, the books of rituals used in the church and the lives of great men of the church. The second part presents biographies of 293 prominent Syrian writers; fifty-six of these have not been previously cited by Western writers. In the third part are appendices giving the names of Syrian calligraphers, meanings of foreign terms in the book, geographical names, lists of monasteries, an index of biographical references and lists of saints.

Judged in terms of its author's stated purpose, *al-Lu'lu' al-Manthūr* must be considered highly successful. In fact, it was received enthusiastically not only by the members of the Syriac-speaking community for whom it was written, but also by Roman Catholic and Muslim scholars. Viscount Philip de Tarrazi, a Roman Catholic writer, offered this judgment:

> *Al-Lu'lu' al-Manthūr* is indeed a very valuable work which deserves respect and consideration. Its learned author has enumerated the compositions of the famous writers and scientists from ancient times down to the present, in greater detail than any author before his time. His opening chapters demonstrate his thorough knowledge of his subject and his precision… he has filled a great gap in the history of our literature and sciences, which have adorned the Christian East for many centuries…[1]

[1] Viscount Philip de Tarrazi, *Asdaq mā Kān 'an Tārīkh Lubnān wa Ṣafḥa min Akhbār al-Suryān I* (Beirut, 1948), 432.

The widespread appeal of *al-Lu'lu' al-Manthūr* to Eastern readers may readily be understood, for in approach and method it closely resembles other Eastern scholarly works on similar subjects. Especially, we may compare the work of Barṣoum with Jurji Zaydan's four-volume *Kitāb Tārīkh Adab al-Lugha al-ʿArabiyya* (*The History of Arabic Literature*: Cairo, 1911) and K. L. Istarjian's *Tārīkh al-Thaqāfa wal-Adab al-Armanī* (*History of Armenian Culture and Literature*: Mosul, 1954). Zaydan, observing that no Eastern writer before him has undertaken such a task, seeks to relate the Arabs' literature to their political history; to depict the growth and decline of their sciences; to give biographies of the leading figures of Arabic sciences and literature, together with pertinent bibliographical material; and to categorize the books extant in Arabic according to their subjects. While Zaydan presents his material largely within a chronological framework, Barṣoum focuses on the types of Syriac literature, particularly compositions of religious character. Yet both works draw extensively on biographical material and both are primarily encyclopedic in nature, though Zaydan's is wider in scope. In general, Zaydan's straightforward style is more fluent than that of Barṣoum, whose syntax is sometimes involved and whose language is often metaphorical. Istarjian, in his history of Armenian literature, seems to have a purpose rather like that expressed by Barṣoum in the introduction to *al-Lu'lu' al-Manthūr*. Like Barṣoum, Istarjian is intensely proud of the cultural traditions of his people. The periods which the two men cover are nearly identical, but while Barṣoum limits his discussion to religious literature, Istarjian also deals with secular literature, approaching his subject through a consideration of literary genres. Istarjian too, however, is concerned primarily with presenting biographical material and his work, like *al-Lu'lu' al-Manthūr*, is factual rather than analytical.

Thus, the work of Patriarch Barṣoum is wholly consistent with the prevailing tradition of eastern scholarship. This is not to say, however, that eastern scholars concern themselves solely with the accumulation of factual evidence. Indeed, an excellent contemporary work by Anis al-Maqdisi, *al-Ittijāhāt al-Adabiyya fī al-ʿĀlam al-ʿArabī al-Ḥadīth* (*Literary Trends in the Modern Arab World*: Beirut, 1963), shows their growing interest in interpretive literary scholarship. Al-Maqdisi discusses the Arabic literature of the

twentieth century not in terms of its types, but in terms of its political, social and aesthetic significance.

From a Western viewpoint, it may be argued that Barṣoum writes in an unscholarly manner. Perhaps we can more readily comprehend the merits and defects of his work by comparing it with that of Rubens Duval, *La Litterature Syriaque*. Duval provides a historical account of the origins, development and decline of Syriac literature and adds brief biographical sketches of the leading Syrian writers. He takes his account only to the end of the thirteenth century, while Barṣoum offers much information on the writers from that time to the present. Duval, by adopting a chronological approach and by considering within the scope of his work the literary activity of both Eastern and Western Syrians, succeeds more fully in placing Syriac literature in its historical context. Neither writer attempts genuine criticism of Syriac literature; Duval turns his attention to its subjects and external forms, while Barṣoum enumerates but does not evaluate the works of Syrian writers. Finally, we may note, Duval quotes at length, but carefully, from the work of earlier scholars; Barṣoum too frequently presents evidence without identifying its source.

Thus, it is clear that the Western reader must accept *al-Lu'lu' al-Manthūr* on its own terms, as the work of an Eastern scholar writing for an Eastern audience. He must also bear in mind that Barṣoum is the Patriarch of Antioch, the head of the Syrian Church and that his dominant attitude is one of pride in the literary achievements of the church fathers; indeed, this must be his attitude if he is to fulfill his purpose. To be sure, this pride often leads to undue exaggeration, particularly of the antiquity of the Syrians' language and the greatness of their literature. Barṣoum does not document convincingly his identification of Syriac with Aramaic, nor does he furnish sufficient proof that Christ and the Apostles spoke Syriac. His dogmatic assertion that Syriac literature rivals that of the Greeks seems all the more unpalatable because it is made without reference to any clear standard of judgment. One finds it difficult to accept the statement that the Syriac books now extant are the oldest in the world and impossible to believe that the library of the monastery of the Syrians in Egypt is the most ancient in the world. In other instances, Barṣoum gives us good reason to call into question his reliability both as a scholar and as a judge of literature. His declaration that the Pshiṭto was produced by

Christianized Jews in the first century, for example, may be sound, but surely needs substantiation. In his discussion of early Syriac literature, he quite erroneously assigns the composition of the Book of Tobit to the fifth century B.C. and again offers no evidence to support his contention. He praises St. Ephraim at the expense of other important writers such as Bar Daysan and Aphrahat. His treatment of the main themes of Syriac poetry is somewhat marred by his vague definition of satire. Finally, by centering his discussion largely upon the Christian literature which the Syrians produced, Barṣoum minimizes the importance of their role as translators.

Despite these faults, the work of Patriarch Barṣoum has significant value for students of Syriac literature. Unlike his Western predecessors, he does not depend heavily on the work of Assemani, but draws much information from the Syriac manuscripts surviving in churches and monasteries throughout the Middle East and from other original sources. The wider range of first-hand material available to Barṣoum generally does not lead him to conclusions at odds with those drawn by Western scholars, but frequently enriches his presentation of factual information. Wright, for example, in his biographical sketch of Bar Hebraeus, cites only the *Bibliotheca Orientalis* and Bar Hebraeus' own writings; Barṣoum furnishes additional evidence from the metrical biography of Bar Hebraeus and his brother, by Gabriel of Barṭelli.

The chief significance of *al-Luʾluʾ al-Manthūr*, however, lies not in its additions to our knowledge concerning major figures in Syriac literature, but in its treatment of topics which Western writers have not considered. Barṣoum has given us here a thorough and illuminating exposition of the art of calligraphy. His discussion of the rites of the church takes us into an area that has not been explored in other studies of Syriac literature. The consideration of the various types of church music gives us an all too brief insight into what may quite properly be regarded as one of the highest forms of literary expression sought by the Syrians. This part of the work is clearly derived in part from ancient sources, about which Barṣoum is unfortunately not explicit. The informative discussion of Syriac liturgies appears to be original rather than derivative; Barṣoum indicates in this section that he has read both Renaudot and Michael the Great, but because of his life in the church he is thoroughly familiar with the practice of the liturgy and in fact has

even read seventy-four of these liturgies himself. His catalogue of liturgies is far more extensive than any compiled by Western scholars; to Philoxenus of Mabug, for example, he attributes certainly two liturgies and tentatively another, whereas Wright[1] cites only one and that on the authority of Renaudot and Assemani.

The second part of the book, comprising biographies of Syrian writers, should be of great historical and literary importance to both general readers and Syrian scholars. Many of these biographies, particularly those covering the period after the tenth century, are little known to Western scholars and even those known to scholars have not been put in proper historical perspective. These biographies contain much indispensable information for writers concerned with the history of the Syrian Church during this period.

Because of his ecclesiastical position, the author had exceptional opportunities to gather important and hitherto little known information for these biographies from various Syriac prayer books, lectionaries, liturgical books and Gospels in Syrian churches throughout the East, particularly in Tur ʿAbdin. He was also able to discover manuscripts unknown to other Orientalists, who were compelled to rely on those available in Western libraries. In 1927, for example, F. S. Marsh translated and published *The Book of the Holy Hierothios* from three manuscripts, two in the British Museum and one in the Houghton Library at Harvard University. But he was unaware of another copy in the Monastery of Zaʿfaran, MS. 213, which Barṣoum tells us, includes Patriarch Theodosius' detailed commentary on the text.

Moreover, Barṣoum's profound knowledge of and feeling for the Syriac language placed him in a supreme position to judge the lapses and prejudicial observations of some Orientalists against the Syrian Church and its learned men. Yet he freely gave his opinions and judgments regarding Syriac literature and sciences to scholars who sought them and he must be commended for the invaluable assistance he rendered many Western Syriacists, among them J. B. Chabot, in locating, photographing and providing Syriac texts of manuscripts.

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[1] William Wright, *A Short History of Syriac Literature* (London, 1894; Piscataway, 2002), 74, where the author mentions an anaphora by Philoxenus of Mabug.

The reader's attention should be drawn to some editorial revisions and reorganizations made in the original text. The errata which the author appended at the end of Part One have been corrected in the translation. The section on the Diatessaron has been moved from the end of the book to its proper place after Chapter Ten (but not given a chapter number to maintain the numbering of chapters between the original text and the translation). Similarly the biography of Dionysius Ṣalība, bishop of Claudia, has been moved to its proper place in Part Two and marked with '*'. This translator has deleted names of Orientalists at the end of Section One of the Epilogue, as these have no significance to the text, but has indicated their position in the text. Likewise, the list of foreign words and usages comprising Section Four of the original Epilogue has been deleted, because these terms have been translated and explained as they occurred throughout the text. In the last Section of the Epilogue (now Section Four), this editor has placed in separate lists geographical names, followed by the names of monasteries; in the original text these were commingled in a single list.

This Second Revised Edition differs in several respects from the paperback First Edition issued earlier by Passeggiata Press in 2000. Here, the transcription system has been thoroughly revised to reflect the following guidelines: A simple system has been adopted in order not to clutter proper nouns with many diacritics (e.g., *sedro*, not *seḏrô*). Well known proper nouns are given minimal or no diacritics (e.g., Tur ʿAbdin, not Ṭūr ʿAḇdīn), but less familiar ones a fuller treatment (e.g., Salṭ, not Salt; Beth Bātīn, not Beth Batin). When an ambiguity might arise, especially in the case of Arabic names, enough diacritics are given to disambiguate (e.g., Sālim or Salīm, not Salim). Further, Syriac terms appear in their Syriac, not original Arabic, form (e.g., *memro*, not *maymar*). Plurals of Syriac terms take the English plural mark, -s (e.g., *sedros*, not *sedre*), with the exception of a few terms whose plurals are now standards (e.g., *memre*). English forms have been used, whenever possible, for names, with the exception of modern personalities (e.g., John Bar Wahbun, but Yuḥanon Dolabani). Attributes of place to designate people have been replaced by the full name (e.g., Daniel of Ṣalaḥ, not the Ṣalaḥite). Bar/bar and Ibn/ibn are used interchangeably.

The editorial changes of the Second Revised Edition were kindly prepared by Dr. George A. Kiraz.[1]

The reader should be informed that the manuscripts cited by Barṣoum as MSS. Boston are now at the Houghton Library of Harvard University. Similarly, the MSS. cited as being in the British Museum are now in the British Library. The reader should also note that when the author refers to manuscripts deposited at "Our Library," he means the Patriarchal Library, which in his lifetime was located at Ḥomṣ but is now at Damascus, the seat of the present Patriarch. Finally, in the biographical section, some of the dates cited by the author after the names of Syrian learned men signify not the year of their death, but some outstanding deed by the individual mentioned, or perhaps merely the fact that he was still living in that year.

The late Mar Philoxenus Yuḥanon Dolabani, bishop of Mardin and its environs (d. November 2, 1969), published a Syriac translation of *al-Luʾluʾ al-Manthūr* (Qamishli, Syria: 1967). To this translation, Bishop Dolabani added a few new biographies and he included new information in some of the biographies written by Barṣoum. But there is little in Bishop Dolabani's translation that merits inclusion here.

Western writers seem accustomed to remark disparagingly that the Syrians devoted themselves largely to the writing of Christian literature and to pass over this literature rather quickly; as a consequence, their view of Syriac literature is incomplete. Yet it is equally true that *al-Luʾluʾ al-Manthūr*, on account of its preoccupation with the Christian writings, gives an inaccurate view of the whole of Syriac literature. Those who wish general knowledge of the Syriac language and literature will no doubt profit most from the treatments of these subjects by Duval and Baumstark. Those who seek more detailed information will find the work of Patriarch Barṣoum of immeasurable importance.

The book should be of great interest to students of Syriac literature and of common readers interested in the history of the Syrian Church and its religious and literary traditions. Furthermore, it contains information about the interaction of the early Arab

[1] Kiraz would like to thank the assistance of Dr. Thomas Joseph of Syriac Orthodox Resources in copy editing and proofing the penultimate version.

Muslims with their subjects the Syrian Christians and the role these Syrians played in transmitting Greek philosophy to the Arabs. Of great significance to the students of peripatetic philosophy is the importance the Syrians placed on the works of Aristotle. Indeed, without Syrian translators the Muslims would not have known Aristotle whom they reverently described as the First Master.

The present work would not have been possible without the invaluable assistance of my colleague and friend Professor George Welch, Jr., in correcting the manuscript and offering many suggestions concerning Latin and Greek terms used in the text and to the late eminent Orientalist, Professor D. M. Dunlop (d. 1987) of Columbia University, for reading the first part of the book, which was presented to him as part of the editor's doctoral dissertation. I would like also to thank Abd al-Ahad Hannawi for typing the final copy of the manuscript and John Eulaiano, Inter-Library Loan Coordinator of the Library of Gannon University, for his indefatigable effort and patience in locating the names of Western writers and the titles of their works on Syriac literature. I should mention with gratitude the effort and patience of my late sister Fadila Moosa, a grammarian and philologist, who helped in explaining the intrinsic meaning of many involved Arabic passages in the original text. The editor also appreciates the great interest of Don Herdeck in this book and in producing it in its final form. He also commends Dr. Admer Gouryh for his incentive in pressing forward the publication of this book and Hanna Isa for his assistance. Finally, the editor would like to thank the dignitaries and foundations for their support. Of these it is worthy to mention Archbishop Mar Cyril Aphrem Karim, head of the Syrian Orthodox Archdiocese of the Eastern United States, The American Foundation for Syriac Studies, Samir, Lyla and Gabriel Shirazi of the Shirazi Foundation, Archbishop Yeshu Samuel Trust Fund, The Very Rev. Numan Aydin, Mr. Sulayman Abd al-Nur, Mr. Said Samuel and the editor's sister Adeeba Moosa.

Last but not least, the translator is indebted to his wife for her exemplary patience and understanding during the whole process of translating and preparing this book for the press.

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

Praise be to God, who has adorned the intellect of man with the crown of knowledge and embellished his speech with the charm of eloquence. The dawn of our epoch was ushered by the appearance of interesting works dealing with the history of sciences and literatures in various languages. The field of knowledge extended far and wide before the knights (stalwart champions) of eloquence, who went forth on their valiant adventures, each setting his eyes upon his particular goal. While some achieved their objective, others continued the search. Thus, they helped to reawaken the spirits and rouse the minds from the state of slumber and lethargy that had enveloped them for far too long a time. Presently, the noble souls are eagerly seeking the pure springs of knowledge and the luminous minds are settling with determination for the rich realms of literature.

Since Western scholars have drawn only an incomplete picture of Syriac Sciences and Literature, these seemed, by the very nature of their (sad) state, to be calling for a fair historical exposition, in the Arabic language, that would give them the publicity they deserved in the Eastern world and reveal their merits to all those endowed with sound reason and understanding. Therefore, we undertook to compile this detailed work, which covers eighteen centuries of the history of Syriac Sciences and Literature. It took more than thirty years to carry out the extensive research needed for this study; the necessary material was sought in the most likely and unlikely sources, the bulk of them being manuscripts scattered by the vicissitudes of fate all over the world (in the four corners of the world) and, apart from scanty references to them in historical works, all but neglected by scholars and compilers.

If we leave aside the biographies of thirty famous scholars and prominent ascetics, we find that the Syrians, unlike the Arabs, left no work dealing with the history of their learned men either in outline or in detail. During the period in question, all the time we could spare from our episcopal and Patriarchal work was devoted to this task, until God Almighty (may He be exalted) helped us achieve this task.

We were undeterred by the great pains and the assiduous efforts we had to exert by day and by night, or by the substantial

sums of money we voluntarily contributed for this purpose. Nay, all this was a cause of pleasure and delight. We were only trying to give to worthy ancestors who had crowned our nation and our language with laurels of splendor their due; who had left for us, both in the East and West, an immortal name and a noble glory; and who had enriched our minds with true knowledge, thereby bestowing upon us the gift of fluent speech and clear expression. Meanwhile, we propose to spread out before the scholars and students of the East and West a (sumptuous) table on which we hope they will find what should delight the heart and give satisfaction to the mind. We also hope that this work will help to fill a gap in the history of an (important) Semitic language that has long clothed the Christian East with a beautiful garment, rendering to it such services as had been gratefully recognized by all fair-minded scholars, who well know that its sister languages vainly seek to (rival) the sweetness of its fruits.

To accomplish our task, we have had to make extensive travels. In addition to Mosul and its surrounding villages, we have visited the Monastery of St. Matthew; Jazirat Ibn ʿUmar; Tur ʿAbdin (with its forty five localities rich in Syriac lore, especially Basibrina, Mardin and its villages, the Zaʿfaran Monastery, Diyarbakir and its villages and Wayranshahr; Edessa; Aleppo, Ḥamā, Ḥomṣ and their villages; Damascus and Beirut; as well as the Monastery of St. Mark and the Armenian and Greek Monasteries in Jerusalem. We have also made various trips to Egypt and Constantinople, London, Oxford, Cambridge, Birmingham, Paris, Florence, Rome, Berlin, New York and Boston.

We have consulted several manuscripts found in private collections and, for a period of time, worked on compiling extensive catalogues of our more famous Syriac libraries. As for (the collections of) the Monastery of St. Quryaqos, Beshayriyya, Kharput, Ḥiṣn Manṣur, Swayrik, Seʿert, Sharwan, Gharzan, Mount Sinai and the Library of the Coptic Patriarchate in Cairo, we were helped to have access to them through the good offices of certain high-minded clerics, to all of whom we now express our deepest gratitude. We have also consulted the printed catalogues of Eastern and Western Syriac libraries.

Apart from the Holy Scriptures, we have examined some two hundred different volumes, covering a wide range of arts and sciences. Thus, no work is described or criticized here without

having been the subject of the closest scrutiny, with the exception of a few rare instances. In fact, we have had access to all the known locations of Syriac documents.

Among other works, we have consulted the *Bibliotheca Orientalis* of Assemani, the four histories–some fairly comprehensive, some brief–of William Wright (in English), Rubens Duval (in French), A. Baumstark (in German) and J. B. Chabot (1894-1938) (in French). While the best of these works is Duval's, Baumstark's is more thorough and richer in reference material. The main objective of these authors is to acquaint the community of Orientalists with the source-references of Syriac literature which, according to their conception, includes sciences and literature in general. They are less adequate in their description and critique of the creativity of the Syriac intellect. Besides, they all carry their studies, which cover both the Western and Eastern (Schools) of Syriac Literature, no further than the thirteenth century, with the exception of Baumstark, who makes a few references to more modern writers as well as to a number of Malkite and Maronite manuscripts.

The present work is confined to discussing our Western Syrian men of letters and scholars, to the exclusion of the Eastern (followers of the Eastern rite, i.e., the Nestorians) and the meager literary output of the Malkites and Maronites.

You will find in this book some of the subjects and studies overlooked by the above-mentioned historians of literature, including calligraphy, verse and ecclesiastical rites with all their characteristic diversity and complexity. It reviews the history of literature from 1290 until the present time and gives brief geographical accounts of all the localities cited, as well as precise historical information on seventy-two monasteries. In addition, it contains lists of schools, ancient Syriac libraries (book collections), physicians, authors of liturgies and *sedros* (*ḥusoyos*), calligraphers, as well as a number of lost (unknown) manuscripts and various useful items of historical information.

An attempt is made to rectify a number of errors thoughtlessly copied from each other by contemporary writers, while making sure to remain throughout, within the strict bounds of judicious criticism.

In a separate chapter, the reader will find a summary of the work done by distinguished orientalists who have rendered valuable

services to Syriac Studies. Some of them, however, are taken to task for a pitiful lack of moderation and propagandistic prejudices contrary to the scientific spirit and the worth of scientific achievement.

The book is published under the title, *al-Luʾluʾ al-Manthūr fī Tārīkh al-ʿUlūm wal-Ādāb al-Suryāniyya.* May it find acceptance in the eyes of God Almighty as a service to science and to the seekers of knowledge; surely God is a sufficient Guide and Helper.

At our Patriarchate in Ḥomṣ, Syria.
14 February, 1943, the 11th year of our Patriarchate and the anniversary of our Episcopal Silver Jubilee.

AUTHOR'S DEDICATION

To my venerable mother Mrs. Susan ʿAbd al-Nūr
to whom I owe my good upbringing.
May God reward and sustain her!

TRANSLATOR'S DEDICATION

In loving memory of Bishop Gregorius Bulos Bahnam (d. 1969)
A luminary of the Syrian Orthodox Church of Antioch

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PART I

ON SYRIAC SCIENCES AND LITERATURE

CHAPTER ONE

THE SYRIAC LANGUAGE

The Aramaic (Syriac) language is one of the Semitic tongues in which parts of the Holy Bible, such as the prophecy of Daniel and the Gospel according to St. Matthew, were revealed.[1] Some scholars consider it the most ancient of the languages of the world; even the more moderate ones consider it one of the oldest.[2] The first established evidence of its ancient use is the passage in Genesis 37:47 about 1750 B.C.[3] The Syriac language consists of twenty-two letters, six of which have double sounds, hard and soft,[4] which according to our terminology, are identified by certain signs.

Syriac is a graceful and rich language. It is adequate for the expression of ideas and portrayal of feelings, besides the comprehension of all types of ancient knowledge. Syriac was the

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[1] The parts of the Old Testament written in Aramaic are Jeremiah 10:11, Ezra 4:6-7, 6:18 and 7:12, and Daniel 2:4. (tr.)

[2] See Abu al-Qāsim Saʿīd ibn Aḥmad ibn Saʿīd al-Andalusi, *Ṭabaqāt al-Umam*, Arabic, edited by Rev. L. Cheikho, S. J. (Beirut, 1912); Bar Hebraeus, *Tārīkh Mukhtaṣar al-Duwal.* (*Compendious History of Dynasties*), in Arabic, edited by Rev. A. Salhani (Beirut: 1890), 18. See also Bar , *Makhthbonuth Zabne* (*Chronography*), edited and translated into English by Ernest A. Wallis Budge I (Oxford, 1932), 8. (tr.)

[3] The Biblical quotation given here does not seem to be correct. The author must have had in mind the Aramaic words "Jegarsahdutha," the monument of covenant, Genesis 31:47. (tr.)

[4] The Syriac alphabet contains six letters each of which has two sounds, hard and soft. These letters are sometimes indicated by the mnemonic (b, g, d, k, f, t). The soft form may be an aspirated form and the hard one unaspirated. In the Nestorian or Eastern script, black dots are placed over the letter to indicate its hard form and under it to denote its soft form. The Western Syrians use a big red dot for the same. See Msgr. David, *Grammaire de la Langue Araméenne*, Arabic, (Mosul, 1896), 21. (tr.)

vernacular of the inhabitants of Iraq, the Jazira of Mesopotamia and Syria. It penetrated into inner Persia and spread among the peoples neighboring the Syrians.[1] For many years it remained the official language of the states which occupied the Near East. It also extended to Egypt, Asia Minor and northern Arabia,[2] and reached southern China and the Malabar coast in India, where it is still used. It was widely spoken until rivaled by Arabic at the end of the eighth and the beginning of the ninth century, at which time it retreated from the towns and found refuge in the villages and mountains. It was, nevertheless, still used by writers and scholars.

The homeland of classical Syriac included Edessa, Ḥarran, Ḥomṣ, Apamea and the rest of the country of al-Sham (Syria).[3] The Sabeans of Ḥarran used it in their writings until the end of the ninth century.[4] The language also remained in this high state in many parts of the Jazira and Armenia until the end of the thirteenth century and in some other places until the fifteenth century. This language may rightfully be considered superior to other languages of the world, as it was the spoken language of Our Lord Jesus Christ and his Holy Apostles. It was the first language in which the Christian Church celebrated the liturgy. Furthermore, the Syrians had great excellence in translating Greek writings into Syriac and in turn into Arabic. It has also remained our ritual language to this day and, to a small extent, the means of communication among our clergy.

At the beginning of the sixth century A.D., Syriac was divided according to its pronunciation and script into two dialects, known as the Western and the Eastern "traditions". Each of these traditions was attributed to the homeland of the people who spoke it, i.e., Western for those who inhabited al-Sham [Syria] and Eastern for those living in Mesopotamia, Iraq and Azerbayjan.

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[1] J. B. Chabot in his treatise *Les Langues et les Littératures Araméennes* (Paris: 1910), maintains that Aramaic spread from Nisibin to Raphia and from the shores of the Persian Gulf to the Red Sea and was about to supersede all other Semitic languages spoken at that time. (tr.)

[2] M. Mapsero, *Histoire Ancienne des Peuples de l'Orient*, 6th ed., 775-776.

[3] Bar Hebraeus, *Tārīkh Mukhtaṣar al-Duwal*, 18; [Bar Hebraeus,] *The Metrical Grammar*; and Theodorus bar Kuni, *Scholion*, 1: 113.

[4] Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 168.

However, the Syrian Orthodox community in Iraq is excluded from the Eastern part.

The most important writings in this language that reached us are the Old Testament and the New Testament in the Pshiṭto translation. If we accept some of the changes in the dialects into which it was subdivided, Syriac did not undergo change after it became settled. The Old Testament passages in this language and what remains of the poetry of the philosopher Wafā indicate that this language is the same that we use today. However, some of its terminology was forgotten through time and became unattractive to some, as observed by Anton of Takrit.[1] On the other hand, others were lost through negligence, but were preserved in Arabic, as has been asserted by Jacob of Barṭelli.[2]

Syriac had neither grammar nor philological books, because the native Syrians spoke it with instinctive eloquence as the Arabs spoke their tongue. The first grammatical rules for Syriac were set at the end of the seventh century, as shall be seen later.

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[1] *The Book of Rhetorics*, treatise 1, chapter 26.

[2] *The Dialogue*, treatise 4, question 12.

CHAPTER TWO

THE GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF SYRIAC LITERATURE

In the beginning, the Syrian-Aramaeans had a refined language adorned with literature comprising both prose and poetry. They were also concerned with the sciences. However, nothing of their literary works has reached us except the book of Aḥiqar, the minister of Sennacherib, King of Assyria (681 B.C.). This book, to which many other tales were added later, contains counsel and wisdom.[1] It is presumed that the book of Aḥiqar was composed either at this time or about the fifth century B.C., when the book of Tobit was written.[2] A few lines of poetry by Wafā, the Aramaean philosopher and poet who lived long before the Christian era, also survived together with a few legends inscribed on the tombs of some of the Abgarite kings of Edessa. To these should be added the fine and edifying letter of the philosopher Mara Bar Seraphion to his son, written in the middle of the second century A.D. However, these surviving sources are too insignificant to be taken as a basis for evaluating pre-Christian Syriac literature.

The Syriac literature known to us, therefore, is of Christian and ecclesiastical origin. It is the intellectual product of Christian clerical authors and learned men. When embracing Christianity, our forefathers, inflamed by their ardent zeal for the new faith, burned

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[1] The most extensive treatment of the story of Aḥiqar was made by J. Rendel Harris in his introduction to *The Story of Ahiqar from the Aramaic, Syriac, Arabic, Armenian, Ethiopic, Old Turkish, Greek and Slavonic Versions* By F. C. Conybeare, J. Rendel Harris and Agnes Smith Lewis, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, 1913). For an Arabic translation of the original Aramaic text see Gregorios Bulos Bahnam, *Aḥīqār al-Ḥakīm* (Ahiqar the Sage), (Baghdad, 1976), published posthumously. (tr.)

[2] The date of composition of the book of Tobit is uncertain, but from internal evidence seems to be much later than that which Barṣoum assigns. (tr.)

all books and destroyed every trace of pagan scholarly works, lest they entice their posterity back into the snares of heathenism. When most of their progeny embraced Christianity in the first and second centuries, followed by the rest at the close of the fourth century and the beginning of the fifth, they pursued the path of their forefathers in their love for learning. They mastered the art of literature and produced magnificent literary masterpieces.

The Syrian scholars exerted their efforts in translating, punctuating and commenting on the Holy Bible. They concentrated their attention on the philological sciences such as morphology, grammar, rhetoric, speech and poetry. They also pursued logic, philosophy, natural science, mathematics, astronomy, geodesy and medicine. They immersed themselves deeply in theoretical theology, ethics and ecclesiastical and civil jurisprudence. They dealt at great length with civil and religious history and church music and touched also upon geography and the art of storytelling. In general, they covered the commonly known fields of human learning without exception.

Among the Syrians flourished many savants and scholars who carried the torches of knowledge to the utmost parts of the Eastern world. They surpassed the learned men of most Christian nations in number as well as in output; their fame, as we shall see later, spread east and west. The Greek literary works, despite their abundance, excellence and precedence and despite their being a model for Syriac and Latin literature, nevertheless, taken as a whole, did not excel over Syriac literature in its entirety. Despite the disparity between the Coptic, Armenian, Christian-Arabic, Georgian and Abyssinian literatures, meticulous scholars are aware of the limitations and narrow scope of these literatures. If the Greek culture is considered philosophical and that of the Arabs rhetorical, then the culture of the Syrians is considered religious.

The characteristics of the Syriac literature, therefore, are Biblical, ritualistic, polemical, theological, historical and traditional. The Syrians' concern with producing translations and commentaries on the Scripture, as well as other related writings, speaks for their excellence in preserving and spreading the Holy Scriptures. Moreover, the books of religious services and prayers which they composed over many generations testify to their superior taste, high-mindedness and pre-eminence in the theological disputes which long endured among the Christian sects.

Their deep penetration into the secrets of Christianity yielded many theological and polemical works which reveal their literary ability. Their histories encompassed the episodes of Christianity and the life stories of saints and martyrs, as well as the most accurate historical documents of Asia in the time of the Romans, Persians, Byzantines, Arabs, Mongols, and Turks. When the fourth century swelled with the writings of the Christian scholars who wrote in Greek, the school of Edessa spared no effort in translating the best of these writings into its language. The School of Edessa also initiated the teaching of Greek and was followed by most of our well-known schools until the end of the twelfth century.

On the other hand, the Syrian scholars devoted their efforts to translating the books of philosophy and science first into Syriac and then into Arabic, thus becoming teachers of the Arabs.

In time, matters took a different course, however and the Greek philosophy was transmitted from the East to Europe through Arabic books of science whose influence began to appear in Spain in the Middle Ages.[1]

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[1] What the Eastern Syrians translated from the Pahlavi was very little, such as *Kalīla and Dimna* and the Pseudo-story of Alexander the Great. [The author must mean the translation of Pahlavi writings into Syriac and not into Arabic because *Kalīla and Dimna* was translated into Arabic by ibn al-Muqaffaʿ. On the transmission of Arab sciences in Spain, see Charles Homer Haskins, *Studies in the History of Mediaeval Sciences*, 2nd edition (New York, 1960). (tr.)]

CHAPTER THREE

CENTERS OF LEARNING

The luminaries of Syrian culture, both the ones of the first class and those of the second, shone in the long period between the fourth century and the end of the thirteenth. The centers of learning were on the whole theological, although some of them were distinguished for the teaching of philosophy and other sciences. The most famous of these schools were the following:

1. The theological school of Edessa, which most likely was established in the middle of the third century, but flourished and became very popular in 363 through the care of St. Ephraim the Syrian. It was closed down in 489 after it had survived for 126 years.[1]

2. The Monastery of Zuqnin, known as St. John's Monastery, was established in the fourth century near Diyarbakir. It became a center of learning in the middle of the same century and existed until the tenth century. It had skillful teachers on its staff.

3. Dayr al-ʿUmr, or Qarṭmin, properly known as the Monastery of St. Gabriel, in Tur ʿAbdin. It was established in 397 and became the goal of the seekers of knowledge and asceticism from the middle of the fifth century onwards. Scholars continued graduating from it until the eleventh or twelfth century.

4. The Monastery of Ousebuna in the province of Antioch.

5. The great Monastery of Talʿada, near Ousebuna. These two monasteries were established in the middle of the fourth century, when they became centers of learning. They achieved more fame, however, in the last decade of the seventh century, through the excellence of Jacob of Edessa. Benjamin, metropolitan of Edessa, also taught in Talʿada shortly before 837. Both monasteries were

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[1] The author does not seem to count the 126 years from the establishment of this school in the middle of the third century, but from 363 when it became famous. (tr.)

still populated in the middle, or possibly the end, of the tenth century.

6. The Monastery of Mar Zakka, near al-Raqqa (Callinicus), established in the fifth century. Teaching did not start there, however, until the beginning of the sixth century and it remained until the tenth century.

7. Qenneshrin (The Eagle's Nest) stands on the right bank of the Euphrates opposite what is now Jarabulus. Established around 530, it indulged more actively in learning than the rest of the monasteries and thus achieved wide fame. It remained the greatest school of theology and science until the beginning of the ninth century. Then, however, it suffered a period of decline, but was soon revived until the middle of the eleventh century and was probably maintained to the middle of the thirteenth.

8. The Gubba Baraya, between Aleppo and Samosata, which became known in the sixth century, but achieved broader fame in the ninth century.

9. The Monastery of St. Matthew, east of Mosul, built in the mountain of Alphaph (the thousands), established in the late fourth century. Teaching did not begin in it before the third decade of the seventh century and remained until the end of the thirteenth century.

10. Al-ʿAmud (the Pillar) Monastery, near Rish ʿAyna in al-Jazira, the center of study from the seventh to the ninth centuries.

11. The Monastery of Qarqafta (the Skull), between Rish ʿAyna and Ḥasaka near the village of Magdal, was famous for philological studies in the beginning of the ninth century.

12. The Monastery of Mar Ḥananya, properly known as Dayr al-Zaʿfaran, near Mardin. Built in the last decade of the ninth century, it became the center of learning for a long time. After a period of decline, teaching was resumed there in later times, though in a primitive method.

13. The Monastery of Mar Sergius, in the Qāḥil (barren) mountain between Sinjar and Balad. Learning is presumed to have begun in it in the eighth century; however, it became famous in the ninth century.

14. The Sacred Mountain of Edessa, which was crowded with monasteries from the fifth and sixth centuries onwards. Some of these monasteries existed as centers of learning up to the beginning of the thirteenth century.

15. The Monastery of Mar Barṣoum, near Melitene. Built in the middle of the fifth century, it was a center of learning from the ninth century to the middle of the fourteenth.

16. The Monastery of Mar John Qurdis, in the city of Dara, a great and well-known monastery. We have its history from 800 to 1002. Among its scholars was the Metropolitan Lazarus Bar Sobto.

17. The Monastery of Elijah Bar Jaji in the province of Melitene, which was established around 960 and became a center of studies.

18. Al-Bārid Monastery, in the province of Melitene and Anazete; built in 969, it became a center of learning until 1243. The Turkomans killed fifteen of its monks, most of whom were men of learning.

19. The Monastery of Sarjisiyya, in the same province, founded about 980, when it began to breathe the perfume of knowledge. This monastery and that of al-Bārid remained as centers of knowledge to the twelfth century.

20. The Cathedral of the city of Melitene, known as the Church of al-Sāʿi, a center of religion and philological studies in the beginning of the eleventh century. Its importance declined at the end of the thirteenth century.

21. The Monastery of Mar Aaron al-Shaghr, in Qallisura, an ancient monastery, presumably established in the fifth century. It became a center of learning in the eleventh century; from it graduated Ignatius III, metropolitan of Melitene.

We have overlooked mentioning the Patriarchal and episcopal seats, in which great numbers of the clergy were educated.

CHAPTER FOUR

SYRIAC LIBRARIES

Following are the most famous Syrian libraries known to us:

1. The library of the Monastery of Qarṭmin. This library contained many books, to which Mar Simon d-beth Zayte (d. 734) added one hundred and eighty volumes.[1] Following his steps, his nephew David and then John, the metropolitan of Qarṭmin's Monastery (998-1034), as well as his nephew, the monk Emmanuel, adorned it with seventy volumes of parchments written in his own hand. In 1169, two monks, Gabriel Bar Baṭriq and his brother Elisha, together with Moses of Kafr Salṭ, restored two hundred and seventy volumes.[2]

2. The library of Zuqnin Monastery. This contained many MSS., as has been mentioned in the life story of Matthew the ascetic.

3. The library of the Church of Amid (Diyarbakir). Mar Mari III, metropolitan of Amid, collected significant volumes which were moved to Amid after his death in 529.[3]

4. The library of Talʿada's Monastery. Some of its books are preserved in the British Museum numbering 740 books, including the selected hymns of Mar Isaac, transcribed about 570. The monks of this monastery took possession of the books of Jacob of Edessa after his death in 708.

5. The library of Mar David Monastery. We had two monasteries of this name, one situated south of Damascus near Buṣra, also called the Monastery of Ḥina, the second, in the city of Qenneshrin, mentioned in the second half of the sixth century. Both monasteries are mentioned in the *Syriac Documents*[4] (pp. 164,

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[1] The unpublished biography of Mar Simon d-beth Zayte.

[2] *The Book of Life* in Basibrina. See Chapter 15 on this topic.

[3] See his life-story in the *Biographies of the Eastern Ascetics*, by John of Ephesus, no. 35.

[4] The reference is to J. B. Chabot, *Documenta ad Oirgines Monophysitarum Illustranda*, (Paris, 1907-1933). (tr.)

171 and 440). The library in question belongs to one of them. Among its books, it contained the book of *Philalethes*, by St. Severus of Antioch, completed in the time of its abbot Daniel in the sixth or the seventh century. This work is preserved in the Vatican Library (MS. 139).

6. The library of St. John's Monastery in Beth Zaghba, mentioned three times in the *Syriac Documents* (pp. 163, 171 and 182) in the time of Paul the Abbot. Of its books, only an old copy of the New Testament, written in 586, survives, at the Bibliotheca Laurenziana.

7. The library of St. John of Nayrab, believed to be one of the monasteries near Aleppo. One of its volumes, in the British Museum (MS. 730), contains the letters and discourses of Mar Philoxenus of Mabug; their transcription was completed in 569.

8. The library of St. Moses in al-Nabak's mountain. British Museum MS. 585 contains the last volume of the writings of John Chrysostom, finished in the middle of the sixth century.

9. The library of Mar Daniel in Kfarbil, in the province of Antioch; the transcription of its works, done by a priest named Moses in 599, is preserved in the British Museum (MS. 71).

10. The library of Mar Quryaqos near Tell al-Maqlub. Of its manuscripts only three survived, two in the British Museum (MSS. 52 and 53), transcribed in 616 and 617 and the third in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, MS. 72, finished in 720.

11. The library of al-ʿAmud's Monastery, mentioned in 638 in the *Book of the Memre* of Mar Jacob of Sarug, in the time of Abbot Simon. Its contents survive in the Vatican (MS. 251).

12. The library of the Monastery of St. Matthew. Its manuscripts were increased in the seventh century, particularly the valuable ones which gained fame around the year 800. One of these manuscripts contained the Jacob of Edessa's *Hexameron*, copied in 822, now extant at the Chaldean library in Mosul, transferred from the library at Diyarbakir. In 1298, this library contained the complete writings of Bar Hebraeus, as is mentioned in the Berlin MS. 326. But it was pillaged by the Kurds in the middle of the fourteenth century. Only a portion of it remained in the middle of the sixteenth century and its contents were again scattered in 1845; after that date it possessed only about sixty manuscripts.

13. The library of the Monastery of the Syrians in Egypt. This monastery, which became widely famous in the seventh century,

harbored a library to which its abbot, Moses of Nisibin (907-944), added two hundred and fifty of the most valuable books and the rarest and oldest manuscripts after his trip from Egypt to Baghdad, which took six years and ended in 932. Among those who took care of the arrangements of this library and the binding of its books was the eminently learned monk Barṣoum of Marʿash, some time after 1084. Barṣoum was still living as a priest in 1122 (cf. British Museum MS. 323, Bibliothèque Nationale MS. 27). I have read in some commentaries that fifteen camel-loads of books were found in this monastery after the pillage of Edessa, Amid, Melitene, and other cities. In 1624, the priest Thomas of Mardin counted the books of this Monastery, which amounted to four hundred and three volumes (cf. British Museum MS. 374). So this was the most famous of all the Syrian libraries, as well as the most ancient of the libraries of the world.[1] From the middle of the seventeenth century to the middle of the nineteenth, its books found their way into the libraries of the Vatican, Paris, Petersburg and especially London, which was enriched by these books and so vaunted its stock of Syriac manuscripts over that of the other libraries.[2] Also, there was a library of Syriac books in the Monastery of Anba Būla, mentioned after the time when Constantine I was the abbot of Dayr al-Suryan in the eleventh century (cf. book of Isaac of Nineveh, British Museum MS. 695).

14. The library of the Monastery of Ouspholis in Rish ʿAyna, to which Constantine, the bishop of this monastery, as well as the city of Mardin, donated books in the year 724 (British Museum MS. 24).

15. The library of the Monastery of Mar Barṣoum, collected after the monastery became a patriarchal seat at the end of the eighth century. Athanasius VI (1129), a collector of the most valuable books, used to carry with him loads of them wherever he traveled. Michael the Great adorned this library with his numerous and magnificent manuscripts. Further, Joseph of Amid,

[1] Unfortunately, Barṣoum does not indicate the date at which this monastery and its library were established; in any case, they can hardly have antedated the libraries of ancient Egyptian monarchs. (tr.)

[2] For more information on how books were acquired from this library for the British Museum, see preface to William Wright, *Catalogue of Syriac Manuscripts at the British Museum*, vol. 3 (London, 1872). (tr.)

metropolitan of Ḥomṣ, mentioned in the *Lives of Saints*, which he completed in 1196, that this library lacked nothing except this book (British Museum MS. 960).

16. The library of the Monastery of Atanos; this monastery was established by Athanasius al-Naʿʿal (the cobbler), metropolitan of Miyapharqin, near Tālbsam in the province of Rish ʿAyna in the middle of the eighth century. This monastery produced fifteen bishops from 740 to 1042. A certain Anastas has been mentioned as its librarian (British Museum MS. 943).

17. The library of the Monastery of St. John Qurdis, in the city of Dara. To this library, Lazarus, bishop of Baghdad, donated the book attributed to Dionysius the Areopagite, shortly after the year 824 (British Museum MS. 625).

18. The library of Mar Ḥananya (known as Dayr al-Zaʿfaran) Monastery, situated east of Mardin. Its books were collected by Mar Ḥananya, metropolitan of Mardin, in the last decade of the eighth century. It was renewed and reorganized by John, bishop of Mardin (d. 1165). After the monastery became a patriarchal seat, its books were increased to over three hundred in number.

19. The library of the Monastery of Bar Jaji. Since its establishment the Anba John, disciple of Marun, undertook to have many of its books transcribed by skillful scribes and monks and thus enriched this library from 990 onwards.

20. The library of the Cathedral of Melitene. To this library John X Bar Shushan (d. 1072) added his valuable manuscripts.

21. The library of St. Mark's Monastery, known as Dayr al-Suryan, in Jerusalem. Its books were collected at the end of the fifteenth century. A good number of them are remnants of the library of the Monastery of Magdalene (which existed from the eleventh through the fourteenth centuries). The number of its Syriac manuscripts was increased to more than three hundred and fifty volumes.

22. The library of Qanqart's Monastery, near Diyarbakir, collected in the second half of the twelfth century. Its books were increased by John, bishop of Amid in 1203 (cf. The Churches of Basibrina and St. Thomas in Mosul).

23. The library of the Church of the Two Apostles in Edessa was collected in later times and contained a group of the books which had belonged to the Monastery of Mar Abḥai in Karkar,

after it was deserted. These books, which are presently at Aleppo, number about one hundred and thirty.

CHAPTER FIVE

SYRIAC CALLIGRAPHY

Since the art of calligraphy is obviously connected with the language and literature, we have chosen to devote an earlier chapter to this question, which has been neglected by historians. Some scholars are of the opinion that Syriac writing antedates that of the other peoples of the world and that the Syrians taught mankind the early method of writing, from which the Phoenicians and other nations borrowed their scripts. Although we cannot positively assert such a belief, because of the seriousness of the question and the conflicting arguments of scholars and because it is impossible to present a conclusive discussion, we can, however, briefly state that our Syriac script is one of the most ancient scripts. The form of the characters of our Syriac script has changed throughout the ages and there are no vestiges of its existence in the pre-Christian era, except a few insignificant lines found inscribed on stones in Edessa and other places. They were published separately by J. B. Chabot and Henri Pognon.[1]

In the Christian era, we have the Estrangelo, which is the best and noblest of the Syriac scripts. Also called the "open" or the "heavy" or the "Edessene", it was invented by Paul Bar ʿArqa or ʿAnqa of Edessa at the beginning of the third century, as shall be seen later. The Estrangelo is considered the source of the Arabic Kufi script. Most of our oldest manuscripts surviving today are written in this script, which was in continuous use until the fourteenth century.

The second type is the Western Syriac script, devised in the ninth century and mixed with Estrangelo for the simplicity of its use. The Syrians kept modifying it until it became distinct from the Estrangelo during the twelfth century. I believe that it is the same script, called "Serto," which was used in writing prose and is still

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[1] See Henri Pognon, *Inscriptions Semitiques de la Syrie*. (Paris, 1908). (tr.)

used for this purpose, while the Estrangelo was strictly used for decorating the title heads.[1]

Among us there flourished a great number of calligraphers who perfected and beautified their art. All of them were monks, hermits or clerics whose works were an adornment of knowledge. They undertook the copying of the most voluminous works with great patience and perpetuated many types of sciences and arts in their works.

To be sure, ancient Syriac books preserved today in the libraries of the Orient and Europe are the oldest books in the world.[2] We have personally seen and studied most of them. However, the quantity which has reached us is very little, in comparison with the great number that has been lost through time. Even among these surviving works, we have found a considerable number either mutilated or lacking the name of the scribe. We have counted nearly one hundred and thirty skilled scribes from 462 to 1264 who used three types of Estrangelo, the thick, the medium and the fine, with slight difference in beauty among them. In many manuscripts which they copied, there is found a creative embellishment and

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[1] Among the Syriac scripts which had been specifically used in some countries are the following: 1) The *Escholitha*, which is the light script of books and composition. It is also called the circular. Its counterpart is the script of the Warrāqīn (copyists), according to Ibn al-Nadīm (d. 987), *al-Fihrist*, p. 18. 2) The fine. 3) The disjoined. 4) The Ukary or Ughary, used by Zebīna the monk in 1227, as mentioned in a historical treatise (preserved in our library) written in the fourteenth century. 5) The doubled, or dual. 6) The Jamary, attributed to the Jamrā Monastery, built by a Nestorian ascetic about the year 670. It is mentioned in the *Book of Chastity* by Yeshoʿdnaḥ of Baṣra, ed. Bedjan, p. 506. See also the anonymous history which has been discovered in Seʿert, pp. 550, 586 and 587. These scripts have been mentioned in a book preserved in the library of the Chaldean Patriarchate in Mosul (No. 111). Both Chaldean and Nestorian communities have today a special script known as the Eastern script. The Greek Malkites in Syria and Palestine had a script distinct from both the Western and Eastern scripts, but close to the Estrangelo. It has been out of use for three centuries, since they translated their ritual books into Arabic and renounced Syriac.

[2] One can accept this statement only with reservations, for the earlier Roman codices extant in Martial's time may likewise be classified as "books." (tr.)

elegance and an overwhelming degree of perfection and uniformity. They usually wrote on special glossy parchments and seldom on thick paper, whose manufacture began in Baghdad at the end of the eighth century, shortly after the establishment of this city; this process was introduced from China and spread to other countries. The last known manufacturing of paper was in Damascus in the middle of the sixteenth century.[1]

From these calligraphers we exclude a group mentioned in some of the biographies of the saints of Tur ʿAbdin, none of whose works were found, due to the lapse of time, the successive tribulations which afflicted their countries and catastrophes and destructive invasions. These scribes are Samuel and Jonathan, the ascetics, who flourished in the first quarter of the fifth century;[2] Daniel the Kundayraybi, the chief copyist of Tur ʿAbdin and his pupils in the middle of the ninth century; and a few others.

In his *Ecclesiastical History*, the most learned Bar Hebraeus stated that "John of Basibrina, metropolitan of the Monastery of Qarṭmin (998-1034), restored the use of the Estrangelo script in Tur ʿAbdin and its neighborhood almost a hundred years after the destruction of the monastery. He taught this art to his nephews, the monks Emmanuel, Peter and Yaʿīsh, after he had learned it himself by careful study of books. The first of them, the deacon-monk Emmanuel, copied seventy volumes of both Testaments according to the Pshiṭto, the Syro-Hexapla and the Harklean versions. He also transcribed homilies in three columns and thus adorned the monastery of Qarṭmin with books which have no equal in the world."[3] A copy of one of the Gospels belonging to the Patriarchal seat is preserved at our St. Mark's library in Jerusalem, under number 1.

Also famous in the art of calligraphy was Patriarch John XII, known as Yeshuʿ the scribe (d. 1220), who, during his monastic life,

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[1] According to another theory, paper was manufactured under the Umayyads. See *al-Fihrist*, p. 32.

[2] John of Ephesus, *Biographies of Eastern Saints*, ed. Land in *Anecdota Syriaca*, 2: 209-210. [Also translated into Latin by Van Douwen and Land, *Commentarii de beatis Orientalibus et Historiae eccles. fragmenta*, Amsterdam: 1889. (tr.)]

[3] Bar Hebraeus, *Ecclesiastical History*, 1: 417. [About the translation and publication of this book see Chapter 21 on *Books of General History*. (tr.)]

transcribed about eighteen books; one of these was a Gospel, decorated with aqua aurum, which had been in the Monastery of the Cross. I have seen three copies of the Gospels in Aleppo and in Paris (MS. 40). Of the more than fourteen *Phanqithos* (service books of prayer) transcribed by the monk-priest Zebina of Shabaldīn (d. 1227), only three survived at our Church of Diyarbakir. Also, an illuminated Bible is found in the Jerusalem library[1] (MS. 28) and another copy of the Bible in Paris, transcribed by the monk-priest Bacchus of Beth Khudayda al-Ṭawwaf ("wanderer"), 1213-1257. Further, Patriarch Michael the Great (d. 1199) had beautifully transcribed a valuable copy of the Bible, adorned each page with gold and silver and bound it with a silver cover. In the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, MSS. 113 and 167 are also in Michael's own handwriting.

John Yeshuʿ, metropolitan of Raʿbān (1210), whose handwriting was extremely good, transcribed many books, of which a Bible is found at St. Thomas Catholic Church in Mosul. Also, Dioscorus Theodorus Bar Basil, metropolitan of Ḥiṣn Ziyad (d. 1273), transcribed books which are now preserved at the libraries of al-Zaʿfaran Monastery, Diyarbakir and Kharput. The deacon ʿAbd Allah of Barṭelli transcribed three books which are in the libraries of Jerusalem, Aleppo and al-Sharfeh.[2]

Bar Hebraeus relates that "an Edessan monk-priest named Kasrun retreated to the town of Maragha, in Persia, together with people from al-Sham (Syria), who had been transported there by the Persians. He adorned our church at Maragha with books in his own handwriting, which remain preserved until this time in Nineveh.[3] He was a skillful calligrapher who spent most of his days at St. Bahnam's Monastery. He died in 1139."[4] The surviving work in his handwriting is the Book of Psalms in the Estrangelo and the Western script, copied according to the Pshiṭto version and the variant readings of the Syro-Hexapla, with his commentaries on it,

[1] The library of the Syrian Monastery of St. Mark. (tr.)

[2] A monastery in Lebanon which belongs to the Roman Catholic Syrians (tr.)

[3] By Nineveh, Bar Hebraeus does not mean the ancient capital of the Assyrians, but the diocese of Nineveh, which since the sixth century, covered the present city of Mosul and its environs. (tr.)

[4] Bar Hebraeus, *Ecclesiastical History*, 2: 329.

which he completed at Maragha in 1127. This volume is preserved at the Chaldean Patriarchate in Mosul, under No. 4.

Distinguished for their art of engraving and decorating, apart from their calligraphy, were the deacon Joseph of Melitene (d. 997), the monk Yaʿīsh of Basibrina (formerly mentioned), the monk-priest Peter, son of the deacon Abu al-Faraj Saba of Basibrina, the monk-priest Sahdo Thomas of Tur ʿAbdin (1241), the monk Mubarak Bar David of Barṭelli (1239), the monk-priest Bacchus of Beth Khudayda (formerly mentioned), the monk-priest Joseph of ʿUrnus (d. 1449) and the monk Daniel of Qusur (d. 1577). Of lesser taLent was Dioscorus, metropolitan of Ḥiṣn Ziyad.

From the thirteenth century until our time, about one hundred and seventy calligraphers improved the Western script and used three types of it, the thick, the medium and the fine. The latter is exceptionally elegant, especially the type known as the Karkarite, after the town or the citadel of Karkar, situated between Diyarkakir and Edessa and their neighboring villages. From 1577 to 1820 the calligraphers of these districts developed a fine script of extreme beauty and brilliant lines.

Of those who perfected the Western script, we would like to mention specifically the monk Yeshuʿ al-Shini of Bedlis (1298), the monk-priest Ṣaliba Bar Khayrun of Ḥaḥ (1340), the monk-priest Jacob of Manʿim (1404), the monk Joseph of the Nāṭif Monastery (1443), the Metropolitan Simon of ʿAynward (d. 1490), George Bar Qarman, metropolitan of Mardin (1504), the Metropolitan Sergius of Ḥaḥ (1508), the Patriarch Nuḥ the Lebanese (d. 1509), Moses ʿUbayd of Ṣadad, metropolitan of Ḥomṣ (d. 1510), the monk-priest Abraham Zunbur of Basibrina, who transcribed nearly twenty volumes (d. 1512), Joseph, metropolitan of Kafr Hawwār (1513), the Patriarch Jacob I (d. 1517), the Maphryono Sulayman of Mardin (d. 1518), the priest Simon of Ḥirrin (d. 1523), Yusuf the Iberian, metropolitan of Jerusalem (d. 1537), the Patriarch Pilate (d. 1597), the monk-priest Abraham Bar Ghazwi of Qusur (1607), Bahnam of Arbo, metropolitan of Jerusalem (d. 1614), the monk-priest ʿAbd al-ʿAzim of Klaybin (1612), the Metropolitan Dionysius ʿAbd al-Ḥayy of Mardin(1621), the monk-priest ʿAbd Allah al-Mashlul of Mardin (1621), the Metropolitan John of Beth Khudayda (d. 1625), the Maphryono Isaiah of Anḥil (d. 1635), the Maphryono Bahnam Bati (d. 1655), Aṣlan, metropolitan of Amid (d. 1741), the Metropolitan John Shahin of Amid (d. 1755),

Chorepiscopus Jacob of Quṭrubul (d. 1783), Elijah Shlaḥ of Mardin, metropolitan of Bushayriyya (d. 1805), the Metropolitan ʿAbd al-Nur of Arbo (d. 1841), Metropolitan Ṣaliba of Basibrina (d. 1885), George Kassab of Ṣadad, metropolitan of Jerusalem (d. 1896), the monk-priest Yeshuʿ of Manʿim (d. 1916) and the deacon Matthew Paul of Mosul. Deacon Matthew Paul transcribed more than forty volumes of different subjects, including commentaries on the Pentateuch, theology, ecclesiastical jurisprudence, history, literature and asceticism. They are preserved in different libraries. He is still living and has passed his eighty-sixth year of age.[1] Moreover, a number of our clerics still perfect Syriac calligraphy.

The first calligrapher known to have embellished the fine Karkarite script was Gregory John Najjar of Wank, metropolitan of Cappadocia and then Edessa (1577-1607). He transcribed about twenty volumes of different writings. He also transcribed with extreme precision several copies of the Gospels and the Psalms, in an extremely fine and compact handwriting, each copy not more than seven centimeters long. Three of these copies are preserved–one in the library of St. Mark's Monastery in Jerusalem, another in the Boston Library,[2] and the third in the possession of one of the priests in Mosul. From the artistic point of view, these manuscripts are considered a marvel.

Other calligraphers are Michael Barṣoum of ʿUrbish, metropolitan of Karkar (1590-1630), who transcribed the history of Michael the Great; his uncle, the monk Pilate Mukhtar (1584); the two monks Sahdo of Karkar (1599) and Micah of Wank (1606).

At the end of this book the reader will find a chronological catalogue of the names of these excellent men which were extracted from the invaluable manuscripts they copied. These manuscripts which survived destruction attest to their excellence. We have arranged them according to their dates of transcription beginning with the oldest dates.

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[1] Died February 27, 1947. (tr.)

[2] The translator labored long and hard to locate this MS. at the Boston Museum, but to no avail. Contacting the Boston Museum as well as the Public Library of Boston through a friend, he could find no trace of Syriac manuscripts. Finally, he discovered that this and many other Syriac manuscripts are preserved in the Houghton Library of Harvard University. (tr.)

CHAPTER SIX

MORPHOLOGY AND GRAMMAR

The Syrians mastered the speaking and writing of their language by instinct and by custom. They did not need rules to guide them into eloquence or protect them from error. They remained in this state for an exceedingly long time. But when they familiarized themselves with the principles of Greek grammar written by Dionysius of Corinth,[1] they translated it into their own language. According to Bar Zuʿbi,[2] the oldest Syriac grammar is attributed to Aḥudemeh, metropolitan of Takrit and all the East (d. 575), who based it on the principles of Greek grammar.

To Jacob of Edessa, however, belongs the credit for delineating the path of Syriac grammar and explaining its methods. Jacob wrote the first systematic book on grammar. Bar Hebraeus cited significant parts from it, which indicate the voluminousness of the original which has been lost to us. There remained only fragments of it, in which the author alluded to the defects of Syriac writing because of its concern with the consonants rather than vowels. And when the priest Paul of Antioch requested him to correct this faulty method, he answered that he had given some thought to this question. In fact, it had occurred to his predecessors, but their fear of the loss of these ancient books prevented them from attempting to do it. However, Jacob invented seven vowels to eliminate the deficiency. But the Syrians kept using the five vowels known to us

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[1] In the erratum on p. 231 of the Arabic text, the author corrected the name into Dionysius Thrax (fl. 100 B.C.), the author of the first Greek grammar. (tr.)

[2] Jacob Bar Zuʿbi, a Nestorian monk of Beth Ququ, Ḥidyab (near the present site of Arbil, in Iraq). He flourished about the end of the 12th century and the beginning of the 13th. He was a grammarian and wrote small and large books of grammar. He also wrote metrical homilies. He was the teacher of Severus Jacob Bar Shabbo. See W. Wright, *Syriac Literature*, 258-259. (tr.)

today, which were instituted by the Magdalene Syrian monks of Qarqafta Monastery, who vocalized the language of the Scriptures. In order to attain a correct reading, Jacob of Edessa also used thirty-six diacritical points, by which he completed the forms of letters.[1] It is believed that the stylite ascetic John of Atharb wrote a grammar book which had been mentioned by the ʿAbd Yeshuʿ of Ṣoba,[2] and partly cited by Bar Zuʿbi. The abbot David Bar Paul produced another work on grammar, of which only small portions remained. We notice, however, that Anton Rhetor does not mention these grammarians.

The grammar which we have today is represented by *The Dialogue* (in prose as well as in metrical form) by Jacob of Barṭelli. His sources are the Greek philosophers, the teachers of the Syrian schools and the *Book of Light* (or *Rays*) by Bar Hebraeus. This book, divided into four parts, deals with the dialects of the western Syrians, who are members of our communion, as well as those of

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[1] The diacritical points in Syriac, *fuḥome*, are either semantic or related to meaning. Those pertaining to meaning are more than forty in number. Each one is resembled by one or more dots fixed at the end of the word to indicate the different inflections of the voice while reading. They were mainly used in reading the Bible. These diacritical points were lost long ago and are not in use. See Msgr. David, *Grammaire de la Langue Araméenne*, Arabic, (Mosul, 1896), 304-315. Also J. B. Segal, *The Diacritical Points and the Accent in Syriac*, 1953. (tr.)

[2] ʿAbd Yeshuʿ ibn Mubarak (in Syriac, "Bar Brikha"), famous Nestorian writer, theologian and poet. He was nicknamed the "Ṣubāwī," not because he was born in Ṣoba (Nisibin), but because he was metropolitan of that city from 1285-1290. He died in 1318. He left many works, such as the *Compendium of the Commentary on the Old and New Testaments*, the Collection of Synodical canons, the Councils, the mysteries of Greek philosophy, the book of ecclesiastical decisions and canons, the *Pearl of Faith* and an anthology called the *Paradise of Eden*. In his anthology, which he unnecessarily filled with pretentious rhymed prose, ʿAbd Yeshuʿ tried to imitate the rhythmic prose (*maqāmāt*) of al-Ḥarīrī, to show that the Syriac language is no less rich and flexible than the Arabic. However, he exaggerated this rhythmic prose more than al-Ḥarīrī. See Georg Graf, *Geschichte der Christlichen Arabischen Literatur*, 214-216; Msgr. David, *Grammaire de la Langue Araméenne*, 677; Wright, 2: 285-288 ; Baumstark, 323-325; and Duval, 404, and Rev. Albert Abouna, *Adab al-Lugha al-Aramiyya* (*Literature of the Aramaic Nation*) (Beirut, 1970), 445-452. (tr.)

the eastern Syrians (Chaldeans and Nestorians). He also incorporated in it a chapter on Arabic grammar. It is considered the best, most complete and most exact work on grammar. It became a constitution for the students, an authority for the grammarians and a reliable source for the Syriac-speaking people. He also composed the chapters of his grammar in the heptasyllabic meter with commentaries in Syriac, in order to make it easier for the students to read. A third grammar, the *Book of the Spark*, was left unfinished by the author and is lost to us.

Another short treatise, composed by the Patriarch Ignatius Bar Wuhayb, dealt with the "hard" and "soft" letters in grammar. Both Patriarch Isaac ʿAzar (d. 1724) and Bishop Rizq Allah (d. 1772) left small works on morphology. In 1764, Chorepiscopus Jacob of Quṭrubul wrote an excellent book entitled *Zahrat al-Maʿārif* (*The Flower of Knowledge*) on Syriac grammar and morphology; this was later abridged either by him or by some of his contemporaries.

CHAPTER SEVEN

GRAMMAR, DICTIONARIES, RHETORIC AND POETRY

After Edessa, Melitene became the destination of the students of Syriac. In its cathedral flourished professors of grammar and philology, some of whom were mentioned by Bar Hebraeus in his *Ṣemḥe* (*The Book of Lights*). One of these grammarians was Eupdox of Melitene, who flourished in the eleventh or the twelfth centuries. He composed for his students a philological collection containing reading lessons, which he dictated to them. He marked these lessons with diacritical points and special signs to avoid confusion in reading. Later he collected them in a book which he published under his own name. Another grammarian, Jacob of Barṭelli, in his very useful book *The Dialogue*, devoted a special chapter to the Syriac language, its eloquence and the changes which came upon it.

The Western Syrians did not compile dictionaries, but relied on those of the eastern Syrians, namely, the physicians, Ḥunayn Ibn Isḥaq (d. 873), Yeshuʿ Bar ʿAli (d. 1001) and particularly al-Ḥasan Bar Bahlul al-Awāni al-Ṭirhāni (963). This latter work was interpolated by some of our writers, who borrowed many useful philological themes from the works of their predecessors. An insignificant abridgement of Bar Bahlul's dictionary was made in 1724 by the Maphryono Simon of Manʿim. We found a Syriac-Armenian copy of Bar Bahlul's dictionary, with a few Arabic terms, at the Boston Museum (MS. 3980),[1] copied by Bishop Ephraim Wanki of Karkar and completed in the year 1659. Undoubtedly it was translated into Armenian by a Syrian writer from Karkar.[2]

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[1] The Boston Museum which the author refers to is now the Houghton Library of Harvard University. (tr.)

[2] Except ancient dictionaries, the Syrians today rely on three modern dictionaries: *al-Lubāb*, by the Maronite priest Gabriel Cardahi, written between 1887 and 1891; *Kanz al-Lugha al-Suryāniyya* (*The Treasure of the Syriac Language*), by the Chaldean Bishop Tuma Odo, 1897; and *Dalīl al-*

Between 825 and 840, the monk Anton of Takrit (Anton Rhetor) composed his splendid work, *The Knowledge of Rhetoric*, in five treatises;[1] it has not been equaled by anyone before or since. Four of these treatises are devoted to eloquence, lucidity of composition and partly to philology which shows his creative ability. The fifth treatise is devoted to the art of poetry, its genres and meters. By this work he remedied a deficiency, created a hope for future works and made an excellent achievement.

The previously mentioned work, *The Dialogue*, contains a chapter on rhetoric and a unique treatise on the art of poetry, confined to the conditions of poetry up to the lifetime of the author, who died in 1241. It contains also a portion of the Syriac translation of Aristotle's *Poetics*, particularly concerned with tragedy, which had been translated by Abu Bishr into Arabic.[2]

The Syrian writers were also proficient in the writing of letters. Of the anthologies of letters those of the eminent learned men Jacob of Sarug, Philoxenus of Mabug and Severus of Antioch all of which were translated from the Greek, have reached us intact. Also the letter anthologies of Jacob of Edessa, George, bishop of the Arabs and David Bar Paul have reached us. Also some individual letters of the Patriarchs Paul II, Athanasius I, John III, Severus II, Athanasius II, Elijah I, John I, George I, Dionysius I, John IV, Michael I and Michael II and the Maphryonos Marutha and John I have survived. Other letters which have also survived are those of John of Tella, Thomas, bishop of Germanicia, Daniel of Ṣalaḥ, Jacob Baradaeus, Severus Sabukht, the Bishop Severus, John of Atharb, Thomas the Stylite, Anton of Takrit, Denḥa the philosopher, Bar Ṣalibi, and Bar Wahbun. The letters of Simon of Beth Arsham, John of Ephesus, and the two Patriarchs Quryaqos and John X Bar Shushan and many others have been lost. Our own

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Rāghibīn (*The Guide to Those Desirous for Knowledge*), by the Chaldean Bishop Jacob Awgen Manna, 1900.

[1] W. Wright erroneously thought that this work is in seven treatises. See A. Baumstark, *Geschichte der Syrischen Literatur*, 278. (tr.)

[2] The author refers to Abu Bishr Matthew ibn Yūnus al-Manṭiqī. For details on the translations and publication of the Arabic translation of Aristotle's *Rhetoric* by Abu Bishr, see Georg Graf, *Geschichte der Christlichen Arabischen Literatur*, 2 (Vatican City, 1960). See also ʿAbd al-Raḥman Badawi, *Fann al-Shiʿr* (Cairo, 1953). (tr.)

anthology of letters since ascending the throne of the Apostolic See in January 1933 until today, contains more than one hundred proclamations and letters.[1]

Syriac poetry was composed mainly to imprint religious teachings in the minds of the people and bestow upon the different types of prayer an aura of solemnity created by its melody. And when St. Ephraim achieved success through his poetry, he was followed and imitated by the succeeding generations.

Syriac poetry falls into two classifications: odes and songs. The odes are composed in three types of meter: the heptasyllabic meter, or the Ephraimite, created by St. Ephraim; the pentasyllabic meter or Balaite meter, invented by Mar Balai, bishop of Balsh; and the twelve-syllable meter, or the Sarugite, devised by Jacob of Sarug, bishop of Baṭnan. According to Anton of Takrit (in the fifth treatise of his book), our poets composed poetry in other meters of different syllables, right through the sixteen-syllable meter. The octasyllabic meter was invented by Anton himself, but it did not come into universal use.

Most of these odes were, however, composed for the purpose of recitation or chanting during the performance of worship and also to instill the people with religious principles and virtuous life. They were usually lengthy; for example, the two poems of Jacob of Sarug about the creation and the passion of Christ contained more than three thousand lines and the poem of Isaac of Edessa on the parrot which chanted the Trisagion contained two thousand one hundred and thirty-six lines.

The *madrosho* (metrical hymn)[2] resembles lyric poetry and is composed in lines of four to ten syllables. Some scholars have counted seventy-five melodies used for the authentic hymns or for those falsely attributed to St. Ephraim; some of them contain

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[1] We have also several communications sent by Patriarchs to Malabar in India, or written by some clergy of that country dating from 1754 to the present time. Most of these letters are predominantly trite and artless. The best of them are the letters of the Chorepiscopus Matthew Konat (d. 1927) and the priest Yaʿqub Saka (d. 1931).

[2] *Madrosho*, a church poetical hymn written in different metrical forms, created by Bar Daysan (d. 222) and later developed by St. Ephraim (d. 373), who increased their number to five hundred. (tr.)

refrains. These *madroshos* were preceded by a few opening words from a well-known hymn, to indicate the tune to be used.

One type of the *madrosho* is the *sughitho*, written in a dialogue form. The *sughitho* is composed in the heptasyllabic meter and alphabetically arranged, like the *sughithos* between the angel Gabriel and the Virgin Mary, between Mary and the Wise Men and between Abraham and the sacrificial lamb, written by George, bishop of the Arabs.

After they studied and mastered the Arabic language, the Syrians introduced rhyme into their poetry in the beginning of the ninth century to imitate the Arabs. They wrote their poems following one rhyme or using the same rhyme for every two or four lines. Later they used rhymed prose. At the end of the thirteenth century, the extremists among these poets began to imitate with exaggeration the Arabic rhetorical devices, such as paranomasia and antithesis. They forced themselves to compose poetry and thus marred their work with pretension and complexity, disrupting the delicate balance of form and content. Apparently, they were deceived by the poetry of Khamis Cardahi[1] and ʿAbd Yeshuʿ of Ṣoba (1290-1318), both Nestorian men of letters and by imitating them their poetry became appallingly poor and colorless.

Some of our later poets in the middle of the fifteenth, sixteenth and eighteenth centuries followed the path of ʿAbd Yeshuʿ of Ṣoba. They were the monk-priests Thomas and David of Ḥomṣ, the two Patriarchs Nuḥ the Lebanese in some of his poetry and Niʿmat Allah in his poor rhythmic prose, the two bishops Sergius of Ḥaḥ

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[1] Al-Shaykh Khamis Cardahi, a Nestorian priest of Arbil and a younger contemporary of Bar Hebraeus. He was also a contemporary to ʿAbd Yeshuʿ of Ṣoba and as a poet he was probably considered better with regard to style and lucidity than the Ṣubāwī. He left a medium-sized anthology, containing a few poems advocating his Nestorian theological doctrine. Of his masterpieces are his poems on the Annunciation of Mary and the Ascension of the Savior and a philosophical poem on the Separation of the Soul from the body. He died in 1350. For a specimen of his poetry, see P. D. Cardahi, *Liber Thesauri*, Arabic and Syriac, (Rome, 1875), 59. See also A. Baumstark, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur* (Bonn, 1922), 321-322; William Wright, *Syriac Literature* (London, 1894), 287; and Rubens Duval, *La Litterature Syriaque* (Paris, 1899), 403, and Albert Abouna, pp. 437-440. (tr.)

and Joseph the Iberian and Chorepiscopus Jacob of Quṭrubul. Opposed to these, however, other poets, such as Patriarch Bahnam of Ḥidl (d. 1454), Maphryono Simon of Tur ʿAbdin (d. 1740), the Bishop John of Manʿim (d. 1825) and Bishop Zaytun of Anḥil (d. 1855) imitated the old poets.

CHAPTER EIGHT

THEMES OF SYRIAC POETRY

The themes and purposes of Syriac poetry are:

1. The renunciation of worldly things and the call for repentance and the way of salvation. The greatest part of poetry, especially that of the glorious St. Ephraim and later that of Isaac and Jacob of Sarug, was devoted to these principles. Each one of them had his own masterpieces and gems of poetry. Likewise Bar Qiqi, in his very moving poem based on the Sarugite meter, lamented himself and portrayed his penitence.

2. Description. Theological themes and commentaries on the Bible, as well as the versification of most of its subjects, prevail in this kind of poetry. The eminent poet Jacob of Sarug was most important in this field. To David Bar Paul belongs a beautiful poem on the description of trees, their kinds and their fruits. George, bishop of the Arabs and Lazarus Bar Sobto wrote two distinguished poems describing the sacrament of the holy Chrism. In one of his poems, Anton of Takrit described the charm of the city of Rish ʿAyna. Moreover, Bar Hebraeus composed magnificent poetry in which he described springs and flowers. Another poet, David of Ḥomṣ, wrote a splendid poem on nostalgia.

3. Praise, used by our poets to exalt our Lord Christ, the Holy Church, its sacraments and mysteries, the virtues of the Virgin Mary and the categories of saints and martyrs. The poems of St. Ephraim describing the sacraments of the church and the virtue of celibacy combined subtlety of impression, descriptive charm, artistic splendor and beauty of theme. In this regard, his poem on the bishops of Nisibin is unique. Also unique are the poems of St. Jacob of Sarug praising the two prophets Moses and Elijah, St. Ephraim, John the Baptist, the Apostles Peter and Paul and the martyrs of Edessa. Beside their beauty and charm, these poems reveal the artistic proficiency and rhetorical mastery of their composers. Of the same category are the two poems of George, bishop of the Arabs, praising the martyrs of Sebaste and St.

Severus, the poem of Bar Paul in praise of Bishop John, highly artistic in its use of rhetoric and the two poems of Anton Rhetor praising Sergius and Joseph of Rish ʿAyna.

One of the finest poems is by Bar Ṣabuni in praise of Jacob of Sarug. But the most immortal one is the poem of Timothy of Karkar (composed in the Ephraimite or heptasyllablic meter) praising the Virgin Mary, distinguished for its lucid style, eloquence and fine composition. Further, Bar Hebraeus praised some of the church fathers of his time with poems of lasting charm and fluency. The poem of Abu Naṣr of Barṭelli, praising Mar Matthew the ascetic, was a great work of rhetoric indicating the ability of its composer to utilize all the various techniques of the art of poetry. To Bahnam of Ḥidl belong three excellent poems in praise of the martyrs Bahnam and Basus and their companions.

Of a mediocre quality are the two poems by Bar Wahbun in praise of Michael the Great and his nephew Yeshuʿ of Melitene, the poem of Michael the Great himself, praising John, metropolitan of Mardin and the two poems of Gabriel of Barṭelli on the lives of Bar Hebraeus and his brother al-Ṣafiy. Much inferior, however, are the two poems of Jacob of Barṭelli in praise of the noble physicians Fakhr al-Dawla and Taj al-Dawla of the Thomas family; their colorless and unnatural style is obvious. You find the good mingled with the bad in the poetry of Zaytun of Anḥil in praise of St. Gabriel of Qarṭmin and a good introductory verse with well-formulated lines by Jacob Saka, praising the dignitaries of his time.

4. Elegy. In one area of our Syriac poetry we find a touch of lamentation for the sinning soul and grief for the calamities which afflicted our country because of invasions or wars. Some of these elegies expressed lamentation over a sequence of events, such as the poems of Bar Maʿdani, describing the catastrophe of Edessa; Yeshuʿ Bar Khayrun, on the ordeal of the church of the Forty Martyrs in Mardin and the eastern countries; Isaiah of Basibrina, on the calamities of Tur ʿAbdin in the time of Tamerlane; the priest of Ḥabsnas and John of Basibrina, on the Kurdish invasion of their country, David of Ḥomṣ lamenting the loss of Syriac books; and the poems of Niʿmat Allah of Mardin lamenting his ordeal. The panegyrics of Joseph of Melitene and those of Bar Shushan lamenting the city of Melitene are lost to us.

In eulogizing men, none other than the masterful poet Bar Hebraeus has attained the high point of this genre of poetry, by the

thoroughly moving sentiments of sorrow which he expressed in mourning his brothers Muwaffaq and Michael. In these eulogies he poured forth his soul and uttered his verse with an unpretentious sincerity which rendered his efforts in this genre first-class, highly artistic poetry. His two panegyrics eulogizing the Maphryono Ṣaliba and the Patriarch John Bar Maʿdani are exemplary. Other poets also wrote eulogies, like the Patriarch Nuḥ, who composed a good poem eulogizing his master the ascetic priest Thomas of Ḥomṣ and the priest Jacob Saka, eulogizing Bahnam, metropolitan of Mosul and Joseph, metropolitan of Malabar in two poems of good style.

5. Satire. The Syrians did not write satirical poetry; thus their poetry was free from obscene and worthless language. However, one finds only a few poems censuring the heretics in support of religion and adherence to the orthodox faith. Of this type are the songs in which St. Ephraim rebuked Bar Daysan and Jacob of Sarug censured Nestorius. Connected with satire is censure and expostulation, represented by the poems of Anton of Takrit dispraising calumny and ingratitude. Moreover, the poem of Bar Andrew may be considered a sharp criticism of some clergymen in his days, similar to what Isaiah of Basibrina and Simon of Manʿim did in their two lengthy poems. Bar Hebraeus has few lines dispraising some of his contemporary leaders, but they are of a remonstrative, rather than a derogatory nature.

6. Aphorism and philosophy. A great deal of Syriac poetry contains aphorisms and enduring moral sentiments. Philosophical odes are to be found in the anthologies of Bar Maʿdani and Bar Hebraeus, such as those on the soul, perfection and the ways of the perfect. The poetry of Bar Hebraeus contains an exposition of the principles of Socrates. A twentieth-century Syrian, Naʿʿum Faʾiq, translated into Syriac, in metrical form, portions of the *Rubaʿiyyat* (Quatrains) of ʿUmar al-Khayyam.

7. Friendly ties and longing. A selection of poems of this sort is to be found in the poetry of Bar Hebraeus, which is full of tenderness and sweetness. They deal masterfully with the description of true friendship, communication with friends and enjoyment of their company. These poems are vivacious and colorful, adorned with exquisite introductory verses and lucid style, especially the poems in which he remonstrated his schoolmate Maphryono Ṣaliba of Edessa. Patriarch Nuḥ also has written a few eloquent lines of this nature.

8. Poetry of self-praise, heroism (*ḥamāsah*),[1] and erotic love (*nasīb*),[2] had no place among the Syrians. However, Bar Hebraeus excelled in spiritual love and his ode on *Divine Wisdom* which he adorned with splendid metaphors and charming similitude, is considered his most superb masterpiece. It is a choice ode, unequalled for its rich and profound meaning. Part of it was translated in a metrical form into Arabic by Master Butrus al-Bustani. It begins thus:

> So brightly wisdom shone in our world
> That even the sun was eclipsed by her light;
> Comely maiden, full-blown matron, rather, an old woman,
> She combined attributes no mortal might.

Many poets of a later period, like Jacob of Quṭrubul, John al-Bustani of Manʿim and Jacob Saka, tried to imitate Bar Hebraeus but failed to match his taLents.

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[1] Professor Nicholson translates *ḥamāsah* as fortitude; however, this translator believes that heroism is more expressive of the term than is fortitude. R. A. Nicholson, *A Literary History of the Arabs* (London, 1907), 129. (tr.)

[2] *Nasīb* was the traditional beginning theme of the Arabic ode, according to Professor Nicholson, *ibid.*, 77-78. (tr.).

CHAPTER NINE

CATEGORIES OF SYRIAN POETS

Among the Syrian poets are found the genius, the gifted craftsman and those who combine the qualities of each. You also find the mediocre poet and, finally, the scribbler of verse.

In the first category St. Ephraim stands out as a highly talented and immortal poet who won the crown of poetical genius by his masterpieces. He translated the details of Christian doctrine and its mysteries into splendid poetry which poured out of his heart without artificiality or constraint. His successful artistic style, bearing his own stamp and seal, has never been imitated. Among the strong characteristics of his poetry are affluence, profundity, innovation, powerful style and the ability to handle adroitly the varieties of poetic creation.

Under the second heading comes Jacob of Edessa, Bar Sobto, Bar Qiqi, Bar Ṣabuni and Bar Andrew. Bar Andrew expertly formed his style and worded his verse with marked spontaneity. Most of his poetry could well be placed within the first category.

Those who combine the faculties of genius and giftedness are Isaac of Amid, Isaac of Edessa, Jacob of Sarug, and Bar Hebraeus. Jacob of Sarug is distinguished for the creation and thorough examination of new concepts. Despite the length of his poems, which number in the hundreds, his poetry was still sound and intact. The reader is immediately struck by the unlimited abundance and by the penetrating spark of poetry which suggests to him that he is undoubtedly facing a messenger inspired by a divine power. Bar Hebraeus overwhelms you with his elegant expression, lucid style, natural rhyme and his various enchanting, delicate, harmonious and artistic forms. He opens his poems with an exquisite introduction which leaves the reader no other choice than to follow him to the end. But when the reader has reached this end, he finds himself more anxious to discover what is beyond this point and the next and the one following. Bar Hebraeus' impeccable poems especially his masterpieces reveal the power of

his spirit and art and the vastness of his knowledge and poetical ability. Indeed, very few other poets were able to achieve such harmony and simplicity in their poetry.

Famous for their illuminating introductions, clear expression and exquisite style are Cyrillona, Asuna, Balai and Jacob of Edessa, particularly in his *madrosho* on the Passion of Christ.

In the mediocre category come Anton of Takrit, Ezekiel of Melitene, Abu Naṣr al-Barṭelli, al-Ḥidli, Nuḥ the Lebanese and Simon of Tur ʿAbdin. Their poetry is characterized by pleasant introduction, purity, smoothness and powerful style. The poetry of the latter two, however, is more fluent and natural, except for the few instances in which Nuḥ the Lebanese employed a forced rhyme. The later poets, as well as the scribblers of verse have produced both good and bad poetry. The composition of their poetry is a technical rather than artistic process. This is why they sometimes succeeded in presenting their art and sometimes failed. They were followed by another type of scribblers of verse, whose poetic compositions were marked by primitiveness, inferiority and monotony and showed little excellence.

We may now classify these poets into four categories.[1] The first includes St. Ephraim (d. 373), Asuna and Cyrillona (d. 400), Isaac of Amid, Rabula (d. 435), Isaac of Edessa and Simon the Potter (d. 514) and his group (the potters), Jacob of Sarug (d. 521), Jacob of Edessa (d. 708), George, bishop of the Arabs (d. 725), Bar Sobto (d. 829), Bar Qiqi (d. 1016), Bar Ṣabuni (d. 1095) the Karkarite (d. 1143), Bar Andrew (d. 1156), Bar Maʿdani (d. 1263) and Bar Hebraeus (d. 1286).

The second includes Samuel, the disciple of Mar Barṣoum, David Bar Paul (800),[2] Anton of Takrit (840), Denḥa, Ezekiel of Melitene (905), Abu Naṣr al-Barṭelli (1290), Isaiah of Basibrina (d.

[1] The classification of the Syrian poets into four categories tends to be confusing, especially in the absence of a clearly defined principle for making the division. In the opening paragraph, Barṣoum mentions "the genius, the gifted craftsman, those who frequently combine the qualities of each, the mediocre poet, the later ones and finally, the scribbler of verse." It is not clear from the text just how these six kinds are to be grouped into four categories. (tr.)

[2] In the erratum at the end of the book, the author placed the death of Bar Paul in the second decade of the ninth century. (tr.)

1425), Bahnam of Ḥidl (d. 1454), Malke Sāqo (1490), Nuḥ the Lebanese (d. 1509) and Maphryono Simon (d. 1740).

In the third category are Bar Wahbun (d. 1193), Michael the Great (d. 1199), Ḥananya al-Gharīb (the stranger) (d. 1220), Jacob of Barṭelli (in his versified grammar only) (d. 1241), Gabriel of Barṭelli (d. 1300), Yeshuʿ Bar Khayrun (d. 1335), Ṣaliba Bar Khayrun (d. 1340), Bar Shayʾ Allah (d. 1493), David of Ḥomṣ (d. 1500), Masʿud of Zāz (d. 1512), Niʿmat Allah Nur al-Din (d. 1587), John of Khudayda (d. 1719), the Quṭrubulli (d. 1783), John al-Bustani (d. 1825), Zaytun of Anḥil (d. 1855), Naʿʿum Faʾiq (d. 1930) and Jacob Saka (d. 1931).

The fourth category includes Bar Ghalib (d. 1177), Ḥasan Abu Zaruqa, Yeshuʿ of Basibrina (d. 1490), Isaac al-Jazri (d. 1495), ʿAbdo of Ḥaḥ (d. 1504), the priest of Ḥabsnas (d. 1505), Sergius of Ḥaḥ (d. 1508), Joseph the Iberian (d. 1537), Bar Ghurayr (d. 1685), Hidayat Allah of Khudayda (d. 1693), John of Basibrina (d. 1729), Bar Mirijan (d. 1804) and George of Azekh (d. 1847).

Some of these poets, like St. Ephraim and St. Jacob of Sarug, were so prolific that the poetry they composed during their lifetime would fill many volumes. Slightly less prolific poets, like Isaac, filled voluminous anthologies. Bar Hebraeus and Bar Paul, as well as the composer of pieces of poetry,[1] were moderate. Cyrillona and those like him were much less productive. We have even found poets who wrote only one poem or even few lines of poetry.

The poets whose anthologies have been collected and preserved are: St. Ephraim, Isaac (of Amid), Jacob of Sarug, David Bar Paul, Anton of Takrit, Bar Andrew, Bar Maʿdani, Bar Hebraeus, Nuḥ the Lebanese, Simon of Tur ʿAbdin and Jacob Saka. On the other hand, the poets whose poems we can neither describe nor criticize because they are unavailable are Wafā the Aramaean, Bar Daysan (d. 222), Simon Bar Ṣabbaʿi (d. 344), Aba, ʿAbsmayya (d. 400), Dada of Amid and Marutha of Miyapharqin (d. 420), the Patriarch George I (d. 790), Simon Bar ʿAmraya (d. 815), Joseph of Melitene (d. 1055), Bar Shushan (d. 1072) and Bar Ṣalibi (d. 1171).

Also, we have some anonymous poems, among which is an ode about Uriyya the Ḥittite; these were in the five, seven and twelve-

[1] This translator has been unable to identify this composer of pieces of poetry. (tr.)

syllable meters and were composed before the eleventh century.[1] We have also read a poem in the same style by later poets. Another magnificent poem in the heptasyllabic meter concerns the Feast of the Ears of Corn and the praise of the Virgin; it opens with "O Christ, the bread of heaven, who descends from the heights to earth." It was probably composed by Bar Shushan. Another eloquent poem in praise of Jacob of Sarug is also attributed to Bar Shushan,[2] as well as a twelve-syllable meter poem on St. Quryaqos the Martyr,[3] two poems and a *sughitho* (song) about the two martyrs Bar Sabbaʿi and Bar Baʿshmin,[4] a poem on Shaliṭa the hermit,[5] and a splendid rhymed heptasyllabic *sughitho*, alphabetically arranged, usually recited at meals and during the drinking of wine.[6] This latter begins with: "Thee I praise, O Lord,"[7] and twenty-two edifying, gnomic, alphabetically arranged poems, the first of which contains one *Olaph*, the second contains one *Beth* and so forth.[8]

[1] The collection of yearly homilies in Basibrina.

[2] St. Mark's Library in Jerusalem MS. 156 dated 1467.

[3] Commented on by the monk Yeshuʿ of Basibrina.

[4] To be found in Basibrina copied by the monk Malke Sāqo.

[5] In the village of Arbo; finished in the 19th century.

[6] It was the custom of monks, especially, in big monasteries to recite *sughithos* at meal times. This custom has persisted until this day, but instead of the *sughithos*, a monk or a cleric usually reads chapters of the Holy Bible. (tr.)

[7] In Diyarbakir.

[8] Birmingham MS. 338, Berlin MS. 315 from the letters *gomal* to *taw*.

CHAPTER TEN

VERSIONS OF THE HOLY BIBLE

The Old Testament has two versions in Syriac. The simple version, the Pshiṭto, is called thus because its translation is plain and simple. The date of its translation, however, is subject of controversy among scholars. Some of these scholars claim that its introductory chapters were translated from the Hebrew into Syriac in the time of Solomon, son of David and Hiram, King of Tyre. Others are of the opinion that it was translated by Āsa, the priest. However, both of these views are poor and refutable. Still others hold that it was translated in Jerusalem by order of King Abgar of Edessa and St. Addai the Apostle. More correctly, the Pshiṭto was translated by a group of Christianized Jews in the first century.

The second version, the Syro-Hexapla, was rendered by St. Paul of Tell Mawzalt, 615-617, by order of Athanasius I, Patriarch of Antioch after the Hexapla of Origen, i.e., the Greek translation based on six sources.[1] The Syro-Hexapla translation became the scholars' foundation for interpreting the Holy Scriptures. Bar Hebraeus often refers to it in his commentary *Awṣar Roze* (*Storehouse of Secrets*) under its name in the Greek translation. He also devotes a chapter to it in his large book of grammar *Ṣemḥe* (*The Book of Lights*)[2] in which he cited twelve testimonies from the books of both Testaments proving the precision of the Syro-Hexapla rather than the Pshiṭto in order to show the correctness of the first and also to close the gate of dispute and controversy in this matter.

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[1] The statement in the text is not quite right. The first column of the Hexapla is in Hebrew not Greek. (tr.)

[2] Chapter 6, part 4 of the last treatise.

Later on the reader will come across a special translation of the Psalms rendered by Simon, abbot of the Monastery of Liqin, in the first quarter of the seventh century.[1]

The New Testament had three translations. The first is the simple translation made at the close of the first and the beginning of the second centuries. This version contained all the books of the New Testament except the second and the third epistles of St. John, the second epistle of St. Peter and the epistle of St. Jude. The second is the Philoxenian translation rendered by Chorepiscopus Polycarp under the direction of Mar Philoxenus, metropolitan of Mabug, in the year 505. The third is the Harklean translation from the Greek by Thomas of Harkel, bishop of Mabug, in 616.

The two Testaments also had another translation made according to the dialect of Palestine. It is the newest of all the formerly mentioned translations of which only a few portions survive.

[1] ʿAli ibn Rabban al-Ṭabari (about 860) mentioned in his book *Religion and State*, pp. 67, 81 and 84, that Mark has translated the Syriac *Pshiṭto* of the Old Testament. We know nothing about this Mark and his translation.

THE DIATESSARON[1]

The Diatessaron, i.e., "through the Four", is the Greek word for the unified Gospels containing the life and divine teachings of Christ. According to Eusebius of Caesarea and a group of our Syrian scholars until the thirteenth century, it was compiled in fifty-five chapters (around 172/173) by Tatian of Adiabene by birth, who was also called the Assyrian.

Contemporary scholars sharply disagree about the Diatessaron. Some of them think that Tatian compiled it in Greek and then he or others translated it into Syriac. Others think he compiled it in Syriac. These scholars also have different opinions regarding the text of the Syriac translation which he used. A group of them conjecture that he used the Pshiṭto before it was revised,[2] others think that he used an old translation other than the Pshiṭto such as the Syrian Antiochian translation known today as the Sinai Version (Sinaiticus), so-called because its copy was found in Mount Sinai Monastery in 1892, in the MS. 30 transcribed by John the Stylite at the Monastery of St. Canon in the Maʿarrat Miṣrin in the year 698 or 789. This version was published by Mrs. Lewis in 1910. Still others think that he used the translation discovered by Cureton in the British Museum MS. 14450, which was transcribed in the fifth century and published in 1858 and is called the Curetonian Gospels. It was republished by Burkitt in 1901, but this and the former edition are incomplete. Contemporary scholars also disagree about the date of these two translations. The reason probably is the scarce information given by ancient scholars about Tatian and his compilation.

The Diatessaron was well received by the Syrians in Edessa and the two provinces of the Euphrates and Mesopotamia for its smooth style, excellent composition and chronological arrangement. They called it "The Mixed Gospel". They used it in

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[1] This chapter appears in the original at the end of the book. It is inserted here in its proper place (as the author indicated), but without a chapter number to retain the order of chapters with the Arabic original. (tr.)

[2] Some critics are of the opinion that it was revised for the last time at the beginning of the fifth century.

their churches and re-published it extensively. Aphrahat quoted it, Ephraim commented upon it and his commentary today survives in an Armenian manuscript transcribed in 1195 and translated into Latin and published by Aucher in 1876.

The Diatessaron was in use until the first quarter of the fifth century when it's use was abolished by Rabula, metropolitan of Edessa, to protect the integrity of the revealed Book (the Holy Bible). At that time, he introduced the separate Gospels, which it is said he had revised according to the Greek origin, in its place. He was followed by Theodoret of Cyrus who eliminated more than two hundred copies in his diocese. Subsequently, its circulation in the church was stopped and the copies that remained were used only for general reading.[1] A copy of the Diatessaron was, however, found in the middle of the ninth century in the handwriting of ʿIsa Bar ʿAli, the physician and disciple of Ḥunayn bin Isḥaq, whose translation into Arabic was ascribed to the priest-monk Abu al-Faraj ʿAbd Allah Ibn al-Ṭayyib in the middle of the eleventh century. This Arabic version was translated into Latin and published by the priest Augustine Ciasca in 1888. Also, it was twice translated into English and into German in 1896 and 1926. The idea, however, of compiling the four Gospels in one had occurred to more than one Christian scholar. The oldest among these were Theophilus, Patriarch of Antioch (d. 180), according to Jerome[2], Ammonius of Alexandria, who is thought to have died around 226 and Elijah the Syrian, while he was bishop of Salamya, in the beginning of the ninth century. But when, in the middle of the ninth century, the monk Daniel of Beth Bāṭīn assigned Biblical lessons for the Week of Passion, he restored the use of the Diatessaron and in some chapters sought the assistance of the Harklean version. Further, a few Coptic scholars around the thirteenth century intended to make an Arabic compilation of the Diatessaron following the method of Ibn al-Ṭayyib, to which they appended two tracts on the genealogy of Christ our Lord and His resurrection. These tracts had not been included in the Diatessaron of Tatian which opened only with the five verses of the first chapter of the Gospel of St. John. A transcribed copy of this

[1] Only fifteen lines remained of the Diatessaron in Greek and an insignificant portion in Syriac.

[2] His letter *ad algesium.*

Arabic version in the fourteenth century is preserved at the Vatican library.

As for Tatian, he was born a heathen around the year 110 and studied literature, oration, history and philosophy in Greek and journeyed throughout Greece. His journey led him to Rome where he read the Old Testament, liked it and preferred it to the writings of the philosophers. He embraced Christianity and was associated with Justin of Neapolis, the philosopher, saint and martyr.[1] He established or followed the principles of that sect of Anchorites called "The extremely chaste". He was excommunicated from the church. To some critics the reason for his excommunication was some erroneous and dangerous phrases which he used in his writings. He returned to his country, or most likely to Edessa where he died around 180 or shortly after it. He was a vessel of knowledge and a philosopher too. He composed many works in Greek, all of which are lost except his harsh and censuring letter to the Greeks. No writing of his is known in Syriac except the Diatessaron which most of the scholars think was either compiled or translated by him.[7]

[1] *al-Durar al-Nafisa* (The Precious Pearls) by this author, 244-247. E. R. Hayes, *L' École d' Edesse* (Paris, 1930), 42-63. Duval, *La Litterature Syriaque* (1907), 37-38. Baumstark, pp. 19-21; Chabot, p. 20; Pierre Batiffol, *La Litterature Grecque* (Paris, 1898), 88-90; the *Compendium of the Patrologia* by Tixeront, 52-55. Duchesne, *Ancient Church History*, 1: 1 and 211-212, and 2: 612. The Four Gospels in Syriac transcribed from the Sinaitic Palimpsest by the late Robert L. Bensly, Rendel Harris and Crawford Burkitt with an introduction by Agnes Smith Lewis, 5-6, The Arabic Diatessaron published by the monk Marmarji, 8-11, 87-89 of the introduction and 1-6 of the Appendix in which the editor doubted its translation by Ibn al-Ṭayyib because of its philological and grammatical mistakes.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

SYRIAC DIACRITICS

Syrian philologists knew rules of pronounciation only by tradition. Teachers of the Holy Bible, according to the Pshiṭto version starting with the Psalms, usually directed their pupils to read and vocalize correctly. They taught them the forming of letters, intonation, the marking of vowel signs and the fixing of diacritical points over words. This methodology began in the School of Edessa at the beginning of the fifth century from whence it was transmitted into the School of Nisibin. It was usually divided into three parts. The first, contained vocalized and accentuated copies of the Old Testament; the second, included tracts on diacritical and vowel points; and the third, contained tracts on vague and strange terminology. Malphono Sabroy, the founder of the school of Beth Shāhāq, is accredited with introducing this methodology into the orthodox schools of the East.

In 705, St. Jacob of Edessa revised the vocalization of the Old Testament text at the Monastery of Talʿada and elaborated on the system of vowel-signs, thus completing the system which we have today. He divided the Holy Scriptures into chapters, wrote an introduction about the contents of each and made many marginal notes on the text, together with the correct pronunciation of words, containing studies of the Greek as well as the Syriac versions of the Bible. A group of these Biblical books survive in ancient manuscripts written between 719 and 720.

Eminent philological scholars among the monks of Qarqafta Monastery in Magdal, a village on the Khabur river not far from present day Rish ʿAyna and al-Ḥasaka, followed the steps of Jacob of Edessa. Their work led to what became commonly known as the Qarqafite Tradition. In Rish ʿAyna two prominent scholars flourished, Sanṭa Ṭubana who lived in a monastery in that district and Deacon Saba. Saba had a vast knowledge of the science of philology and a great mastery of the orthographic rules of the Holy Scriptures. He was a man of piety too.

According to Bar Bahlul in his dictionary (columns 1363 and 1364), whenever Ṭubana and Saba finished the vocalizing of a chapter they affixed their initials at the end. Books, which had been transcribed by Saba in 724 and 726, have also reached us, indicating the progress in this art in that period. Among the scholars who worked in this art were Brother Abraham of the Monastery of Quba between 724-726[1], Simon of the village of Tell Kummathri, abbot of the Monastery of Ouspholis and Theodosius of Tella, the organizer,[2] Bishop George in 736,[3] Abraham of Ḥaḥ and his disciple the deacon Rubil in 817,[4] and Basil, Samuel, Simon and Gabriel in the Monastery of Murayba in 841.[5]

MS. 168 of the British Museum contains the Book of Psalms vocalized by the two monks Samuel and Matthew of the Monastery of the Eastern Syrians in 600. Another, MS. 171 in the same library, contains an old copy of the Gospels compared and vocalized by the priest of the village of Nahra and his two disciples John Bar Daniel al-ʿArabi and deacon John the Arab from Unamra.

These traditional books do not furnish the entire text of the Holy Scriptures. They are confined only to the verses whose pronunciation needs adjustment or to those that differ in both the Greek and Syriac translations. The reader will find that the pronunciation of these verses has been accurately accentuated despite the difference in the copying of these texts. Some of these philologists added to the Scriptures selected pieces from the works of our doctors Dionysius the Areopagite, Basilius, Gregory Nazianzen, Gregory of Nyssa, and Severus of Antioch. Some of these were engaged in vocalizing the works of St. Ephraim, Jacob of Edessa, Anton of Takrit, and the lives and histories of the saints.

We have found twelve old copies of these traditional books, which are dated between 980 and 1205. One copy of these books at the Zaʿfaran Monastery MS. 241, is dated 1000 and another more recent copy at St. Mark's Monastery in Jerusalem, MS. 42, was written at the end of the fifteenth century. The British Museum has a unique Nestorian copy finished in 899. Another British Museum

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[1] Bibliothèque Nationale MS. 58, Paris.

[2] Brit. Mus. MS. 40.

[3] Bibliotheca Vaticana MS. 13.

[4] Brit. Mus. MS. 24.

[5] Cambridge, add. MS. 1903.

MS. 163, contains the last volume of St. Severus vocalized by the two monks Samuel and Thomas of the Monastery of John of Nayrab in 563. The library of St. Mark in Jerusalem also contains the book of Patriarch Quryaqos vocalized by the priest Theodorus of Takrit of the Pillar Monastery in 806, who, it appears, became metropolitan of Marʿash (Germanicia) between 825 and 834.

CHAPTER TWELVE

COMMENTARIES ON THE OLD AND NEW TESTAMENTS

The Syrian scholars devoted their utmost efforts to studying and commenting on the Holy Scriptures. Had the many volumes of commentaries not been lost we would have today a complete library of these alone. The oldest of these commentaries belongs to St. Ephraim who wrote them while teaching at the School of Edessa. Yet all that survived was the commentary on Genesis, a great part of Exodus and scattered verses from other books of the Scriptures. His commentary on the New Testament has been lost too, but an exposition of many Biblical verses in his poems and homilies can be found.

St. Ephraim's disciple, Aba, wrote a commentary on the Gospels, a discourse on the Book of Job and an exposition of the ninth verse of the forty-second Psalm. Jacob of Sarug wrote many *memre* (metrical homilies) containing copious commentaries on numerous subjects in the Holy Bible. The commentary of Philoxenus of Mabug on the Gospels has reached us. Moreover, we have the commentaries of Anba John Bar Aphtonia on the Song of Songs, of Daniel of Ṣalaḥ on the Psalms in three volumes and of Marutha, Maphryono of Takrit, on the Gospels which has been quoted by the monk Severus of Antioch. The commentary of Jacob of Edessa on the Holy Bible has also reached us either in his private writings or epistles.

None of the commentaries of George, bishop of the Arabs, have reached us except those quoted by later commentators. Furthermore, Rabban Lazarus of Beth Qandasa compiled a commentary on some of the Pauline Epistles and Patriarch George I commented on the Gospel of St. Matthew. John of Dara has a commentary of which nothing is known other than quotations in Bar Ṣalibi's commentary on the New Testament. From Moses Bar Kepha, metropolitan of Baremman and expositor of the New and Old Testaments, we have portions of the commentary on Genesis

and the Gospels of Matthew, Luke and John, as well as those of the Epistles of St. Paul.

According to Bar Hebraeus in his *Awṣar Roẓe* (*Storehouse of Secrets*), other commentators were the priest andrew of Jerusalem, deacon Zurʿa of Nisibin (quoted by Bar Ṣalibi in his commentary on the Old Testament) and Rabban John, the disciple of Marun, who wrote a commentary on the Book of Ecclesiastes.

Most prominent in this field is Jacob Bar Ṣalibi, metropolitan of Amid (d. 1171), who contributed elaborate commentaries on both Testaments. In these masterful commentaries he cited the opinions of the erudite commentators before him. He commented on the Old Testament in many volumes and then abridged his work with a commentary of adequate length. Unfortunately, his first commentary was lost but the second survived. Furthermore, his commentary on the New Testament has become authoritative. Bar Hebraeus" *Awṣar Roẓe* contains a commentary on the Old and New Testaments which he adorned with rare traditional as well as philological material. He also made observations on previous commentaries which uncovered and solved problems with unequaled erudition. Besides, the Maphryono Barṣoum II al-Maʿdani (d. 1454) abridged and commented upon Bar Ṣalibi's commentary on the Gospels, Patriarch Bahnam of Ḥidl made a selection of the commentaries of the Daniel of Ṣalaḥ on the Psalms and David of Ḥomṣ abridged parts of the same commentary.[1]

It may be known that the pioneer commentators until the eighth century provided us with the results of their endeavors. Their commentaries varied from short to long. The commentators of the second period made use of the works of their predecessors, especially the commentaries by the leading Christian fathers like Ephraim, Basilius, John Chrysostom, Cyril and Severus, as well as the Syrian commentators who followed them. They chose from their opinion whatever they desired, added to them what they thought they could add and, to a small extent, developed these commentaries. Thus, Bar Ṣalibi after presenting the different opinions on the subject leaves it up to the reader to choose what he thinks the most appropriate for him.

[1] In the second part, you will see the centers in which the transcription of these commentaries was made.

The method used by these commentators was either to comment on the text verse by verse or confine their commentary to a group of verses. Some of them, however, followed the method of the School of Antioch which emphasized the literal meaning. Others followed the method of the School of Alexandria which emphasized the symbolic and spiritual meaning, while still others such as Bar Ṣalibi combined both methods.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

APOCRYPHAL WRITINGS

In ancient times some writers fabricated apocryphal treatises of the Old Testament which were spread among the Eastern Christians especially the Syrians. Among these are the *Parva Genesis* or *The Book of Jubilees*, the *Testament of Adam* of which only fragments remain,[1] the Book entitled the *Cave of Treasures*[2] ascribed to St. Ephraim and the *Conversation of Moses with God on Mount Sinai* published by Hall in Chicago in 1888. In 1887, William Wright published a Psalm and four songs, one of which was Psalm 151, which begins, "I was young in the house of my father", taken from the Syro-Hexapla. The first song was the prayer of King Hezekiah

[1] See Mihaly Kmosko, *Patrologia Syriaca*, 2: 1319-1360.

[2] The original title of this book is *The Succession of the Tribes and the Cave of Treasures.* It consists of 120 pages. According to Orientalists this book was either written in Edessa or Mesopotamia in the sixth century. Its essence is that when Adam was expelled from Paradise he resorted to a cave in a neighboring mountain. In this cave he deposited the gold, frankincense and myrrh which he carried with him from Paradise. In this cave, he and the Patriarchs that followed him were buried after the flood. His remains as well as the gold, frankincense and myrrh were carried by Noah to the Ark. After Noah's death, Shem and Melchizedek deposited these relics in the middle of the earth at Golgotha (Calvary). The story goes on to describe the events until the time of the Passion of Christ. The book was heavily quoted by the monk of Zuqnin in his *Chronicle*, 1: 6-9, and after. It was published by Bezold in Leipzig in 1883, translated into German. Bezold also published an Arabic translation drawn from four manuscripts, while Mrs. Gibson published another Arabic translation different from the mentioned text in the *Semitic Studies*, vol. 8 (1901). See also Brit. Mus. MSS. 25875 and 7199, 16th century; Sachau MS. 131 dated 1862; Vatican 164 dated 1702; Se'ert MSS. 141 dated 1239, 113, 18th century; Urmiah MS. 90 dated 1594 and Basibrina. Also, Birmingham MS. 518 dated 1487, MS. 567 dated 1744, MS. 355 dated 1791, MS. 258 dated about 1570, MS. 11 about 1702. The latter manuscript contains 72 pages only. (tr.)

when he was pressed by his enemies, the second was the song of the Israelites when Cyrus permitted them to return to their country, the third and the fourth were the songs chanted by King David after he wrestled with and killed the wolf and the lion which had each snatched a lamb from his flock. Also, the *Apocalypse of Baruch* was published by Ceriani in the Book of Ezra and the fourth book of Maccabees.[1] The latter was republished by Barnes with six Syriac texts relating to the martyrdom of the Maccabees. Mention has also been made of the story of Aḥiqar (abridged from an Aramaic copy written earlier than the Book of Tobit in the seventh or fifth centuries B.C.) which was published by Rendel Harris in Cambridge in 1898 and translated into French by François Nau in 1909.

The apocryphal writings of the New Testament translated from the Greek are extensive. There is, however, an obvious difference between them and the originals such as the Testament of Our Lord which appears in the *Constitutiones Apostolorum*, believed to have been written in the beginning of the fifth century, the fabricated Gospel of the Infancy of our Lord also written in the fifth century and later the *Doctrina Apostolorum* written in the middle of the third century, the letter of St. Jacob, bishop of Jerusalem, to the Christian Italian Cydorotus informing him of the judgment of Tiberius Caesar against the Jews and the minutes of the trial of our Lord before Pontius Pilate (which was copied from the Gospel of Nicodemus together with the letters of Herod and Pilate whose copy was found in the *Didascalia Apostolorum* preserved in our Church in Midyat and is believed to have been transcribed around the eighth century). It was published by Msgr. Raḥmani in the second volume of his *Studia Syriaca*.[2]

Regarding the story of the Virgin Mary and the Life of Our Lord on Earth, it may be said that they were abridged from the protevangelium Jacobi and the Gospels of St. Matthew, the Gospel of the Infancy of Our Lord or the Gospel of St. Thomas the Hebrew and the Gospel of the Nativity and Assumption of the

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[1] See Ceriani, *Monumenta*. Mihaly Kmosko also published the translation of the Apocalypse of Baruch from the Greek into Syriac with the Latin translation of the Epistle of Baruch.

[2] J. E. Rahmani, *Studia Syriaca sue collectio documentarum hactenus indeditorum* (Sharfa, 1904). (tr.)

Virgin in six chapters (extant in many libraries, one being a copy from our patriarchal library in Ḥomṣ finished in 1468; it was translated into English and published by Wright in London in 1865,[1] and was republished by Mrs. A. Lewis in 1902 from a copy in the Library of Mount Sinai.) The story of the Virgin Mary was translated into English and published by Budge in 1899.

Moreover, there survive in Syriac only the Story of Pilate, the Funeral of the Virgin, the Apocalypse of St. Paul, the Death of John and the Acts of Matthew andrew and Thecla.[2] The Gospel of the Apostles written in the eighth century was published by Rendel Harris in 1900. A great many copies of the Acts and martyrdom of Peter and Paul, the Life of St. John, the Acts of Philip and the Apostle Thomas called Judas Thomas also survive. There are several copies of these acts apparently written in Syriac around 332 with a Gnostic touch especially the Song of the Soul which is unique and of authentic Syriac origin. It was versified in a six-syllable meter containing one hundred and five refrains. It was edited, translated and published by Bevan in 1897. Also preserved in Syriac are the texts of two treatises on virginity ascribed to St. Clement of Rome (d. 101), but they were most likely written at the end of the third or in the fourth century. The apocryphal teaching of Peter in Rome is of much later period and is remotely connected with the apocryphal Acts of this Apostle.

[1] W. Wright, *Contributions to the Apocryphal Literature of the New Testament* (1865). (tr.)

[2] See Wright, *Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles*, 2 volumes (1871). (tr.)

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

SEMI-APOCRYPHAL LITERATURE

We may add to the semi-apocryphal literature the following:

1. The *Didascalia Apostolorum.* No one would ignore the value of this magnificent ancient work which has become the foundation for the six books known as *Constitutiones Apostolorum.* The *Didascalia* contains the different canons of the entire church: categories, ranks, conditions and religious duties of the faithful such as prayer, fasting and the like. It is established that these canons were instituted by some pious church fathers in the beginning of the third century taken from the traditions of their predecessors, the evangelists who in turn received them from the Apostles. They modified them according to the traditions and customs of their time and ascribed them to the twelve Apostles. The Greek origin of the *Didascalia* is lost, but thanks be to God, an ancient Syriac copy which dates back to the third century, i.e., very close to the date of its writing, has survived. It was published by Paul de Lagarde in Leipzig in 1852 according to a copy in Paris which was given as a gift by the Archduke of Tuscany to Eusèbe Renaudot in the beginning of the eighteenth century and was republished by Mrs. Gibson in 1903 in London and also translated into many European languages, for example French, (by François Nau in 1912). A copy of the *Didascalia* completed in 1204 is preserved in our library at Ḥomṣ.

2. *The Doctrine of Addai*, is a very old treatise indicating the existence of the Apostle Addai and his successor Aggai. It avers that when the King of Edessa, Abgar the Black, heard of the news of Christ and the healing which he did without medicine in Palestine, he wrote to Christ, inviting Him to Edessa to cure the king of his disease and share his kingdom with him. The Lord Jesus replied that before His ascension into heaven He would entrust one of His Apostles to cure the king physically and spiritually. Addai, the Apostle who was designated for this task, visited the king after the Pentecost, cured him and called him to Christianity.

The king as well as pagans and Jews embraced the new faith. Subsequently, Addai destroyed the heathen temples and built the first church in Edessa which he administered until the end of his days, appointing Aggai his successor. He was buried in the tombs of the Edessan Kings. Orientalists believe that this event took place in the middle of the second century, but in our *Ecclesiastical History* we have proved that it took place in the first century.[1]

Eusebius the historian knew this doctrine in its original copy, but additions were made to it at the end of the fourth century such as the story of the messenger of King Abgar presenting to him the picture of Christ, the imaginary story of the discovery of the Cross by Brotonica, wife of Claudius Caesar (A.D. 41-54), which, of course, was derived from the story of the Empress Helen. It was translated and published by G. Phillips in London in 1876.

In St. Mark's Library in Jerusalem there is a copy of the Testament of our Lord written by Clement in eight chapters, the second book of Clement translated by Jacob of Edessa into Syriac in 687 and the Doctrine of Addai under Nos. 153 and 247.

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[1] See *Al-Durar al-Nafisa*, pp. 76 and 197, by this author. For more information on the *Doctrine of Addai* see Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, book 1, xxxii, and William Cureton, *Ancient Syriac Documents* (London, 1864), 24-35. (tr.)

CHAPTER FIFTEEN

CHURCH LITURGIES

It is obvious that church rituals (i.e., liturgies), namely, obligatory prayers and Holy Sacraments, in essence date back to the beginning of Christianity. For the Church of God could not do without the supplicatory prayers recited during the worship, the celebration of the Divine Eucharist and the reciting and explaining of the Book of God, all of which, according to St. Paul, had been handed down to it by the Apostles. The author of the *Didascalia* has incorporated these along with institutional prayers of this kind although they are much too brief.

The first supplications were the Psalms of the Prophet David which prevailed in the church because they contained beautiful songs and praises of sweet and noble meanings. By the end of the fourth century, famous Christian authorities began to introduce into these rituals metrical hymns of special melodies. Also they kept writing the necessary prosaic supplications besides the metrical ones that by the end of the seventh century the great majority of the rituals of the Syrian church were in complete order, with some additions introduced in the following generations. This method was followed by all the other Christian denominations regardless of their race or language.

That these church rituals in the first few centuries were not uniform even in the neighboring countries, except in their fundamentals and basic branches, is an established fact. However, it was natural that differences should occur in the versions of these rituals due to the spread of Christianity, the vastness and diversification of these rituals and disparity of education between the authors let alone the ability of the scribes. Thus Lazarus Bar Sobto, metropolitan of Baghdad (d. 829), in his treatise on the *Revision of the Service of the Divine Eucharist* (para. 3, p. 31), states that "the priests have composed for themselves service books in which they ignorantly included superfluous as well as inadequate matters." Likewise, Bar Wahbun states in his exegetical treatise of the Divine

Eucharist that "the priests' service book contains superfluousness as well as inadequacies". Since church rituals, which contained many eloquent writings, have a prominent place in the history of Syriac literature, their study has become most significant. The Orientalists, however, have overlooked this subject for its inherent difficulty, with the exception of Baumstark, who only touched upon it in his book.

These works on the Syrian Church deal with fifteen kinds of rituals:

1. The *shḥimo* or the book of regular weekday prayer;

2. Lessons from the Holy Bible;

3. The book of liturgies or of the celebration of the Divine Eucharist;

4. Service book of Sunday for the whole year;

5. The books of prayer for principal feasts as well as festivals of saints;

6. Two service books for Lent and the week of Passion;

7. The books of *ḥusoyos* or supplications for Sundays, feasts, Lent, the week of Passion and others;

8. The service book for baptism, matrimony, extreme unction and penance;

9. The book of the ordination of clergymen;

10. The book of principal feasts;

11. The book of funerals;

12. The book of the supplication of priests and the prayers of monks;

13. The church choral book;

14. The Book of Life;

15. The calendar of feasts for the whole year.

Before venturing into these subjects, however, it would seem to be feasible to present first a study of church music which will be supported by references to ancient manuscripts.

Section One: Church Music

The fathers of the church introduced music into the Church of God for three reasons. First, to combat the hymns of heathens and heretics, in which they tried to corrupt the doctrine and the morals of youth. They counteracted by composing lucid, moralistic and religious hymns which destroyed corrupting poetry. Second, to

assist in energizing the people to worship God and drive away boredom during the long services. Third, to stimulate the senses in order to realize the meaning of prayer.

Usually when worshippers sing or listen to the chanting of prayers they can more easily comprehend the meaning of what they chant. Moreover, melodious prayers make their way more quickly into the minds, souls and hearts of the worshippers and call for humility. In this regard, the fathers of the church found an example in the Psalmist David and his organized choir. To follow his steps, they composed, after the Council of Nicaea, hymns with harmonious tunes based on common musical scales.

St. Ephraim was the first among the Syrians to compose these hymns while among the Greeks St. Gregory Nazianzen, Cyril of Jerusalem, and John Chrysostom took the lead. Among the Syrians they were followed by Isaac, Rabula, and Balai, the band of potters, Jacob of Sarug, the Greek Severus of Antioch, Jacob of Edessa and the composers and translators of the hymns known to the Greeks as the Canons. These and others who followed in later generations composed various hymns with a perfection which appealed tremendously to the worshippers. This is why the great majority of our Syriac rituals are in metrical form.[1]

[1] The erudite Anton of Takrit states that "the reason why St. Ephraim composed spiritual songs and hymns is that Bar Daysan had composed songs with exquisite tunes in which he implied statements which would destroy the orthodox faith and morals. These songs appealed greatly to the credulous youth. In opposition, St. Ephraim composed songs and sacred hymns which combated them; hence, the origin of the Holy Church music and chanting. In like manner, St. Gregory the Theologian composed his poems to refute the Arian heresy and oppose the Caesar Julian the Apostate who prevented the Christians from reading the poetry of the heathen Greeks. However, the fathers of the church were unable to prevent the people from singing and chanting after they had heard them so often from the deceivers." Bar Ṣalibi also states that "Mar Severus composed the *maʿnithos* in answering back to poets and the songs of Sostius the Greek. Mar John also composed the *stikhare* in refutation of the Arian songs by which they snared the gullible." Therefore, in this manner the canons found their way into the church.

The Syrians and Greeks used eight melodies which they called "*oktoêchos*"[1] among which were the "warm", the "cold", the "humid" and the "dry" tunes. These melodies included the joyful, the grieving, the humbling, the stimulating and the active. Of these, two counterpart melodies were selected for chanting each week. For instance, the first melody corresponded with the fifth, etc. They also prescribed for each feast or well-known festival season or event a special melody which perfectly applied to the occasion.[2]

For these melodies they chose pleasant and mellow voices and arranged the singers in two choirs which chanted antiphonally. A priest or deacon skilled in the art of melody, rhythm and harmony conducted these highly organized choirs.

Among the conductors who became famous around the year 1218 was Rabban Abu al-Faraj Bar Elishaʿ, distinguished for his vivid memory. According to Bar Hebraeus, (*Ecclesiastical History*, vol. 1, p. 637), Bar Elishaʿ memorized the *phanqitho* or service book for the whole year.

From the artistic and composition point of view the most beautiful songs were the *takhsheftos*, *qatismas*, *mawrbos* and *madroshos* which were the first and foremost of all the songs. Most of these songs were characterized by various intonations and pitches which were delicate and touching. The Syrians, especially of Diyarbakir

[1] From the 16th century or earlier the Syrian Church used eight ecclesiastical modes known as the "*oktoêchos*". Today these modes do not indicate scalar patterns, but melody types. See H. G. Farmer, "Syrian Music," in *Groves Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, edited by Eric Blom (New York, 1955), 3: 254. (tr.)

[2] In his book *Daʿwat al-Qusūs* (The Call of the Priests), Jacob of Mardin comments on the eight melodies by stating that "the first and fifth melody are for festivities, the third and seventh for sorrow, the fourth and eighth for the struggle of the martyrs, the second and sixth for humility," see *Majmūʿ Uṣūl al-Dīn* by al-Raʾīs al-Shaykh Muʾtamin al-Dawla Abi Isḥaq ibn al-Faḍl ibn al-ʿAssal the Copt, chapter 49, 216. This book *Daʿwat al-Qusūs* is lost to us except four odes on the Divine Wine which were found in Beirut. I think the author of this book belongs to the twelfth century. His above statement, however, is questionable. The fifth melody is used for fasting and repentance while the fourth which is identical to the fifth is also used for the Feast of the Annunciation, the second and sixth are stimulating and activating while the first is specifically used for the Epiphany and the second for the Transfiguration.

and Edessa, have become widely known for their chanting of these songs received by tradition. But as they did not write them down in notes, a good many of them were lost in time although a sufficient number of them survived.

Section Two: The Regular Weekday Service Book

The regular weekday service book or the *shḥimo* (lit. simple) is a medium-sized book comprised of prayers and songs and although brief it contains many themes relating to praises, repentance, the commemoration of the Virgin, the Apostles, the fathers of the church, the prophets, the martyrs and the dead. These prayers and songs are metrical, save for the verses recited daily with the Magnificat of the Virgin Mary which begins "My soul doth magnify the Lord". They are distributed over the seven times of prayer, i.e. evening prayer (nones), night prayers (vespers), the compline, morning prayers and the prayers at the third hour, sixth hour and ninth hour. Today, these prayers are chanted only in the mornings and evenings in special and common melodies based on the eight basic melodies with two of them alternated for each week.

This service book was most likely compiled at the end of the seventh century by the effort of St. Jacob of Edessa as mentioned by a copy preserved at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris transcribed in the fifteenth century. This author has read in some ancient copies of this book that it was compiled according to the Edessan tradition. The authors of this book are St. Ephraim, St. Jacob of Sarug, St. Isaac, St. Balai, metropolitan of Balsh and Simon the Potter. It is not unlikely that Jacob of Edessa was also a contributor to the writings of this book and that he selected a simple and unintricate verse that would be easily comprehended by the different categories of believers. In the fourth chapter of his treatise against the allegations of deacon Yeshuʿ who, fascinated by the Greek rituals, criticized the simplicity of the *shḥimo*, Bar Ṣalibi wrote: "This book was prepared for chanting by the simple worshippers and monastics. This is why its compilers chose simple verses which would immediately be assimilated by the mind and

would move the heart."[1] Indeed things are meant to suit their purpose.

Of the oldest copies which we came across are a few leaves preserved in the Damascus Museum which are the remainder of a copy written around the eighth century in a terminology slightly different from that in the common copies familiar to us. Another mutilated copy, owned by the Edessenes' church in Aleppo, was written in the Estrangelo script in the fourteenth century according to the tradition of the Holy Mountain of Edessa. In another place in this copy there is this statement: "according to the arrangement of the Holy Monastery of St. Jacob or the Monastery of Nawawīs." This copy also contains verses of poetry different than the verses which we have today, most of which belong to the third, sixth and ninth hours of prayer. In these verses the litany is sometimes repeated or superseded by a short supplication.

The *shḥimo* was published in the Zaʿfaran Monastery in 1890. It was also published by this writer, for the second time in 1913 and for the third time in Jerusalem in 1934 after comparing with seven other moderately old copies collated with copies in Mosul and al-Sham, [Syria] which differ in some places. This writer wrote a historical introduction for the third edition.

Section Three: Lectionaries

Syrian scholars divided the Scriptures into chapters, from which they selected reading lessons for the whole year, as follows:

1. For Sundays and feasts, from the Consecration of the Church to the Festival of the Cross;

2. throughout Lent;

3. for principal feasts;

4. for the rituals of clerical ordination and assumption of the monastic order;

5. for the administration of the Holy Sacraments, especially the consecration of baptismal anointment and the Chrism;

6. for funeral services.

They also prescribed, for each Sunday and festival, three lessons from the Old Testament, the third to be selected from the

[1] Alphonse Mingana, *Woodbrooke Studies*, 1 (1927), 64.

prophets and three lessons from the New Testament, including one from the Acts of the Apostles and one from the catholic epistles, or one from the Pauline epistles and one from the Gospels.

They also prescribed four or five lessons from the Old Testament for the consecration of the Chrism, specific Sundays of the Lent and Good Friday. In the administration of the two sacraments of Baptism and the Divine Eucharist, only one lesson from the Pauline Epistles and another from the Gospels are to be recited. Another three lessons from the Gospels were assigned for morning and evening recitation, as well as during the celebration of the Divine Eucharist. For both Christmas and Easter, a fourth lesson was added for the evening service. Other lessons were also recited twice every day of Lent except Saturdays and at every prayer hour during the Passion Week. Three lessons were assigned to the feast of Pentecost.

The assignment of these chapters by the scholars of the church was made in accordance with the themes of Sundays, festivals and ordinary days of worship. Their division is marked with taste, precision and great wisdom not found in the rest of the Eastern or Western Christian rites. These scholars, however, excluded from the Scriptures the reading of the Song of Songs, the Book of Revelation, and the greater parts of the two Books of the Maccabees.

The arrangement of Gospel lessons to be recited in Passion Week was made in the middle of the ninth century by Daniel, the monk of the Monastery of Beth Bātīn and disciple of Benjamin, metropolitan of Edessa, assisted by his enterprising pupil Isaac the monk. Daniel selected some of these lessons from the Diatessaron and collected those readings scattered in the four Gospels. From that time on, transcribers of the Gospels have mentioned the work of Daniel and Isaac in all the copies which have reached us. In the Bibliothèque Nationale MS. 258, we read that, in 1000, the Patriarch Athanasius IV of Antioch, known as Ṣalḥoyo (of Ṣalaḥ) (d. 1002), collected and classified lectionaries from the Old and New Testaments.

These lessons were recited in Syriac. Three old copies of the collections of lectionaries are preserved in the British Museum (MS. 220 dated 824; MS. 243 dated 862; and MS. 224 dated 1000). Another fourteenth century copy, in a good script, is preserved at

our library in Ḥomṣ. Copies of the Gospels are plentiful and available in most libraries.

The oldest Syriac copy of the New Testament, which was translated into Arabic, dates back to the year 1189 and is preserved in the Monastery of St. Matthew. Much later the books of the Old Testament were written in Arabic and thus the readings of the Bible were confined to this language, except in Tur ʿAbdin.[1] However, we are unable to investigate the subject of the Arabic translation of both Testaments, due to the unavailability of clear old texts and authentic historical information. What we know is that John III, Patriarch of Antioch, concerned himself with the translation of the Gospels into Arabic by scholars well versed in both languages from the tribes of Ṭay, Tanukh and ʿUqayl, about the year 643, at the request of ʿUmayr Ibn Saʿd, Prince of the Jazira, as we are told by the anonymous Edessene historian[2] and Bar Hebraeus.[3] Another translation into Arabic from the Syro-Hexapla was made by the famous Nestorian physician Ḥunayn Ibn Isḥaq (d. 873).[4] We have also found in *Kitāb al-Dīn wal-Dawla* (*The Book of Religion and State*), by ʿAli Ibn Rabban al-Ṭabari[5] (d. c. 860), published by Mingana in Egypt in 1923, portions of the Old Testament, and chapters from the Books of the Prophets, as well as fragments from the New Testament, written in the most eloquent and magnificent style. We do not know much about this translation.

A translation of the Pentateuch from the Syriac Syro-Hexapla into Arabic was made by Ḥarith Ibn Sinān, who may be Ḥārith Ibn Sinān Sinbat of Ḥarran the Malkite at the close of the ninth and the beginning of the tenth century.[6] A translation of the Old Testament was also made by Shaykh Saʿīd Ibn Jacob al-Fayyumi, better known as Saʿdiya the Jew, about the year 900. MS. 21 of the Florentine library contains an Arabic translation of the Pentateuch from the Hebrew, made in 1245. Another copy of the Old Testament

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[1] Tur ʿAbdin remained an entirely Syriac-speaking area. (tr.)

[2] Vol. 1: 263.

[3] *Ecclesiastical History*, 1: 275.

[4] Clement Huart, *A History of Arab Literature*, 280.

[5] He was a Christian who embraced Islam and wrote his book.

[6] See the *Catalogue* of the Library of the Patriarchate in Egypt, No. 11 and 45 by Marcus Sumayka Pasha (1942).

containing half of the books of the Pentateuch, copied from the translated version of Shaykh Saʿīd al-Fayyumi, is preserved in the library of the Coptic Patriarchate in Egypt (MS. 23) and dated 1585. Our library has a mutilated copy of the Acts and the Epistles translated by Severus Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ, bishop of the Ashmunin, in the tenth century from Greek, Syriac and Coptic copies, which were commented on in 1240. Vatican Library MS. 145 contains an Arabic translation of the Psalms, the Gospels, the Prophets and the Epistles from the Greek according to the usage of the church, by the deacon ʿAbd Allah Ibn al-Faḍl al-Anṭaki al-Rumi (d. 1052).

In 1250, Shaykh Asʿad Abu al-Faraj Ibn al-ʿAssal the Copt coordinated a translation of the Gospels. Our library in Jerusalem contains two excellent copies of the Gospels, one in Syriac and the other in Arabic. The Syriac copy is written in the Nestorian script and undated, while the second copy, more rhetorical than the first, (MS. 261) was completed in 1229. MS. 42 of the Bibliothèque Nationale contains a copy of the Gospels translated from the original Greek, transcribed in 1226. Another copy in Birmingham (MS. 431) was copied in 1368.[1] The library of the Monastery of St. Matthew has the book of Psalms in Syriac and Garshuni, in a very eloquent language, copied in 1445. We believe that the Book of Psalms exists in many Arabic translations, as well as Syriac translations from the Greek.

Despite the difficulty of investigating these scattered translations and texts, we have found that the Arabic versions of the Holy Scriptures greatly differ in quality and fall into three categories: the eloquent, the mediocre and the poor composition.

Things in the East remained as they were, as we have formerly mentioned, until the new, familiar Arabic translation appeared in the nineteenth century, superseding the Latin and Arabic translations which were published in Rome in 1671. Of these translations, the nearest one to the Syriac Pshiṭto is the one edited

[1] We have overlooked the translation 1, p. 275 of the four Gospels by the bishop ʿAbd Yeshuʿ of Ṣoba in 1300, written in a forced, rhymed prose which rendered it poor and incoherent. Copies of it are found in Mosul and other places. In his introduction, the translator mentioned another previous translation by Abu al-Faraj ibn al-Ṭayyib, Yeshuʿyahb ibn Malkun in 1256 (MSS. 1 and 2 in the al-Sharfeh Monastery in Lebanon) and al-Shaykh Ibn Dadyeshuʿ.

by the Catholic Bishop Yusuf Dawud, who has copied verbatim parts of it, especially the New Testament, from old manuscripts found in the churches and monasteries in Iraq. It was published in Mosul between 1871 and 1878. The most lucid of these copies is the Jesuit translation published in Beirut between 1872 and 1878.

Section Four: Liturgical Books

"Liturgy" and "anaphora" are two Greek terms signifying the celebration of the Eucharist. The second one, anaphora, became more popular and widely used by the Syrians. Of all the Christian denominations, the Syrians wrote the greatest number of liturgies, amounting to about eighty pieces of varying length. This writer has read seventy-four of these liturgies.

These liturgies belong to two classes. In the first are those ascribed to some of the Apostles, Evangelists and early Christian fathers. Apart from the liturgy of St. James, the brother of our Lord, it would be incorrect to ascribe any liturgy to an Apostle or Evangelist. However, some scholars believe that the two liturgies of the twelve Apostles, as well as that of St. Mark the Evangelist, are the oldest. This has also been referred to by the Patriarch George I (d. 790).[1] The second part includes authentic and genuine liturgies, regarding only fundamental matters, beginning with the liturgy of St. Basilius of Caesarea and Eustathius of Antioch and others.[2] It is obvious that the liturgy of St. James, which is unquestionably old, is of an Apostolic origin in most of its principal public prayers. Its private prayers, however, may be ascribed to the post-Apostolic era. This liturgy was revised by St. Jacob of Edessa (d. 708), whose long version was abridged by Bar Hebraeus (d. 1286) into a version known as "the Short".

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[1] In his letter to deacon Guriyya, of the village of Beth Naʿar near Edessa (Michael the Great, *Chronicle*, 2: 481).

[2] To the critics, both liturgies of Basilius and Chrysostom used by the Greeks, particularly the second one should not be ascribed to these two doctors of the church except in their fundamental parts. They were revised by scholars who came after them. Some believe that the liturgy of Chrysostom is the liturgy of the Church of Antioch which he took to Constantinople and was, therefore, ascribed to him.

The oldest liturgy which is preserved in the British Museum was written on vellum around the tenth century. The rest of the copies were written in the latter part of the twelfth century and thereafter. There is a large number of these liturgies in most libraries, especially the British Museum MS. 14690 (dated 1182) and MS. 17229 (dated 1218). Following is a list of these liturgies:

1,2. the two liturgies of St. James (d. 61), i.e., the Long and the Short;

3. the liturgy of St. Mark the Evangelist (d. 62);

4,5. the two long and short liturgies of St. Peter (d. 67), head of the Apostles;

6. the liturgy of the twelve Apostles ascribed to St. Luke the Evangelist;

7,8. the two long and the short liturgies of St. John the Apostle (d. 90);

9. the liturgy of Dionysius the Areopagite (d. 96);

10. the liturgy of St. Clement of Rome (d. 102), beginning "O Lord, who art the indescribable ocean of goodness;"

11. a second liturgy by the same man, beginning, "O God, who art the ocean of love that surpasseth description" (the Ḥomṣ copy);

12. the liturgy of Ignatius the Illuminator (d. 107);

13. the liturgy of Pope Xystus (d. 251);[1]

14. the liturgy of Eustathius of Antioch (d. 338), which begins with "O Lord the compassionate, whose mercy is abundant;"

15. a second liturgy by this Eustathius, beginning "O Lord, who are the ocean of safety (St. Mark's MS. 86);"

16. the liturgy of Julius of Rome (d. 356);

17. the liturgy of Athanasius the Apostolic (d. 373);

18. the liturgy of Basilius, metropolitan of Caesarea (d. 379);

19. the liturgy of Cyril of Jerusalem (d. 386);

20. the liturgy of Gregorius Theologus (d. 390);

21. the liturgy of St. John Chrysostom (d. 407);

22. the liturgy of Celestine of Rome (d. 440);

23. the liturgy of Cyril of Alexandria (d. 444);

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[1] More correctly, it is the composition of Aaron, as is mentioned by some copies, who I think was one of the bishops of the East who lived between the seventh and ninth centuries. Perhaps, he is the bishop who has been described in the hymn of the East as being very diligent in reciting the Psalms day and night.

24. the liturgy of Proclus of Constantinople (d. 444)[1];
25. the liturgy of Dioscorus of Alexandria (d. 457);
26. the liturgy of Timothy II of Alexandria (d. 470);
27. the liturgy of Jacob of Sarug (d. 521);
28. another liturgy by Jacob of Sarug;
29. the liturgy of Philoxenus of Mabug (d. 523);
30. another liturgy by Philoxenus of Mabug;
31. the liturgy of Severus of Antioch (d. 538);
32. the consecration of the cup by Severus;
33. the liturgy of Simon of Beth Arsham (d. 540);
34. the liturgy of Jacob Baradaeus (d. 578);
35. the liturgy of Peter Callinicus of Antioch (d. 591);
36. the liturgy of Thomas of Harkel (d. 616);
37. the liturgy of Severus, bishop of Samosata (d. 636);
38. the liturgy of John III of Sedros (d. 648);
39. the liturgy of Marutha of Takrit (d. 649);
40. the liturgy of John, bishop of Buṣra (d. 650);
41. the liturgy of Maphryono Abraham al-Sayyaḍ (d. 685);
42. the liturgy of Jacob of Edessa (d. 708);
43. the liturgy of John, metropolitan of St. Matthew's Monastery (d. 752);
44. the liturgy of Patriarch Quryaqos (d. 817);
45. the liturgy of Basilius Lazarus Bar Sobto, bishop of Baghdad (d. 828);
46. the liturgy of John, bishop of Dara (d. 860);
47. the liturgy of St. Isaac (tenth century);
48. the liturgy of Moses Bar Kepha, bishop of Baremman (d. 903);
49. another liturgy by Bar Kepha;
50. the liturgy of Matthew or Harma al-Rāʿi, bishop of al-Ḥassasah (tenth century);
51. the liturgy of Patriarch John Bar Shushan (d. 1072);
52. another liturgy attributed to him by some scholars;
53. the liturgy of Ignatius, Maphryono of the East (d. 1164);
54. the long liturgy of Jacob Bar Ṣalibi (d. 1171);
55. a medium-sized liturgy by Bar Ṣalibi;

[1] It begins thus, "O Lord, the life and light of all." In some copies, it is attributed to Philoxenus of Mabug and is counted as his third liturgy.

56. another short liturgy by him;

57. a liturgy compiled by Bar Wahbun (d. 1193) from the liturgies of church fathers;

58. the liturgy of Patriarch Michael the Great (d. 1199);

59. the liturgy of Jacob, Maphryono of the East (d. 1214);

60. the liturgy of Michael (Yeshuʿ the intruder) (d. 1214);

61. the liturgy of Patriarch John al-Gharīb (d. 1220);

62. the liturgy of John Jacob Bar Shakko, bishop of Mardin, al-Khabur and Dara (d. 1231);

63. the liturgy of Gregorius of Barṭelli, bishop of St. Matthew's Monastery and Azerbayjan (d. c. 1250);

64. the liturgy of Patriarch John Bar Maʿdani (d. 1264);

65. the liturgy of the Maphryono Gregorius Bar Hebraeus (d. 1286);

66. the liturgy of Dioscorus Gabriel, bishop of the Jazira (d. 1300);

67. the liturgy of Patriarch Ignatius Bar Wuhayb (d. 1333);

68. the liturgy of Cyril Simon al-Ālini, bishop of Ḥaḥ (d. 1333);

69. the liturgy of Bishop John Buṭaḥi (fourteenth century);

70. the liturgy of Joseph Bar Gharīb, bishop of Amid (d. 1375);

71. the liturgy of Patriarch Abraham Bar Gharīb (d. 1412);

72. the liturgy of Patriarch Bahnam of Ḥidl (d. 1454);

73. the liturgy of Qawma, Patriarch of Tur ʿAbdin (d. 1454);

74. the liturgy of John George, bishop of the Monastery of Qarṭmin (d. 1495), compiled from liturgies composed by writers with the name of John; he may have written a special liturgy which has been lost to us;

75. another liturgy compiled by the same man from other liturgies each one written by writers named Jacob;

76. the liturgy of Masʿud II of Zāz, Patriarch of Tur ʿAbdin (d. 1512);

77. another liturgy by him lost to us;

78. a third liturgy by him, also lost to us;

79. the liturgy of Basilius ʿAbd al-Ghani I al-Manṣuri, Maphryono of the East (d. 1575).

Some later scholars have ascribed additional liturgies, about which we are uninformed, to Severus Sabukht, bishop of Qenneshrin (d. 665), Severus Jacob, bishop of St. Matthew's Monastery and Azerbayjan (d. 1241) and Bar Qinaya who is probably Jacob of Hattakh (d. 1360).

Some liturgies were written in Greek and then translated into Syriac, probably by Thomas of Harkel, including the liturgies of Dionysius the Areopagite, Ignatius the Illuminator, Cyril of Jerusalem, Gregory Nazianzen and Timothy of Alexandria; and the liturgy of Severus of Samosata was translated by Abraham of Amid in 598. No doubt the liturgies of Eustathius the Caesarian, Athanasius, Chrysostom, Cyril, Proclus, Dioscorus of Alexandria and Severus of Antioch were written in Greek, but their translators are unknown. Of these liturgies two, belonging to Thomas of Harkel and Michael the Great, as well as the closing prayer of the liturgy of Basilius ʿAbd al-Ghani, were alphabetically arranged.

Other liturgies were prescribed for special feasts and special ceremonies. In the introduction to the liturgy of Gregorius Jacob, Maphryono of the East, we find a commentary by his uncle, Patriarch Michael, confirming it and permitting its celebration. Some of these liturgies were erroneously ascribed to different authors, due to the negligence of the transcribers. For example, the liturgy which opens with "Eternal and compassionate God" was attributed to Gregorius of Barṭelli, bishop of St. Matthew's Monastery, while some copyists ascribed it to Bar Hebraeus.

Renaudot[1] erroneously mentions that the liturgy of Bar Hebraeus begins with "O God, Lord of Hosts," and that the liturgy compiled by John Bar Wahbun begins with "Almighty God, who is beyond comprehension." In another copy this same liturgy begins with "Almighty and Gracious God." Similar mistakes occur in the liturgies of Philoxenus of Mabug, Simon of Beth Arsham and Patriarch Lazarus Bar Sobto. However, a liturgical copy in Tur ʿAbdin ascribes one of the liturgies of Philoxenus of Mabug to his nephew Philexene, nicknamed "the Young," bishop of Duluk, who adopted the doctrine of Chalcedon. There is no evidence that Philexene has written a liturgy.

The style of liturgies, although simple, is difficult to imitate. It combines lucidity of expression with profundity of meaning. The liturgy is written with elegance, skill and unsurpassed sweetness which induce the hearers' awe and submission, bind their hearts with the divine and arrest their attention throughout the celebration of the Divine Eucharist. Further, it induces them to

[1] In his *Liturgiarum Orientalism.* (tr.)

contemplate the wonders of this divine mystery and then leave the Houses of God with abundant love. The authors of these liturgies should therefore be recognized for their excellence.

The celebration of the liturgy is preceded by a *ḥusoyo*, which is recited before the Creed of Faith and known as the "*Sedro* of Entry;"[1] of these prayers we have about thirty. The Vatican MS. 25 contains fifteen *sedros* or expiatory prayers; among their authors are Patriarch John III of the Sedros,[2] Patriarch Athanasius (most probably Athanasius II of Balad), Jacob of Edessa, John Bar Shushan, Jacob Bar Ṣalibi, Thomas the Stylite, Gabriel of Barṭelli, Cyril of Ḥaḥ, Qawma, Patriarch of Tur ʿAbdin and Yeshuʿ of Basibrina.[3]

The liturgy ends with a dismissory hymn, usually a verse chosen from among eight hymns of the twelve-syllable or the seven-syllable meter, composed by Bar Maʿdani, Gabriel of Barṭelli, Bahnam of Ḥidl, the priests Ḥasan of Mosul and ʿIsa al-Jazri, the monks David of Ḥomṣ, ʿAbdo of Ḥaḥ and Gregorius, bishop of Jerusalem. The dismissory hymn was used, as we believe, in the middle of the thirteenth century. In a *Beth Gazo* (The treasure of church melodies) in Mardin transcribed in the sixteenth century, we find the dismissory hymn precedes the benediction of the priest, which begins with "Depart ye in peace," and contains the intercession of saints.

The celebration of the liturgy is preceded by silent prayers recited by the priest during the Mass, particularly the prayer for breaking the bread, written by Jacob Bar Ṣalibi, followed by four supplicatory verses by Mar Jacob. A part of the liturgy are the prayers recited by the serving deacon and the group of the clergy which begins with a *maʿnitho*, by Severus of Antioch, based on the tradition of Melitene. Of interest in this regard are the six Intercessions, or commemorations of both the living and the dead. These Intercessions are of three or four types, long and short. The long one is known as the Eastern Intercession, being used by the Eastern Church, which was under the jurisdiction of the See of

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[1] *Sedro is* the second part of the supplicatory prayer, usually read at the time the priest proceeds to the altar. (tr.)

[2] William Wright counts him as John the First. See his *Short History of Syriac Literature*, 139. (tr.)

[3] In a liturgy at the Monastery of St. Malke.

Takrit.[1] The fifth intercession, that of the church fathers and doctors, is usually recited by two deacons, only during Lent, as has been the custom in the Church of Mosul and its neighboring churches until today. This intercession, unknown to other churches outside the vicinity of Mosul, contains the names of the majority of the doctors of the church and the Maphryonos of Takrit, from Aḥudemeh to Ṣaliba I (d. 1231). In some manuscripts this intercession contains the name of the illustrious Maphryono Gregorius Bar Hebraeus (d. 1286) and, interspread with it, the names of a group of eastern bishops and saintly hermits, giving in lengthy or brief details an elegant description of their virtues, character and great deeds. However, this intercession is not free from verbosity.

In a *Beth Gazo*, transcribed in 1569 and preserved in our library, we found an Eastern intercession unknown to us before, which differs completely from the rest of the intercessions. Evidently it is old and has been neglected for ages. We also have a few verses chanted on the Sundays of Lent before the prayer of peace, which may be a composition of Bar Ṣalibi. The fathers of the church have also selected a public hymn called the *qathuliqi*, meaning 'general,' usually sung during the breaking of the sacrificial bread. Not very long ago, these hymns were substituted for by Arabic hymns, which are better understood by the congregation; some of these are to be found among the hymns sung in response to the concluding prayer in the long service book, which we published in Dayr al-Zaʿfaran (1912). Most of these Arabic hymns are of our composition.

To the liturgy is added a long prayer for the sick and the afflicted, recited shortly before the end of the liturgy. Because it is seldom used today, this prayer has been replaced by a short supplication in Arabic.

In 1716, Renaudot published a Latin translation of thirty-seven liturgies, beginning with the liturgy of St. James and ending with the liturgy of Bar Wuhayb. In 1939, Codrington republished the liturgy of Severus of Antioch and in 1897, Chorepiscopus Matthew

[1] The writer means the Maphrianate See of Takrit which was under the jurisdiction of the Great See of Antioch. (tr.)

Konat of Malabar published seven liturgies, while his son, the priest Abraham, published eighteen others in 1931.[1]

The first known liturgy in Arabic dates back to 912. In this regard Abu Naṣr Yaḥya Ibn Jarir of Takrit, the Syrian, in his book *al-Murshid* (Chapter 54), states that, "In that year the metropolitan of Takrit invested with the episcopate a pious man from the Christian Arabs, who celebrated for them the Eucharist in Arabic." Other efforts to translate the liturgy into Arabic began in and after the seventeenth century, although these translations were written in Garshuni (Arabic written in Syriac script) and in imperfect language. A fair number of liturgies were translated into mediocre Arabic by Chorepiscopus Elijah of Mosul before his death in 1907. We ourselves translated eight liturgies and five *ḥusoyos* in 1910.

Section Five: Service Books for Sundays for the Whole Year

The services contained in these books extend from the Sunday of the Consecration of the Church, at the end of October or the beginning of November, until the Sunday immediately preceding the Nativity of our Lord. They comprise eight orders, followed by five or six more services for the Sundays immediately following the Epiphany; interposed between these two groupings are the prayers for the Sunday following the Nativity of our Lord and two other Sundays, devoted to the commemoration of priests and the dead. All of these services are contained in one volume. The second volume contains the services of the twenty-four Sundays from the Sunday of the Resurrection to the Sunday of the Festival of the Cross. These are preceded by six services for the Week of White[2]

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[1] Published by Mar Julius Press, Pampakuda, India.

[2] *Ḥewore*, the Week of White (Whitsunday), extends from Easter Sunday to the New or Low Sunday. It was called the Week of the White for historical considerations, dating back to the early Christian church. According to an old practice of the church, the neophytes intending to embrace Christianity usually went through a period of preparation and meditation, after which they were baptized on the Thursday of Passion Week (the Thursday of the Passover) and anointed with holy oil shortly after the consecration of the holy Chrism, which took place on the same day. During the whole week following the Sunday of Easter, the

immediately following Easter Sunday, in commemoration of the Resurrection. The third volume contains eight general services in commemoration of the works of our Lord, in praise of the Holy Virgin and the saints and in commemoration of the dead. These services are recited on the Sundays following the Festival of the Cross up to the Sunday of the Consecration of the Church.

These service books were methodically compiled and arranged by St. Jacob of Edessa (d. 708). According to many old manuscripts, written on parchment in the Estrangelo script and dating back to the period from the ninth century to the thirteenth, Jacob of Edessa wrote eight orders for the Sundays following the Resurrection; their cycle was to be repeated three times. In the fifteenth century, however, they were supplemented by sixteen more services, selected from the collection of chorals and hymns.

A single service consists of the prayers of the vespers, the nocturnes, the morning prayer and the prayer at the third hour. The nocturnal prayer is celebrated at two times, during which hymns selected from St. Ephraim and others are chanted and sometimes interspersed with some supplicatory hymns by Rabula, metropolitan of Edessa.

Traditionally, the Syrians had two distinct orders, or rites: the Western rite, which was universal in the dioceses under the direct jurisdiction of the Patriarchal See; and the Eastern rite, which was used by the dioceses under the jurisdiction of the Maphrianate See of Takrit. The first was compiled according to the traditions of Antioch, Edessa, the famous Monastery of Qenneshrin and Melitene; the second, according to the tradition of Seleucia-Ctesiphon and Takrit. The Western order is characterized by brevity and by prose songs, called the "Greek Canons," used at every Sunday and festival and chanted according to eight melodies. They were written by Jacob of Edessa andrew, bishop of Crete (d. 700), Cosmas and John of Damascus (d. 750). The latter three are Greeks whose hymns were translated by the Syrians into their language because, according to Lazarus Bar Sobto, bishop of Baghdad, as quoted by Bar Hebraeus in his *Ethikon* (part 5, chapter 4, p. 66), "they were confined to general description of the acts of

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neophytes received the holy Eucharist daily while attired in white garments. Hence, the name "The Week of the White." (tr.)

Christ our Lord and avoided the theological arguments among the Christian sects." MS. 149 of Zaʿfaran mentions that this translation was done in Edessa and was named for that city. To this translation some of our doctors added hymns similar to those composed by former authors; which were called the "Syrian Canons," among which are the eight traditional canons and others written in commemoration of St. Severus.

The Eastern rite, which is universally used in Iraq, is marked by its lengthiness, the use of a great number of Psalms, the *madroshos* and the prose hymns of St. Severus, which are chanted particularly at the festivals of the Nativity of our Lord and the Resurrection. According to Jacob of Barṭelli,[1] the service book of this rite was commonly known as the "Book of *Ḥudhro*,"[2] into which the monk David Bar Paul inserted *maʿnithos* around 780. In a commentary note at the beginning of his letters, Bar Paul states, "when David and his disciple Zacharias returned to Monastery of Khanushia from the land of the West (of the Euphrates), he carried with him one hundred and seventy church hymns, composed by Mar Severus, which were unknown in the lands of the East. He also introduced to these lands different canons and collections, to be chanted daily at the close of the nocturnal service. He also added a psalm and the Lord's Prayer to be recited in the morning, noon and night, after 'Holy thou art God.'" These prayers were introduced in the year 1090 (of the Greek calendar, which is A.D. 780) and after.

It is our assumption that the compilation of Eastern rites, whose authors we do not know, began in the early part of the seventh century and continued to the middle of the twelfth century. Many authors apparently contributed to its composition until it assumed its present form. However, we are informed about those who established and organized it. They are:

1. Malphono Sabroy, the great-grandfather of David Bar Paul (c. 630) and his two sons, Ram Yeshuʿ and Gabriel, who wrote the

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[1] Jacob of Barṭelli, *The Book of Treasures*, part 2, chapter 39.

[2] *Ḥudhro*, a Syriac word meaning circle or course. In this context, it means the books which contain the whole services for Sundays, feasts and fasts for the circle or the course of the whole year. (tr.)

Basilica[1] (anthems) and the canticles for both choirs for Palm Sunday and the Passion Week. They also wrote a service book which had been used in the towns specifically, in order to undermine the conceitedness of the Nestorians, as Sabroy himself states in his letter to Bishop John on the diacritical points which occur in the Holy Scriptures.

2. Denḥa III of Ḥarran, Maphryono of the East (912-932). He was described in the commemoration of the Eastern fathers as the author of *qolos* (metrical hymns) and was well-versed in church music.

3. Basilius IV Bar Qubad of Takrit (1046-1069), who was an author of *qolos* (metrical hymns) and church canons.[2]

Many copies of service books have survived. They were mostly written from the ninth to the thirteenth centuries in an elegant Estrangelo script, on vellum or paper. They are preserved in the libraries of London, Paris and Boston (see earlier note) as well as the churches of Diyarbakir, Anḥil, ʿUrnus, Meddo and Basibrina in Tur ʿAbdin, the Zaʿfaran Monastery, the Monastery of St. Mark's in Jerusalem, Edessa and Mosul. Other manuscripts in the western script, written from the thirteenth century to the present, are preserved in the libraries of Berlin, Egypt, Diyarbakir, the Monastery of St. Matthew, St. Mark's Monastery in Jerusalem, the churches of Mosul and Qaraqosh, Mardin, Aleppo, Damascus, Beirut, Ḥiṣn Kifa, Meddo, Basibrina, Ḥomṣ, Ṣadad, our patriarchal library and other places. In 1911, we were granted the opportunity to look through most of these manuscripts in the monasteries and churches of Tur ʿAbdin. We have no information, though, of what was lost from these manuscripts during the last war and what remained.

The service book used in the winter season is followed by the order of the three day fasting of Nineveh. At one time this fast was observed for five days in the lands of the East, as has been mentioned in a copy at the library of the Church of the Virgin (al-Ṭāhira) in Mosul, transcribed by the priest Joseph Khamis of Sinjar

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[1] Basilica is an anthem sung when Christian kings or emperors are present at the service. See Payne-Smith, *Syriac-English Dictionary* (Oxford, 1903), 48. (tr.)

[2] See the *Beth Gazo* in Diyarbakir transcribed by Patriarch Pilate in 1560 when he was still a monk. It is now in the possession of Deacon Tuma.

in 1269 and in the copy at St. Matthew's Monastery, transcribed by Abu al-Faraj Ibn Manṣūr in 1241. These two copies also contain the orders for the commemoration of priests, the strangers and the dead, on the Fridays in the three weeks preceding Lent; these orders belong exclusively to the Eastern rite.

Section Six: The Service Book of Principal Feasts and The Festivals of Saints

This volume comprises the principal feasts of the Nativity of our Lord, the Circumcision, the Baptism, the Presentation of our Lord in the Temple, Palm Sunday, the Resurrection, the Ascension, the Pentecost, the Transfiguration and the Festival of the Cross. Included also are the seven feasts of the Virgin, i.e., the Annunciation of the Virgin, the Hailing of Mary at our Lord's birth, our Lady of the Sowing, our Lady of the Harvest, the festival of the first church named after the Virgin, the Nativity of the Virgin Mary, her Entrance into the Temple and her Assumption.

These are followed by the feasts of the Apostles, saints and male and female martyrs, who are: Mar Addai the Apostle; Mar Abḥai the martyr; Mar Sergius and Mar Bacchus; the Maccabees; the martyr Shmuni (Salumi) and her sons, Mar Asya and Mar Isaiah the ascetics; Mar Jacob the Persian martyr who was cut to pieces; Mar Jacob of Sarug; Barbara the martyr; Mar Zokhe (Nicolas), bishop of Myra in Greece; Mar Bahnam, his sister Sarah and his forty martyr companions; Mar Gabriel, bishop of Qarṭmin; Mar Samuel and Mar Simon, the ascetics; the Infants of Bethlehem and John the Baptist; Mar Stephen, the protomartyr and head of the deacons; Mar Antonius; Barṣoum and Aaron the ascetics; Mar Severus of Antioch; Mar Ephraim, the doctor of the church; Theodorus, the martyr of Ephchacta; Mar Ḥabib, the deacon martyr; Abgar, the King of Edessa; the Elevation of the Cross; the forty Martyrs of Sebaste (Sivas); Mar George the martyr; St. John the Evangelist; Mar Jacob of Nisibin; Mar Ottel the ascetic; Saints Peter and Paul, the chief Apostles; the Twelve Apostles and St. Thomas the Apostle; Anba Karas the ascetic; Mar Quryaqos and his mother Yulitti and their companions; the martyrs, the ascetic Mar Malke, Mar Julian, Mar Matthew and Mar Moses the Abyssinian; Cosmas and Demyan the martyrs; the prophet Elijah and Mar Zayna the martyr, bishop of Baremman; Mar Aḥudemeh, metropolitan of the

East; the Golden Friday, in commemoration of the miracles of the Apostles Peter and Paul; Daniel the ascetic; John Bar Najjarin and his martyred sister; Mar Qawma the stylite ascetic and the two ascetic brothers Mar Abraham and Mar Marun;[1] Febronia the martyr nun; Mar Simon the Stylite; the martyrs Agripas and Lubernitus and their companions; the martyr monks Shamuna and Guriyya (Gabriel); Romanus the martyr; the Egyptian ascetics; the Persian confessor Mar Dimet; Mar Abḥai the ascetic bishop; the prophets; one of the saints, one of the martyrs and one of the ascetics. Needless to say, some of these saints are commemorated in their native countries or in the countries where they lived an ascetic life.[2]

Section Seven: Service Books of the Lent and Passion Week

The first service book contains the daily prayers of Lent, beginning from the evening of the first Sunday of Lent[3] (Bermun), known as the Sunday of Cana of Galilee to the seventh Sunday which is Palm Sunday. At present, the Lent prayers are recited at three times, in the morning, at noon and in the evening, except on Saturdays and Sundays.

The second service book contains the prayers of Passion Week, from Monday night until the ninth hour of the Great Saturday of Annunciation. It is a large book, different from other service books by virtue of its great length and its different *madroshos*, especially those prescribed for the two nocturnal services. On the day of Holy Thursday and the Friday of the Passion (Friday of the Crucifixion), the nocturnal prayer consists of four or five services. This service book is distinguished for its supplicatory verses,

[1] On the first Sunday of September.

[2] The Christian feasts are of two kinds: the first are those in which attending worship and abstaining from work are required. This kind is specifically restricted to well-known major feasts. The other kind is the commemoration, *dukhrono*, in which attending the service is required, but one need not abstain from work. Most of the saints' feasts are of this class.

[3] The beginning of Lent is marked by the vespers observance of the evening of the first Sunday. (tr.)

absolutely eloquent and elaborate, usually chanted with touching tunes, especially the *madrosho* sung in the tune *Qum Phawlos*, composed by Jacob of Edessa. Similar songs of passion also came from the pen of this same erudite man.

During Lent, according to the Eastern rite and after each service in Passion Week, a discourse or homily by either St. Ephraim, Jacob of Sarug, or Chrysostom is delivered. These homilies of Chrysostom are undoubtedly translated from a collection of homilies of the fathers of the church. The consecration of the Holy Chrism also contains an eloquent song by Lazarus Bar Sobto, metropolitan of Baghdad; however, the recitation of this song was supererogatory.[1] This rite also includes a medium-sized book containing eight services of the Christmas fasting, known to Easterners as the *subbara*, i.e., the Annunciation of the Nativity of the Lord Christ. These services are usually repeated three times. We have found three copies of these services; one in the Church of the Forty Martyrs in Mardin, where they were used for a long time around 1700, the second in Jerusalem (transcribed in 1675) and the third in the Monastery of St. Elijah at the village of Ḥbob in Tur ʿAbdin.

Section Eight: *Ḥusoyos for Sundays, Feasts, Lents and Passion Week and other occasions*

The *ḥusoyos* are propitiatory prayers in prose form recited in certain times. They are of two parts: the proemium, or the introductory prayer, usually brief; and the *sedro*, which contains the text of the prayer and is usually longer than the proemium. The propitiatory prayer, whether recited in the morning or evening, is preceded by an introductory prayer and followed by the prayer of the incense. Frequently, the *sedro* is recited jointly with a concluding prayer a

[1] The service book of the Ṭahira [the Virgin Mary] Church in Mosul completed in 1301 and of the Church of Mar Sargis in Qaraqosh. [The reason the writer inserted this statement about the poem of Lazarus Bar Sobto concerning the consecration of the Chrism, which might seem irrelevant to the subject, is because the Chrism is usually consecrated on Thursday of Passion Week according to the tradition of the Syrian Church. (tr.)]

usage by which the Orthodox Church has exclusively distinguished itself.

The propitiatory prayer, recited by the priests in their particular times and days, contains praise to God, who bestowed upon man the grace of existence and salvation. It also contains a description of Christ's beneficence and love toward mankind, which He saved from eternal damnation and brought to the light of truth after it had been in darkness. The priest usually concludes this prayer by asking the forgiveness of the sins of the people and imploring God to keep the shepherds of the church, the priests, the deacons and the different categories of believers, to save them from afflictions and grant them and their dead, who slept in the hope of the faith and the resurrection, His abundant mercies.

In the *ḥusoyos* prescribed for principal feasts, the authors describe the holy sacraments in which they were performed and which led to the glorification of these feasts. They frequently elaborated on the orthodox doctrines, such as the principles of the belief in the Trinity and monotheism, the two Sacraments of the Incarnation and Redemption and the sacraments of the church and their noble symbols, in order that these might become firmly established in the minds of the worshippers. In the days of fasting, the authors of these expiatory prayers exhort the believers to live up to the principle of fasting by comporting themselves in a manner free from sin, while holding fast to repentance. In the festivals of saints, they commemorate their struggles, praise their virtues and ask for their intercession. In commemorating the dead, they ask for their forgiveness and mercy. Finally, in the administration of the sacraments of the church, the authors confine themselves to the description of the sacraments and the discussion of related matters.

This type of prayer was contrived in the last decade of the seventh century by John III, Patriarch of Antioch, known as John of the Sedros (after the second part of the *ḥusoyo*). Soon this style of prayer spread tremendously; while in the beginning there were one or two *ḥusoyos* for special occasions, or for undesignated times, they were gradually increased until there were as many as five for just one Sunday or feast. Apparently church scholars followed the lead of the Patriarch in composing these prayers. *Ḥusoyos* were appointed as follows: one for Sunday evening, two for the first and second nocturnal services, one for the morning service and the last

for the third-hour prayer. In the church of Tur ʿAbdin we found precious old copies of *ḥusoyos* with the names of their thirty-seven authors affixed on the margin. These authors are of three categories: the excellent, the mediocre and the bad.

The first category includes:

1. John, Patriarch of Antioch (d. 648);
2. Marutha, Maphryono of Takrit (d. 649);
3. Severus II, Patriarch of Antioch (d. 683);
4. Athanasius II, Patriarch of Antioch (d. 686);
5. Severus Bar Kepha, metropolitan of Baremman (d. 903);
6. Athanasius, bishop of Qallisura (d. 983);
7. Patriarch John X Bar Shushan (d. 1072);
8. Saʿid Bar Ṣabuni, metropolitan of Melitene (d. 1095);
9. Dionysius Bar Mawdyana, metropolitan of Melitene (d. 1120);
10. Jacob Bar Ṣalibi, metropolitan of Amid (d. 1171);
11. Michael the Great, Patriarch of Antioch (d. 1199);
12. Abraham, metropolitan of Amid, Edessa and Tālbsam (d. 1207);
13. Basilius III or IV, metropolitan of Qarṭmin (d. 1254);
14. John Bar Maʿdani, Patriarch of Antioch (d. 1263);
15. The ascetic monk Abu Naṣr of Barṭelli (d. 1290).

The authors of this category wrote most of the *ḥusoyos* mentioned in the oldest manuscripts. Abu Naṣr was distinguished for being the author of ninety-four *ḥusoyos*. However, quite a large number of these *ḥusoyos* are of unknown authorship.

The second category comprises:

1. Gabriel of Barṭelli, metropolitan of the Jazira (d. 1300);
2. The monk Yeshuʿ Bar Khayrun (d. 1335);
3. The monk Ṣaliba Bar Khayrun (d. 1340);
4. Thomas of Ḥaḥ, the stylite ascetic;
5. Metropolitan Abu al-Wafa of Ḥiṣn Kifa;
6. Joseph Bar Gharīb, metropolitan of Amid (d. 1360);
7. Patriarch Abraham Bar Gharīb (d. 1412);
8. The priest Isaiah of Basibrina (d. 1425);
9. The priest Simon of Amid (d. 1452);
10. Patriarch Bahnam of Ḥidl (d. 1454);
11. The monk Malke Sāqo (d. 1490);
12. The monk Yeshuʿ of Basibrina (d. 1490);
13. The priest Addai of Basibrina (d. 1502);
14. The monk David of Ḥomṣ (d. 1500);

15. Metropolitan Sergius of Ḥaḥ (d. 1508);
16. Joseph the Iberian, metropolitan of Jerusalem.
The third category includes:
1. ʿAziz of Fāf (d. 1473);
2. Patriarch Masʿud of Zāz (d. 1512);
3. Bishop Simon (?);
4. Joseph of Ḥbob (?);
5. John of Mardin, metropolitan of Jerusalem (d. 1577);
6. Chorepiscopus Jacob of Quṭrubul (d. 1783).

Some of these authors composed only one or two *ḥusoyos*; on the other hand, some of the *ḥusoyos* were mistakenly ascribed to the priest Samuel (the disciple of St. Barṣoum), Jacob of Sarug, Philoxenus of Mabug and John Bar Aphtonia.

The *ḥusoyos* comprise six volumes, five of which are very large books containing about six hundred and fifty *ḥusoyos*. The first volume, the service book for winter, includes the period from the Sunday of the Consecration of the Church—which is also the first day of the church year—to the Sunday of the Dead. The second volume consists of the *ḥusoyos* of Lent, up to Palm Sunday. The third volume contains the *ḥusoyos* for Passion Week, from Monday night until the ninth hour of the Saturday of Annunciation. It also includes a *ḥusoyo* for each service of the five days of Passion Week and four for the evening of the Friday of Crucifixion (Good Friday). The fourth volume, which is the service book for the summer, includes the *ḥusoyos* of the twenty-four Sundays of the Resurrection, beginning with the daily *ḥusoyos* of the week immediately following the great Sunday of Easter. The fifth volume is set aside for major feasts, as well as the festivals of the Virgin Mary, the martyrs and the saints. The sixth volume contains eight *ḥusoyos* for remembering the dispensations of our Lord Christ in general, known as the *mdabronutho*. The *shḥimo* (Service book for regular week-days) also contains seven brief *ḥusoyos* recited between the services. Another small book in the church of Mosul contains brief daily *ḥusoyos*, privately recited on certain days of the week for the commemoration of the Virgin, the cross, the saints, the martyrs and for repentance for the priests and the dead. Other orders of the mysteries have special *ḥusoyos* whose authors are unknown to us.

The style of the majority of the *ḥusoyos*, particularly those written by authors of the first category, is lucid and eloquent. Other *ḥusoyos*,

especially those written specifically for the Divine Liturgy by John of the Sedros, Athanasius II and Jacob of Edessa, are distinguished by their remarkable style, richness of meaning and beautiful and smooth phrasing, which arrests the heart. To these should be added the *ḥusoyos* by Moses Bar Kepha, John Bar Shushan, Athanasius of Qallisura, Saʿid Bar Ṣabuni and Abu Naṣr of Barṭelli. The *ḥusoyos* of Bar Ṣabuni reveal his profound knowledge of the language and proficiency in philosophy, which appear vividly in his style. His mastery of eloquent expression enables him to subjugate the language to his own whim. If it were not for the few Greek expressions which he uses in imitation of the philosopher's method, one might conclude that he is among the most famous masters of styles. Likewise, the style of Abu Naṣr attests to his rich subject matter, writing ability and literary artistic elegance.

Quite different is the style of the authors from the second category, despite their smoothness, clarity and eloquence. The fault of some of these authors, like Abu al-Wafa, Yeshuʿ of Basibrina and Joseph the Iberian, is their love of foreign terminologies, which evidently made their style stilted. Another fluent writer for whom the language became pliable was Joseph Bar Gharīb. His counterpart, Patriarch Bahnam of Ḥidl, had the same literary qualities except for the few Greek expressions he used. As for the remaining authors, their style was marked by mediocrity. Jacob of Quṭrubul, for example, exaggerated the use of forced style and poor rhymed prose in the five *ḥusoyos* he wrote in commemoration of Malke the ascetic. The copy containing these *ḥusoyos* was consigned to a church in Amid and was neglected. Other authors of *ḥusoyos* forced the style of supplicatory prayers and made them alphabetical forward and backward, while some others inserted in them rhymed phrases whose combinations of letters indicate their names.

No small number of *ḥusoyos* were composed and used in the author's native land or the land neighboring it, especially the *ḥusoyos* of the later authors of Tur ʿAbdin. These writers were fascinated by the description of the life stories of the known ascetics and martyrs in their country. The *ḥusoyos* of the priest Simon of Amid were never used, but remained in the copy in his own handwriting. In the library of Boston, in the United States, we found a volume (MS.

4031)[1] containing *ḥusoyos* for the period from the Sunday of the Consecration of the Church to the Festival of the Cross, written in a thick, elegant Estrangelo script. The five services of worship are complete in this manuscript. This MS. was completed in the tenth or eleventh century, but apparently did not come into widespread use in the East. Therefore, Abu Naṣr of Barṭelli wrote most of the *ḥusoyos* for the nocturnal and third-hour services and raised the number of the services of worship to seven. All copies which we have read in the churches of Iraq, Jazira and others contain these *ḥusoyos*.

The oldest copy of the *ḥusoyos* is the Paris MS. 70, called the Service Book of Priests. Completed in 1059, it is a very small book, written in beautiful Estrangelo script; it consists of three liturgies as well as *ḥusoyos* for the whole year, followed by preliminary supplicatory prayers. The ancient British Museum MS. 14494 contains some *ḥusoyos*, incense prayers and supplications recited between the parts of the Psalms. Some of these prayers were alphabetically arranged, while others were written by Quryaqos, metropolitan of Tella at the end of the sixth century. The Jerusalem MS. 55 (St. Mark's Monastery) contains a sacerdotal written on paper in a good Estrangelo script by the priest Saʿid Shamli, the son of priest John of Ḥiṣn Ziyad, in 1171. This sacerdotal contains *ḥusoyos* for Epiphany and the Sundays thereafter, Lent, Passion Week, the Resurrection, the Ascension, Pentecost, the *mdabronutho* or Dispensation of our Lord, the apostles, saints, the Assumption of the Virgin, festivals of some saints, namely St. John, St. George and St. Barṣoum and others. It also contains diverse supplicatory prayers, recited before or after the *ḥusoyos* or between the *marmithos* or psalms as well as *ḥusoyos* for fasting, written in a Western script. The Paris MS. 167 contains a volume of *ḥusoyos* in the handwriting of Patriarch Michael the Great, dated 1190, for use from the festival of the Consecration of the Church to the Pentecost, interspersed with the festivals of the Virgin, the apostles, the doctors and the martyrs. It contains copious prayers including groups of one, two or three *ḥusoyos* for some festival days and Sundays, a few other *ḥusoyos* for Lent and one *ḥusoyo* for each day of Passion Week except Good Friday, which has three. These *ḥusoyos*

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[1] See earlier notes concerning manuscripts located at Boston. (tr.)

differ sharply in the number of their introductory prayers and texts and have only one *sedro* for the dispensation of our Lord and repentance, in addition to the compline and vespers prayers.

In the Monastery of the Cross, near the village of Defna in Tur ʿAbdin, we found a manuscript (transcribed in 1555) containing one hundred seventy *ḥusoyos*. Another manuscript in the village of Meddo, transcribed between 1460 and 1480, contains three hundred and seven *ḥusoyos* which fill four thousand medium-sized pages. Indeed, this volume is a great literary treasure which, because of its style, has a considerable place in Syriac literature.

Moreover, when the Arabic language spread throughout the lands of the Syrians and supplanted Syriac, some of the later authors (from the end of the fifteenth century onwards) were forced to translate the majority of *ḥusoyos* into Arabic. Thus a monk, David of Ḥomṣ, translated some of them, sometimes well and sometimes in a mediocre style. Those who followed, especially in the eighteenth century, rendered the *ḥusoyos* in very imperfect, poor Arabic and even distorted their meanings.

Section Nine: The Orders of Baptism, Matrimony, Unction and Confession

The Syrian Church has a service book containing prayers for the order of the Sacrament of Baptism. This order has two forms, one for the baptism of boys and the other for girls. Some prayers of this order are ascribed to the Saints Clement and Dionysius the Areopagite and others to St. Severus of Antioch. Our long service book mentions that these prayers were based on the order of baptism by Severus of Antioch, translated from the Greek by Jacob of Edessa. This has also been confirmed by John of Dara, Moses Bar Kepha, Bar Ṣalibi and Bar Hebraeus. An old manuscript in the British Museum shows that Paul, metropolitan of Tella, translated the order of baptism of Severus (from Greek).[1] It contains two services, one for the neophyte and the other for the baptized.

We have another short order recited during the child's sickness and an even shorter one, probably not more than two pages, written by either Philoxenus of Mabug or Severus of Antioch, for

[1] Brit. Mus. MSS. 14495 and 14499.

baptizing the very seriously ill child. In MS. 17128 of the British Museum we found an order of baptism by Timothy of Alexandria (457-477). The Jerusalem MS. 127 contains a short order of about ten pages, written by Patriarch John Bar Shushan and used in the event of imminent death. A manuscript in the Za'faran Monastery contains an exposition by Severus of Antioch on the order of baptism in three pages. The Church of Mosul has a special short order, different from the Western order and undoubtedly was written by the Eastern fathers. I have also seen, in the village of Barṭelli, an order abridged by a Maphryono, most likely Bar Hebraeus.

The order for the benediction of marriage and the ceremony of coronation, which had been compiled, arranged and revised by St. Jacob of Edessa and other doctors of the church,[1] contains two services; the first is the betrothal prayer, or the benediction of the wedding ring; the second is the benediction of marriage. This order is followed by another special order for the marriage of a widowed spouse. At the close of the fourteenth century, the priest Isaiah of Basibrina made this order separate from that for persons previously unmarried; the commentary which he wrote on it has since been incorporated into the introduction to this rite. A rather long order of marriage, different from our Western order, is used in Mosul and its neighboring churches.

The mystery of unction, administered to the sick and the penitent who demand it, has an order consisting of five services concerning forgiveness and repentance, recited by the priest over the oil used for anointing the sick. Another short order, comprising a *ḥusoyo* (propitiatory prayer), one lesson from the Gospels and a few verses of prayers recited over the sick, is still preserved in the village of Ḥafar.

We also have a general order recited during the confession of sins. After the penitent has confessed his sins to the bishop or priest and listened to his advice, he kneels down with his hands crossed, while the priest recites the order which consists of the *'enyono* (anthem), *ḥusoyo* (propitiatory prayer) and *qolo* (hymn), scriptural lessons and a *bo'utho*, a supplicatory prayer. Then the priest exhorts the confessor to repeat the canon of confession,

[1] St. Mark's Library MS. 113; Bibliothèque Nationale MS. 110.

after which, while placing his hand on the head of the confessor, he recites the prayer of absolution and forgiveness. An ancient copy of this order is preserved in the Vatican MS. 51, transcribed by the monk Abu al-Faraj of Amid from the copy which had been arranged and vocalized by Patriarch Michael the Great. Another copy is extant in Amid. This order, however, ceased to be used some time ago because of its length and was replaced by the short prayer of absolution.

Section Ten: Order of the Offices of Ordination and the Administration of Sacraments by the Clergy

This huge service book contains:

1. The prayers of the various offices of ordination for low and high church ranks, such as the offices of singer, reader, subdeacon, deacon, archdeacon, priest, chorepiscopus, abbot, periodeutes [visitor], bishop, metropolitan, Maphryono or Catholicos and Patriarch, as well as the order for assumption of the monastic habit of monks and nuns, according to the tradition of the holy mountain of Edessa, as is mentioned by the two manuscripts in Jerusalem and Paris,[1] whose canons were enacted by Metropolitan John Saʿid Bar Ṣabuni.[2] It also contains the benediction for deacons, abbots and church stewards.

2. The order for consecration of churches, new altars and tablets for the altar.

3. The order for consecration of baptismal oil and unction. This order has two versions, the long and the short; an old copy of the short version is preserved in our library (at Ḥomṣ).

4. The order for consecration of the Sacrament of the Holy Chrism, which is the exclusive right of the Patriarch of Antioch.

5. Prayers for the penitents and heretics who rejoin the Orthodox Church. To these later was added the order by which the ascetics assume the leather habit, translated from the Ethiopian language into Syriac and revised by Joseph the Iberian, metropolitan of Jerusalem (d. 1537).

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[1] St. Mark's Library MS. 113, Bibliothèque Nationale MS. 110.

[2] From a *Beth Gazo* in the Brit. Mus. MS. 17232, written in 1210.

6. The order for installing a new bishop.[1]

Ordinations are preceded by instructions for the elect priests and deacons, according to which the ordained confesses that he will follow the teachings of the fathers and doctors of the catholic church and obey the Patriarch of Antioch and the metropolitan of his diocese and will renounce the heretics and dissenters, enumerating them one by one from the Apostolic era to the ninth century. This statement of creed has two versions: a long one comprising ten pages, of which two copies, written in the beginning of the thirteenth century, are preserved in our library and in the Vatican MS. 51; and a shorter, more commonly used one, written by Jacob, metropolitan of Miyapharqin, in the middle of the tenth century.

The new bishop also reads a statement of creed drawn by Patriarch Quryaqos in which he confesses the church's creed of faith, pledges allegiance to the doctors of the church and excommunicates the heretics and declares his obedience to the Patriarch of Antioch. The copy of this order was completed in 806.[2] At the same time, the Patriarch provides the new bishop with a statement called the *sosṭathiqon*, or the diploma of investiture, in which he invests him with episcopal powers to administer his diocese and orders his congregation to obey him. In Meddo, in Tur ʿAbdin, we found the oldest copy of this order, written in the thirteenth century and containing the investiture of Basilius, metropolitan of Khabur, by Ignatius III, Patriarch of Antioch in 1231 and signed by John II Bar Maʿdani, Maphryono of the East and by four bishops.[3] Our copy is a reproduction of this one. Later, however, this diploma of investiture was translated into Arabic; we possess two copies of the translation, completed in 1768 and 1806.

To the order of the consecration of the Patriarch, Jacob Bar Ṣalibi, metropolitan of Amid, added a homily, which he delivered during the ceremony of enthroning Michael the Great (at the close of 1166); another homily on the assumption of the monastic habit by monks and initiates written by Moses Bar Kepha, was finished

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[1] Also called "*Suntroniso*," a copy of which is preserved at our church in Ḥafar, a village near Ḥomṣ.

[2] St. Mark's Library MS. 118, from which our copy is taken.

[3] This should read five instead of four. See below p. 232 of the Arabic version. (tr.)

by Bar Ṣalibi. The order of the consecration of the holy Chrism is followed by two anonymous homilies, one of which was recited after the ceremony. This ceremony is also followed by a heptasyllabic discourse chanted by the archdeacons in praise of the officiating dignitary and another dodecasyllabic discourse in which the bishop blesses the congregation. A copy of this metrical discourse is extant in MS. 109 in our library at Jerusalem.

The oldest manuscript of the office of ordination is the copy of Patriarch Michael the Great, dated 1190.[1] This illustrious church dignitary was the last to revise and arrange the orders of the offices of ordination, which had been in a state of confusion. His copy is most reliable. Two other copies are extant in our church in the town of Maʿmurat al-ʿAziz; one of them was completed in either 1190 or 1200 and the second was transcribed and commented upon by the Bishop John David of Amid in 1203. Two other magnificent copies were transcribed by the deacon ʿAbd Allah of Barṭelli in 1300,[2] at the request of Gabriel, bishop of the Jazira. Two more ancient copies are extant in our Library, together with an elegant copy transcribed by Joseph, metropolitan of Jerusalem, reproduced from the copy of the monk Abu al-Faraj of Amid, the secretary of Patriarch Michael.[3] Another copy, in the handwriting of Patriarch Nuḥ, dated 1506, is available in the Library at Jerusalem.[4]

Section Eleven: Service Book for Principal Feasts

The Syrians have a special service book for principal feasts called the *mʿadhʿdhono*. It contains the Orders for the Nativity of our Lord, the Order for the consecration of water on the Epiphany, the Order for the Monday of Lent called the Monday of Forgiveness, the Order for the mid-Lent Festival of the Cross, the Order for the Consecration of Branches on Palm Sunday, the Festival of Lights or the Night of Entrance into the Heavenly Chamber, the Order for the Washing of Feet on the Thursday of Passion Week, the

[1] Bibliothèque Nationale MS. 113.

[2] Jerusalem Library MS. 109; also in the library of the Edessans in Aleppo.

[3] Zaʿfaran Library MS. 220.

[4] Jerusalem Library MS. 26.

Burial Service of the Cross on Good Friday,[1] the Order for Peace on Easter morning, the Order for the Adoration of the Cross on Pentecost and the Order for the Benediction of the Cross.

The Eastern rite contains hymns chanted in the festivals commemorating Simon the Aged and the Presentation of our Lord in the Temple. The *Beth Gazo* of the ʿAyn Ward, written in 1468, mentions the Benediction of the Cross according to the custom of the Church of the Forty Martyrs in Mardin. Also, the service book of the principal feasts of the Monastery of Mar Eugene contains the Benediction of the Cross used in the festivals of the Virgin and the saints.

The *Beth Gazo* of the Jerusalem Library (MS. 62, dated 1569), mentions that the order for the consecration of water (on Epiphany day) was written by Severus, Patriarch of Antioch, but revised and vocalized by Jacob of Edessa. According to Jacob of Edessa, the first prayer for the consecration of water in the festival of Epiphany, beginning "Great art thou, O Lord and wonderful are thy works," was composed by Proclus, bishop of a diocese of Cyprus. And when St. Epiphanius, metropolitan of Cyprus, read this prayer in 404, he admired it and expanded it. This prayer exists in the Byzantine rite because its author, St. Proclus, lived in the middle of the fourth century, not in the seventh, as Lucian has erroneously stated in his book, *The Christian Orient*. Although the old British Museum MS. 14494, written on vellum, mentions that the author of the consecration of water on the Epiphany was Proclus of Constantinople (d. 444), yet the testimony here about Jacob of Edessa is more thorough and accurate.[2]

In his comment on the service book of principal feasts in Barṭelli, on January 30, 1282, Bar Hebraeus states that in the Eastern rite the deacon recites, at the consecration of water, the

[1] The order of forgiveness occurs on the Saturday of Annunciation, according to the service book transcribed by the Patriarch Basilius in 1443. See manuscript 23 of the Jerusalem Library and the *Mʿadhʿdhono* (*Service Book of Feasts*) transcribed by the Monk Malke Saqu in 1484 in the Monastery of Mar Eugene which ends with a homily on love given by the bishop.

[2] Fol. 16a of MS. 14494 mentions the order for the consecration of water on the Epiphany, but does not give the name of any author. See W. Wright, *Catalogue of Syrian Manuscripts*, 1: 217. (tr.)

prayer for the descent of the Holy Ghost. He was annoyed and for eighteen years kept patient, until the clergy convinced of their error, agreed to follow the Western rite in this case.[1]

In an old copy (of this service book) in the handwriting of deacon David Joseph the Egyptian, dated 1403, we are informed that Saʿid Bar Ṣabuni, metropolitan of Melitene, compiled an Order for the consecration of Branches on Palm Sunday and that he corrected and vocalized the Order of the Adoration of the Pentecost.[2]

What should be noted here is that the traditions and customs of performing the rituals and prayers differed in the countries of the Syrians. The practiced customs were called traditions or perhaps better still "Orders." The most important of these were the Order of Edessa, the Order of the Monastery of Qenneshrin, the Order of Melitene, the Order of the Monastery of Mar Barṣoum and the Order of the East practised in Takrit and Mosul, the Order of Mardin and the Monastery of Mar Ḥananya, the order of Amid, the order of the Monastery of Qarṭmin, the order of Tur ʿAbdin, the order of Mesopotamia, the order of the upper Jazira situated on the river Khabur. Also, the Monastery of Mar Abḥai, the Monastery of Noṭfo were sometimes in this regard added to the Monastery of Mar Ḥananya.

In his comment on the Eastern Rite or Order mentioned once before, Bar Hebraeus states that during his occupation of the See of Takrit he discovered many differences between the Eastern and the Western orders. But he found in the arrangement of the Eastern Order with its diverse forms and divisions an arresting beauty which made him admit to the excellence of its authors. He only criticized the specific prayer for the benediction of the water in the Feast of the Epiphany mentioned before.

In order to give an idea of the orders of the principal feasts as well as of the different traditions used in performing the rituals, we

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[1] See the Service Book of Feasts in the Zaʿfaran Library MS. 212, called *Mʿadhʿdhono* in Syriac and *Hirmologion* in Greek. There are two copies of this book according to the Byzantine rite in the Library of Mount Sinai, one of them (MS. 40) written on vellum and the other one (MS. 64) on paper dated 1255.

[2] Preserved at the Syrian Church in Cairo.

should quote the *Beth Gazo* compiled by Simon, metropolitan of ʿAyn Ward as an illustration:

"To begin with, we have the Order of the Nativity according to the tradition of the Church of the Forty Martyrs in Mardin; the Order of Epiphany revised by Jacob of Edessa and preceded by an explanatory note by George, bishop of the Arabs, and followed by a commentary by Bar Hebraeus. (This order has been arranged according to the tradition of the Monastery of Mar Barṣoum, the Monastery of Mar Ḥananya and the Monastery of Noṭfo (Strangers) as copied from the manuscript of Rabban Ṣaliba Khayrun [al-Shaykh] in 1340 which in turn was transcribed from the copy of Patriarch Michael the Great). Then, the Order of the Presentation of Our Lord in the Temple according to the tradition of Mardin; the Order of Forgiveness for the Lent; a second order according to the tradition of Mardin; the Order of the Consecration of Branches transcribed from the copy of Rabban Ṣaliba from the copy of Patriarch Michael the Great; the Order of Lights according to the Edessan tradition; the celebration of the Divine Eucharist on Christmas eve as well as on the evening of Thursday of the Passion Week; the Order of Good Friday (the Crucifixion) according to the tradition of the Church of the Forty Martyrs in Mardin; a second Order according to the tradition of the Monastery of St. Gabriel in Tur ʿAbdin; the Order of Easter according to the traditions of the Monasteries of Mar Barṣoum and Mar Ḥananya, another order for Easter according to the beautiful established tradition of the Monastery of St. Gabriel."

Simon of ʿAyn Ward also alluded to an Eastern ritualistic tradition in the festival of the Ascension according to which the deacon lifts up the paten and the priest the cup during the final elevation of the Mysteries. The custom is still used in Mosul and all of Iraq until this day.

Section Twelve: Funeral Service Books

The Funeral Service Book, or the *Phanqitho* order of burials,[1] or the handbook of burials,[2] is of two parts. The first contains the funeral

[1] See Anton of Takrit, *On the Knowledge of Rhetorics*, part 2, treatise 5.

[2] Brit. Mus. MS. 14525; also Severus of Barṭelli, *The Cave of Treasure*, 2: 39.

service for deacons, priests, bishops, Maphryonos and Patriarchs. It is comprised of eight services, all of which are recited in the funeral of Patriarchs, seven for the Maphryonos, six for the bishops, five for the priests and four for the deacons. This first part was compiled and arranged by Jacob of Edessa. But an eloquent and passionate metrical hymn composed by John Bar Andrew (d. 1156), metropolitan of Mabug and then of Tur ʿAbdin was added to it in the middle of the twelfth century. The oldest copy of this part is contained in a magnificent vellum manuscript completed in the twelfth century too.[1] Another copy is in London.[2] Attached with it is the Order of the Funeral Service of monks, three copies of which are in Boston, St. Matthew's Monastery and Qaraqosh, respectively.

The second part contains the funeral service for laymen, namely children, young men and women and grown up men and women. Originally it contained one service only, but today it is made up of three services, each one of them special to these groups of laymen. In fact, the above-mentioned Boston MS. contains four times of prayers for each one of these services. In an old fourteenth century manuscript in the handwriting of Simon[3] it is mentioned that this second part was compiled and revised also by Jacob of Edessa.

The funeral service consists of the chanting of psalms, appropriate lessons from the Holy Bible, the chanting of *qolos* and *madroshos* (metrical hymn) as well as *ghnizos* (prosaic mystic hymns), *takhshheftos* and *ḥusoyos* (supplicatory songs and prayers) and a *boʿutho* (litany). The funeral service for priests is usually concluded by a four-syllabic hymn of excellent poetry, perhaps composed by Asuna, the disciple of St. Ephraim, which begins with: "Thou has created me whilst I was non-existent and as thou hast created me have mercy on me." The funeral service for laymen is likewise concluded by a passionate metrical hymn by the same poet which begins thus: "Our Lord shall come and raise the dead. I have been separated from you my beloved ones, therefore, pray for me in order to go and receive the Lord's favor." There is a third metrical hymn by Asuna mentioned by Anton of Takrit which begins thus:

[1] Boston MS. 4013.

[2] Brit. Mus. MS. 14502.

[3] Boston MS. 4016. Also Jerusalem MS. 130 which states: "According to the new revision made by Jacob of Edessa."

"My days have come to an end." These hymns which were called "the ancient hymns" ceased to be used except by the churches of Iraq.[1]

An old funeral service book written in elegant fine Estrangelo script in 823 and preserved in MS. 92 in the Vatican contains the following: Thirty-one songs by St. Ephraim, two of which begin thus: "I have rejoiced when they told me" and "Farewell, O earthly abode" (both of which are used in the Eastern Rite) and another hymn whose origin is unknown to us: "My days have passed;" metrical songs for different clerical ranks, one of which is for bishops and begins with "Who does not rejoice," and several metrical hymns by St. Ephraim and St. Isaac together with hymns and canticles for the funeral services for bishops, monks, deacons and stylite ascetics. It also contains three consolatory discourses for priests and deacons, two of which are in prosaic form and the third in metrical (composed by Asuna and beginning: "Brethren, implore the King for me and pray with tears for I am separated from you forever").

The ancient funeral service books contained metrical hymns for the dead selected from the odes of Sts. Ephraim and Isaac and Jacob of Sarug. Several manuscripts dealing with this subject shall be discussed later. We have also found in Meddo in Tur ʿAbdin an old manuscript written in the thirteenth century which mentions the different customs in conducting the funeral services in Tur ʿAbdin, Mardin, Melitene, ʿAnī,[2] Syria, Palestine and other places. Another manuscript with elegant script completed at the beginning of the fifteenth century and preserved in our church in Ḥamah contains a funeral service according to the orders of Melitene, Ḥiṣn Ziyad and the northern countries. It also contains another funeral service for the priest according to the order of Tur ʿAbdin, from which has been copied the new MS. 118 of the Jerusalem library.

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[1] Anton of Takrit. *On the Knowledge of Rhetorics*, part 2, treatise 5.

[2] ʿAnī was the capital of Armenia (1000). It is situated east of the city of Kars. In discussing the events of the year 1063, Bar Hebraeus relates in his *Chronography* (p. 242) that ʿAnī had 700,000 houses and 1,000 churches. It was destroyed by an earthquake in 1319. See S. H. Sami, *Qāmūs al-ʿĀlam al-Turkī*, 1, p. 447 and Pero, *The Geographical Dictionary*, 49.

Section Thirteen: Choral Books

The Syrians collected their church hymns and praises in a thick volume which they called *Beth Gazo* (The Treasure of Melodies). It contains:

1. The *shḥimo* or service book for regular weekday prayers.

2. A collection of hymns called "*shahros*," or vigils to be sung by the "*shohre*" or *vigiles* in Latin and *spoutheyos* in Greek. These singers were greatly concerned about the organization of the times of prayers. Their rank, however, followed that of the singers and, like priests and deacons of different ranks, they were supervised by the archdeacon. Their function is an old one in the church. They were mentioned by Marutha of Miyapharqin in the treatise, which he wrote between 408 and 410, addressed to Isaac, the Catholicos of Ctesiphon.[1]

This collection contained hymns for the praise of the Virgin, the saints and the martyrs, on repentance as well as on a description of the Cross, on the Nativity of Our Lord, the Resurrection and the commemoration of the dead. These vigils are fifty-one in number and in some manuscripts fifty-three.[2] Each one of them consists of either four, six, or eight lines and sometimes twenty-one and even twenty-seven lines. Only a manuscript transcribed by the bishop Bahnam of Arbo in 1568 exclusively contains one type of these songs called *quqoyos* which comprises sixty-seven lines. Other manuscripts state that these *quqoyos* were composed by St. Ephraim except for the famous *quqoyo* composed by the deacon Simon the Potter and his band of potters.[3] However, it is incorrect to ascribe all these *quqoyos* to St. Ephraim, for the Potter (Simon) has composed many lines of poetry and chorals of different meters similar to those composed by ancient poets who are unknown to us.

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[1] Patriarch Aphram Rahmani, *Studia Syriaca*, 3: 17, quoting Vatican MS. 89 which had been moved to the Borgian Museum.

[2] Birmingham MS. 321.

[3] The *quqoye* were the songs or hymns composed by potters who, while spinning their wheels amused themselves by extemporizing church songs. Most famous among these potters was Simon, who was discovered and encouraged by Jacob of Edessa to continue the composition of songs. Simon died in 514. (tr.)

3. The *madroshos* or hymns composed by St. Ephraim, which numbered five hundred, most of which are lost. According to one source only forty-six or fifty *madroshos* have survived, but other sources count sixty-seven. One manuscript alone mentions one hundred and seven *madroshos*. Not all of the *madroshos* contain many lines, especially those composed in commemoration of the Virgin, saints, etc. Those having a great number of lines cover the most widely used hymns based on the eight tunes such as the *madroshos* beginning with *Honaw yarḥo*, *Abo kthab hwo egartho*, *Qum Phawlos*, *Phardayso* and others. No doubt, church poets have frequently composed their poems based on the meters. But it would be difficult to distinguish the *madroshos* composed in the early period by eloquent poets from those of St. Ephraim. The *madroshos* of the second period are easily distinguishable. The total number of lines of the fifty-one *madroshos* is nine hundred and five lines.

4. The *takhsheftos*, or supplicatory hymns, number three hundred, of which we only have two hundred and fifty-four. One manuscript enumerates only one hundred and thirty of these prayers.[1] Scholars also differ on the authors of these supplicatory hymns. To us, the author was Rabula, bishop of Edessa (d. 435), while a certain *Beth Gazo* mentions that they were written by St. Ephraim as well as Rabula and arranged by Jacob of Edessa.[2] According to another source the authors were St. Ephraim, Rabula and later authors who added to them their own *takhsheftos*.[3] Still another source maintains that they were composed by Rabula and others, including Marutha of Takrit.[4]

5. The *mawrbos* or magnificats, is based on eight tunes and consists of two hundred and seven lines.

6. The *ghnizos* (prosaic supplicatory hymns) which to some scholars number seventy-two, to others eighty-three or even one hundred and nineteen.

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[1] Jerusalem MS. 60.

[2] The Woodbrooke Library in Birmingham, MS. 37.

[3] The *Book of Maʿnithos* in the library of the Church of al-Ṭāhira (The Virgin Mary) in Mosul, Iraq.

[4] A sixteenth century *Beth Gazo* written in Mardin.

7. The *ma'bronos* or funeral songs, number one hundred and seven, one of which was composed by Bar Qiqi.[1]

8. The *shubohos* or praises chanted during the administration of the Divine Eucharist.

9. The *stikhunos* or stiches, hymns composed by Cyril of Jerusalem (d. 386) and especially used in the order of the consecration of the Holy Chrism and the clergy.

10. *Stikharos* or stichera, hymns composed by John Chrysostom.

11. The *'eqbos* (short prayers usually follow the supplicatory prayer for incense). They are eighty-one in number and have in some cases a refrain called *kurokho*, which is changed antiphonally at the beginning of the evening and during the nocturnal prayers.

12. Processional hymns for the circle of the year which are mentioned only in an eastern *Beth Gazo*.[2]

13. *Sughithos*, or canticles of hepta-syllabic meter.

14. *Zumoros* praises numbering seven hundred and twenty-eight, attached with them, are the *phethghomos* or jubilation songs which are selected sections of the psalms. The authors of these praises and jubilation songs are unknown.

15. *'Enyonos*, or anthems numbering thirty-seven, the majority of which are composed by St. Ephraim. One copy has fifty-five of them.

16. The *cathismatos* or sessions numbering one hundred and seven, especially those used on Sundays and other festivals. It is said that they were translated from the Greek. The *Beth Gazo* in the village of Bati of Tur 'Abdin mentions that the *cathismatos* were composed by St. Ephraim.

17. The *ma'nithos*, prose hymns numbering more than three hundred and seventy, two hundred and ninety of which came from the pen of St. Severus of Antioch. The rest were written by John Bar Aphtonia, John the Chanter, and others. Choral books contained a group of these hymns, one of which was written by Barṣoum, Maphryono of the East (d. 1454), on the sinner woman (in the Bible).[3]

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[1] According to a *Beth Gazo* at St. George's Church in Damascus written in 1564.

[2] Birmingham MS. 321.

[3] These *ma'nithos* are called in Greek *oktoêchos*. Four old Syriac copies of them are preserved in the Mount Sinai Library MS. 25 written on vellum

18. The Greek canons of eight tones mainly written by Jacob of Edessa, Andrew of Takrit, Cosmas and John of Damascus.[1] Some of them were composed by Syrian poets. These canons, which number thirty-four, comprised of seven hundred and fifty lines belong to the orders of both Edessa and Melitene.

19. The *boʿuthos* or supplicatory hymns, are select hymns composed by Sts. Ephraim, Isaac, Balai and Jacob of Edessa. To these are attached the *tbirto*, an introductory verse recited before each supplicatory hymn.

20. The *koruzuthos* or conciones, composed by later poets especially David of Ḥomṣ and Masʿud of Zāz to be chanted before higher ranks of the clergy prior to the reading of the Gospels. Because of their inferior composition and poor meaning they were dropped from use.

21. Orders of the principal festivals.

22. The eastern intercession.

23. Diverse supplications.

24. The calendars or chronicles.

The oldest, largest and most significant copy of the choral books is in the MS. 1/5 at the Sharfeh Monastery. Another rare bulky copy, in the Monastery of St. Abraham in Midyat, was unfortunately lost during World War I. We have a comprehensive copy in our library (at Ḥomṣ), which contains *madroshos* and other hymns as shall be seen later. A short *Beth Gazo* containing fifty-four *madroshos*, most of which are made up of one or two lines, was printed in the Zaʿfaran Monastery in 1913 and reprinted in 1925.

Section Fourteen: Prayer Books of Priests and Monks

Some of the church fathers wrote different prayers for the blessing of meals, fruits, fields, crops, homes, children and the sick. They also wrote prayers for reconciliation, for the driving away of harm, pestilences and calamities and for confined women, etc. Of these

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in an Estrangelo script, while MSS. 72, 73 and 79 are written on paper in the ordinary Malkite script.

[1] There are six copies of these in the Mt. Sinai Library, five of which are old (written on vellum in the Estrangelo script, MSS. 10, 22, 27, 36 and 44). A sixth copy, written on paper in ordinary script, is dated 1301. It contains a service book, canons and *ʿenyonos*.

prayers, forty-five are extant in the Service Book of Ordinations in the handwriting of Bishop Joseph the Iberian.[1] They were compiled in a small book entitled "The Priest's Prayer Book." The books of the *Beth Gazo* also contain a group of these prayers.

Monks also have a small book containing a group of supplicatory prayers which they recite daily during the seven times of prayer. The purpose of these prayers is to elevate the mind to God, contemplate His wonderful works, praise Him and ask His forgiveness. Some of these prayers are beautiful samples of eloquence and rhetoric. They were mainly written by the ascetics Ephraim, Abraham of Qaydun, Macarius the Egyptian, Gregory the resident of Cyprus (who wrote forty prayers), Isaac, John the Lesser, John the Apocalyptic, Seraphion, Paul bishop of Cnotus, Simon the Stylite, Shanudin, Isaiah and others. They were also written by doctors of the church like Athanasius, Basilius, Gregory Nazianzen, John Chrysostom, Euthycus, Philoxenus and Severus. We have also found three old copies of this prayer book, the first of which was written around 1420,[2] the second in 1500 in the handwriting of the monk Sergius of Ḥaḥ,[3] and the third in 1507.[4] Later scholars translated these supplicatory prayers into mediocre Arabic.

Section Fifteen: The Book of Life

The Syrians had a book or record called the *Diptychs* (meaning the Two Tablets) or, in Syriac, *Sphar Ḥaye* (the Book of Life or Living). This book contained a lengthy account of the redemptive works of Our Lord Jesus Christ followed by a list of the prophets, the apostles, the evangelists, the ancient doctors of the church, the illustrious chiefs of priests in the world, the saints, the martyrs, the ascetics, the pious women of the Old Testament, the female

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[1] Zaʿfaran Library MS. 220.

[2] The Library of St. Matthew's Monastery, Collection of Ascetic Literature.

[3] At the Lazarus Monastery in Ḥabsnas, Tur ʿAbdin.

[4] The Church of al-Ṭāhira (the Virgin Mary) in Mosul. A copy of this book of prayer is in the Sharfeh Monastery MS. 112 (transcribed by Maphryono Simon of Beth Manʿim with marginal notes, while he was a monk in Mar Abḥai's Monastery in 1696).

martyrs, the virgins and the ascetic women. It also includes a record of the Patriarchs of Antioch, the Maphryonos of the East, the incumbent bishops of the dioceses in which this record was read and preserved and the names of a group of eminent priests, deacons, monks and nuns and men of charitable and religious endowment. Only a very small group of the betrayers of the faith and immoral men were excluded. A few blank sheets were also left for recording new names.

This splendid book was read during the celebration of the Divine Eucharist on principal festivals after the Kiss of Peace. In some churches it was read once a year only to perpetuate the memory of the church fathers and dignitaries; then, it was placed on the altar for the rest of the year. This book is very old and had been mentioned by the author of the book attributed to Areopagite at the close of the fifth century and also by Moses Bar Kepha (d. 903). However, its recitation was dropped around the eleventh century. In 1909, we found two old copies of this book, the first in Basibrina (consisting of 140 medium-sized pages and written in 1499 for the Monastery of Qarṭmin and containing important historical information) and the second in the village of Zāz (written in legible hand in the first quarter of the sixteenth century). The latter consists of 80 pages and is smaller than the former. We copied more than half of these two copies and eliminated the names of priests, monks and laymen. We were later informed that they were lost through the catastrophes of the war.[1]

The Vatican MS. 39 contains a very short and insignificant version of this book which contains a portion of religious endowment written for the church of Aleppo in the middle of the seventeenth century from which a photographic copy was made for the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. Another short copy in Mosul, was commented upon in 1825, from which a copy in our library at Ḥomṣ was duplicated. Other copies are to be found in the village of Barṭelli and two in Birmingham (MSS. 3 and 172). Unfortunately, through the vicissitudes of time no trace has been left in our churches of this useful and comprehensive record and with it a great deal of information about the history of our Syrian dioceses was lost.

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[1] World War I. (tr.)

Section Sixteen: Calendar of Festivals For The Whole Year

A part of the Syriac rituals is the Calendar of Festivals which contains a table of the festivals, commemorations and fasting periods for the whole year. It was prescribed by the Syrians in the first few centuries. As a matter of fact, the second oldest copy of this calendar in Christendom is in Syriac and was written in 411.[1] It contained the names as well as festivals of the saints in general and included a group of the Persian martyrs. It exactly corresponds with the table of Anba Jerome.

At the end of the sixth century the monks of the famous Monastery of Qenneshrin had established a special calendar which contained the names of the saints who flourished in this monastery including some of its abbots. They had also days of festivals fixed for their commemoration. At the end of the seventh century, Jacob of Edessa drew up a general calendar for the whole year which included former feasts, fasting and commemorations except the locally observed commemorations. This calendar was used for a long time, but new names of church dignitaries and ascetics were added to it by Saʿīd Bar Ṣabuni, bishop of Melitene (d. 1095).[2] It was revised in the first quarter of the fourteenth century by the monk-priest Ṣaliba Bar Khayrun of Ḥaḥ (d. c. 1340) who also added to it the names of many bishops and pious ascetics of Tur ʿAbdin, particularly the monks of the monastery of Qarṭmin.

In Mosul we found a *Beth Gazo* of two leaves of an old but short calendar relating to the Eastern Church, transcribed in 1546 by the priest Denḥa of Beth Khudayda, which mentions a few Eastern bishops and ascetics, not present in other calendars. We copied these two leaves.[3]

We also have in our library at Ḥomṣ two copies transcribed from the old and lengthy original Edessan calendar of Bar Khayrun, one of which is in Amid and the other one in the library in Jerusalem. One of these copies, the lengthy one was published

[1] From a *phanqitho* in the Church of St. Moses in Damascus, transcribed in 1537.

[2] Birmingham MS. 321.

[3] The church in Amid and the library of St. Mark's Monastery in Jerusalem came under the jurisdiction of the writer who was, at the time of the writing of this book, the Patriarch. (tr.)

by Assemani in his *Bibliotheca Orientalis* while Peeters the Polish translated into Latin the mentioned calendar of Ṣaliba Bar Khayrun and published it in 1908 with insignificant commentaries.

In 1912, François Nau published his French translation with marginal notes of thirteen long and short calendars, beginning with the calendar of the year 411 and ending with the calendar of Qenneshrin.

We close this chapter with a word about the calendar of the movable feasts and days of fasting which was drawn up by Eusebius of Caesarea and later explained, arranged or abridged by Dioscorus Gabriel of Barṭelli, bishop of the island of Qardu, in 1296, then, by Chorepiscopus John of Ḥomṣ around 1716 and finally by Chorepiscopus Jacob of Quṭrubul in 1766. This last version of the calendar by Jacob of Quṭrubul covers a 532-year cycle (in Syriac, *tqlb*, a mnemonic representing the number 532 in the Syriac alphabet) was published by the subdeacon Gabriel Boyaji of Amid in College Point, New York in the United States.[1] It begins with the year 1914 and is projected to the year 2221. It serves as a key to the occurrence of the fasting of Nineveh, the Lent, the festivals of the Passover, the Ascension, the Epiphany and the Holy Cross as well as to the beginning of each month in weekdays.

Section Seventeen: The Oldest Manuscripts upon Which We Depended in Our Research

What follows is a carefully arranged list of the oldest manuscripts of service books to which we referred or depended upon in our research. They comprise about two hundred volumes.

MANUSCRIPT	CONTENTS
I. *PHANQITHOS*	
Vatican MS. 116	Different anthems (refrains) for the whole year written in 857.
Brit. Mus. MS. 307	A *Phanqitho* for the whole year written in 893.
Brit. Mus. MS. 14525	Prayers for Passion Week, Lent,

[1] This work entitled *Everlasting Calendar of the Orthodox Church* by Gabriel Boyajy (New York: College Point, June 1914). (tr.)

MANUSCRIPT	CONTENTS
	the saints, Palm Sunday and funeral services.
Brit. Mus. MS. 14719	Service Book.
Brit. Mus. MS. 14699	Service Book.
Brit. Mus. MS. 14708	General service book.
Berlin MS. 236	Service book for the whole year written in Estrangelo script on vellum, 9th and 10th century.
B. Nationale MS. 145	Very short general service book written in Estrangelo, in 1000.
Boston MSS. 3032 and 39571	General service book.
Jerusalem MS. 51	A brief service book for fasting in Estrangelo and feasts of saints, 11th and 12th century.
MS. at the Church of Anḥil	Two general service books in the Estrangelo script.
MS. at the Church of Diyarbakir	Two service books from the consecration of the church to the feasts of martyrs, 11th and 12th century.
MS. at the Church of the Edessans in Aleppo	The eighth service of the Resurrection and the principal feasts arranged by Jacob of Edessa, Estrangelo script.
Brit. Mus. MS. 350	The canons for the whole year according to the tradition of the Jazira.
Brit. Mus. MS. 341	The canons for the whole year dated 1189.
MS. at the Church of Diyarbakir	A very brief service book from the Consecration of the Church, to the feast of the Apostles, written before the 13th century.
MS. at the Church of Diyarbakir	A lengthy old service book of the Greek canons for the whole year.

[1] After the village of Beth Khudayda (present-day Qaraqosh) in northern Iraq.

MANUSCRIPT	CONTENTS
MS. at the Church of Diyarbakir	The service book of Resurrection and twenty-eight feasts transcribed by the monk Zebina in 1208.
MS. at the Church of Basibrina	A service book for the saints of the monastery of Qarṭmin written in Estrangelo by the monk Stephen around 1200.
MS. at the Church of Meddo	A service book for the Resurrection as well as the feasts, written in elegant Estrangelo script by the monk Simon of Ḥah in 1205.
MS. at the Church of Anḥil	A service book from the Consecration of the Church to the *ṭekso gawonoyo* (general order) written in Estrangelo in 1210.
MS. at the Church of al-Ṭāhira (the Virgin) in Mosul	The service book for Lent transcribed by the monk Masʿud in 1212.
MS. at the Church of al-Ṭāhira (the Virgin) in Mosul	Two service books for the feasts of the Virgin, one of which was completed in the year 1213.
MS. at Berlin	A service book for the whole year containing the Edessan calendar made according to the Edessan tradition, canons of Jacob of Edessa, as well as the orders of Mar Phula, Mar Simon d-beth Zayte and Mar Lazarus. Vol. 1, p. 43 of the Index.
MS. at the Monastery of St. Matthew	A service book of the Fast of Nineveh, the scarcity of rain and the three Fridays in the western script, 1241.
MS. at the Monastery of St. Matthew	A service book of fasting in the handwriting of Zebina in the

Manuscript	Contents
	13th century.
MS. at St. Thomas Church in Mosul	A service book of feasts, transcribed by Jacob of Talqbab in 1245.
MS. at St. Thomas Church in Mosul	A service book of Lent, compiled by the priest Abu al-Saʿādāt Ibn Duqayq of Mosul and transcribed by the priest Simon of Barṭelli in 1246.
MS. at the Church of ʿUrnus	Canons and anthems (refrains) for the whole year, written in Estrangelo in 1254.
MS. at the Church of Qaraqosh	A service book of the Resurrection and the Week of White, written in the 13th century.
MS. at the Church of Qaraqosh	A service book for the Lent.
MS. at the Church of Qaraqosh	A service book for the Fast of Nineveh and the three Fridays, dated 1270.
MS. at the Church of al-Ṭāhira (the Virgin) in Mosul	The service book of the Fast of Nineveh and the three Fridays dated 1269.
B. Nationale MS. 155	Yearly canons, the transcription of which is partly Edessan and partly of Melitene according to the new revision of 1279.
MS. at the Church of al-Ṭāhira (the Virgin) in Mosul	Two service books for the Passion written on paper in the Estrangelo script in 1301.
Medicio Laurenziana, MS. 35 B	A regular service book for weekday prayers as well as for Sundays and the festivals of saints.
MS. at our Church in Egypt	A service book for the consecration of the church and for the principal feasts as well as the festival of St. Thomas, transcribed by the monk Jacob

MANUSCRIPT	CONTENTS
	of Manʿim in 1383.
Berlin MS. 58	The orders of the Resurrection which follow the Pentecost written shortly before 1395.
MS. at the Zaʿfaran Monastery	The orders of principal feasts as well as the festivals of saints numbering forty orders, in the handwriting of Sulayman in the fourteenth century.
Jerusalem (St. Marks' Monastery) MS. 53	A service book for the festivals of the Nativity of our Lord and others arranged according to the celebration of services at the different holy places in Jerusalem, written before 1414.
Jerusalem MS. 52	The orders of Palm Sunday and the Passion Week in the handwriting of Patriarch Basilius Simon, written in the year 1443.
MS. at the Church of Basibrina	Two service books for the Resurrection, one of which was transcribed from six copies by monk Yeshuʿ of Basibrina in 1444.
MS. at the Monastery of Mar Malke	A large size service book, transcribed by the monk Malke Sāqo in 1476.
MS. at the St. Elijah Monastery in Ḥabab	A service book for the Resurrection in the handwriting of the monk Abraham of Basibrina, written in 1479.
MS. at the Kaʿbiyya Church	A service book of the Resurrection, the general orders and the Week of White, in the handwriting of the monk Malke Sāqo, written around 1480.
MS. at the Church of St. Moses in Damascus	A service book of the Resurrection and the saints

MANUSCRIPT	CONTENTS
	dated 1487. Another copy of the same manuscript in the same church was written in an elegant script before 1487.
MS. at the Church of Ḥiṣn Kifa	A winter service book in the handwriting of the monk Denḥa Sayfi of Salaḥ in 1496.
MS. at the Church of Qellith	The service books of the Resurrection and festivals of saints, transcribed by the monk Abraham of Kafar in 1505.
MS. at the Church of St. Moses	The service books of the Resurrection, the festivals of saints and the Week of White written in 1513.
MS. at the Church of St. George in Aleppo	The service books of the Resurrection, and of the saints in the handwriting of the monk Abraham of Nabk, written in 1526.
MS. at the St. Thomas Church in Mosul	The service book of Annunciation, i.e., the Christmas days of fasting, dated 1535.
MS. at the Church of Qellith	The service books of the Resurrection and the feasts in the handwriting of the monk Thomas of Midyat, written in 1553.

II. *ḤUSOYOS*

Boston MS. 4031	In vellum, a huge volume written in an elegant script between the 10th and 11th century. It contains orders from the consecration of the church to the Festival of the Cross.
Brit. Mus. MS. 14494	In vellum, some *ḥusoyos* in the Estrangelo script. Imperfect.
Brit. Mus. MS. 14495	Orders and *ḥusoyos* for fasting.

Manuscript	Contents
Brit. Mus. MS. 17128	*Ḥusoyos* for the whole year.
B. Nationale, Paris MS. 70	A sacerdotal for priests with a collection of *ḥusoyos* for the whole year according to the newly established revision, written in elegant Estrangelo script in 1059.
Jerusalem Library MS. 55	A sacerdotal for priests with a collection of unspecific *ḥusoyos*, written in the Estrangelo script by the priest Saʿid Shamli of Ḥiṣn Ziyad in 117 1.
B. Nationale, Paris MS. 167	Winter *ḥusoyos* in the handwriting of Michael the Great, written in 1190.
Zaʿfaran Monastery MS. 117	In vellum, *ḥusoyos* for the Passion Week as well as the festivals which succeed the Resurrection. Written in the Estrangelo script at the Monastery of Ascetics in the Mountain of Edessa in 1209.
MS. at the Church of Diyarbakir	On paper, unspecific *ḥusoyos* for the whole year. Written in Western script by Dioscorus Theodorus in 1225. Another copy of the same manuscript is in this church.
MS. at the Church of Diyarbakir	On vellum and paper, the *ḥusoyos* of the Passion as well as the summer *ḥusoyos*. Written in Western script by the monk Zebina in 1227.
MS. at the Church of al-Ṭāhira (the Virgin) in Mosul	Many *ḥusoyos* for the Apostles and the deeds of Christ Our Lord as well as a liturgy by Cyril of Ḥaḥ, written in the fourteenth century.
MS. at the Monastery of the	The *ḥusoyos* of fasting in the

MANUSCRIPT	CONTENTS
Cross in Makhr	handwriting of the monk Abraham of Ḥaḥ, written in the fourteenth century.
MS. at the Church of Ḥiṣn Kifa	A similar copy of the former manuscript, written in 1392.
MS. at the Zaʿfaran Monastery	The *ḥusoyos* of the Resurrection and the deeds of Christ Our Lord, in the handwriting of the priest Simon of Amid, written around 1450.
B. Nationale, Paris MS. 374	The *ḥusoyos* from the Nativity of John the Baptist till the end of the Passion Week, in the handwriting of the monk Sergius of Ḥaḥ, written at the close of the fifteenth century.
MS. at the Church of Meddo for winter	A huge volume containing 307 *ḥusoyos* in the handwriting of the monk Abraham Mutayra, written between 1460 and 1480.
MS. at the Monastery of Mar Malke	The *ḥusoyos* for the consecration of the church and for the Lent, transcribed by Joseph in 1468. Another manuscript in this Monastery contains *ḥusoyos* for the saints and the principal feasts.
MS. at the Church of Basibrina	A thick volume containing *ḥusoyos* from the consecration of the church to the Sunday of the Resurrection in the handwriting of the priest Addai, written in 1478.
MS. at the Church of Basibrina	The *ḥusoyos* of the Resurrection until the Dispensation of our Lord, in the handwriting of priest Addai, written in 1477.
MS. at the Church of Basibrina	The *ḥusoyos* of the festivals of saints. A thick volume probably

MANUSCRIPT	CONTENTS
	written by the same Addai.
MS. at the Church of Anḥil	Winter *ḥusoyos*.
MS. at the Monastery of St. Jacob in Salaḥ	The *ḥusoyos* for the consecration of the church in the handwriting of the monk Sadaqa of ʿAyn Ward. Another manuscript in this monastery contains the *ḥusoyos* for Lent.
MS. at the Church of St. Moses in Damascus	An ancient manuscript containing *ḥusoyos* for the consecration of the church and for the Lent. A second manuscript contains *ḥusoyos* for the Resurrection and the festivals of saints. A third manuscript in this church contains *ḥusoyos* for the consecration of the church and succeeding festivals, in the handwriting of Abraham of Mardin, written in 1504. A fourth manuscript contains *ḥusoyos* written at the beginning of the sixteenth century.
MS. at the Church of Qellith	A thick volume containing *ḥusoyos* for the whole year written in a very elegant script by the monk Abraham Ibn al-Muzawwaq in 1487. Another manuscript contains *ḥusoyos* for the Resurrection and the summer festivals.
MS. at the Monastery of John Ṭayoyo	A large volume of *ḥusoyos* for the consecration of the church and for the Lent, in the handwriting of the monk Sergius, written in 1504.
MS. at the Church of Ḥiṣn Kifa	*Ḥusoyos* for the consecration of the church, transcribed by the

Manuscript	**Contents**
	monk Joseph the Iberian in 1506.
MS. at the Monastery of the Cross in Makhr	Summer *ḥusoyos* transcribed by Joseph the Iberian in 1507.
MS. at the Monastery of the Cross in Makhr	*Ḥusoyos* of the saints in the handwriting of the two monks Abraham and Ṣaliba ʿAwadh, written in 1549.
MS. at the Monastery of the Cross in Makhr	*Ḥusoyos* of the Resurrection and of the commemorations in the handwriting of the monk Thomas of Midyat, written in 1559.
MS. at the Church of Qalʿat Mara	The *ḥusoyos* for saints in the handwriting of the monk Elijah Yeshuʿ in the middle of the sixteenth century.

III. Baptism, the Benediction of Marriage, Prayers for the Sick and Repentance

Brit. Mus. MS. 17128	The order of baptism by Timothy of Alexandria.
Brit. Mus. MS. 14495	The order of baptism composed by Severus and translated into Syriac by Paul, bishop of Tella.
MS. at our Library in Ḥomṣ	The orders of baptism and the benediction of marriage in beautiful Estrangelo script, written in the tenth century.
Jerusalem MS. 117	The orders of baptism and the benediction of marriage, dated 1324.
MS. at our Church in Egypt	The orders of baptism and the benediction of marriage in the handwriting of Patriarch Philoxenus II, written at the close of the fourteenth century.
B. Nationale, Paris MS. 102	The order of the benediction of

MANUSCRIPT	CONTENTS
	marriage as arranged by Jacob of Edessa and other doctors of the Church, dated 1434.
MS. at the Church of St. Cosmas for the Greeks in Diyarbakir	The orders of baptism, the benediction of marriage and a part of the funeral service, in the handwriting of Joseph, bishop of Kharput and Karkar, written in 1451.
MS. at our Church in Egypt	The order of the benediction of marriage in the handwriting of Moses in the fifteenth or sixteenth century.
MS. at the Church of Mar Sargis in Ṣadad	The orders of baptism and the benediction of marriage in the handwriting of Bishop Abraham, written at the beginning of the sixteenth century. Another copy of this manuscript is at our library.
Jerusalem MS. 59	The order of the benediction of marriage written in the sixteenth century.
Jerusalem MS. 111	A second order for the consecration of baptismal oil originally contained in the book of ordinations in the hand-writing of Patriarch Nuḥ.
MS. at the Church of the Edessens in Aleppo	The orders of baptism and the benediction of marriage as well as the canons of repentance which had been written and compiled by Patriarch Jacob.
Vatican MS. 51	A general order for the confessors.
MS. at the Church of Ḥafar	An order for the sick.
MS. at the Church of Barṭelli	The orders of baptism and the benediction of marriage by St. Severus together with the order

Manuscript	Contents
	of Baptism abridged by the Maphryono (probably Bar Hebraeus).

IV. The Office of Ordination

B. Nationale, Paris MS. 113	The order of clerical ordination in the handwriting of Michael the Great. Another copy, MS. 112 of the same, is dated 1239.
MS. at the Church of Kharput	The order of clerical ordinations in the handwriting of Bishop David in 1203.
Brit. Mus. MS. 17232	The order of assumption of the monastic garb written in a *Beth Gazo* in 1210.
MS. at our Library	A service book of the office of ordinations, the orders of baptism, the benediction of marriage and parts of the orders of principal festivals, half of which were transcribed in the thirteenth century with the name of nine church fathers in Greek fixed in its margin and the other half in the beginning of the fifteen century.
MS. at our Library	The service book for the assumption of the monastic garb, dated 1358.
Jerusalem MS. 109	A service book of ordinations (according to the Eastern Rite) in the handwriting of deacon ʿAbd Allah of Barṭelli in 1300.
The Edessens Library at Aleppo	The book of clerical ordination.
Sharfeh MS. 5/7	The service book of ordinations and sacraments, written in the fourteenth century.
MS. at our Library	The order of ordinations and parts of the order of principal

MANUSCRIPT	CONTENTS
	festivals, some of which was transcribed at the beginning of the fifteenth century and others in 1862. Another copy contains the order of ordinations written in the middle of the fifteenth and latter part of the eighteenth century.
MS. at the Monastery of the Cross in Tur ʿAbdin	A thick service book of the order of ordinations in the handwriting of the monk Qufer of Tur ʿAbdin, written in 1487.
Jerusalem MS. 111	A service book of the order of ordinations in the handwriting of Patriarch Nuḥ, written in 1506. Two other copies, MS. 110 and MS. 113, in this library contain the service book of ordinations transcribed in the sixteenth century.
MSS. at our Library	Liturgies, the office of ordination of a deacon and a priest, the order of assumption of the monastic garb as well as the consecration of the Chrism in the handwriting of the Metropolitan Cyril Joseph, written in 1513. Another manuscript contains the consecration of the Chrism, the altar and the church, transcribed in the middle of the sixteenth century.
Zaʿfaran Monastery MS. 220	A large service book of ordinations and principal services in the handwriting of Bishop Joseph the Iberian, written in 1535.
Vatican MS. 51	A service book of ordinations.

Manuscript	**Contents**
V. Service Books of Hymns for Principal Feasts	
Brit. Mus. MS. 141494	Contains the order of the consecration of water in the feast of Epiphany, written on vellum, imperfect at the beginning.
Brit. Mus. MS. 17128	The same as above.
Zaʿfaran MS. 99	An ancient book with hymns for principal feasts.
MS. at our Church in Egypt	The order of the benediction of branches in the handwriting of David the Egyptian, written in 1403.
Jerusalem MS. 52	The order of Palm Sunday as well as the order of forgiveness on the Saturday of Annunciation, dated 1443.
MS. at the Monastery of Mar Abraham in Midyat	The order of all festivals in the large *Beth Gazo*, dated 1468, which has been lost.
MS. at the Monastery of Mar Awgen	A complete service book with hymns for thirteen festivals in the handwriting of the monk Malke Sāqo, written in 1484.
Jerusalem MS. 58	A service book with hymns in the handwriting of the monk Addai of Ḥbob, written in 1495.
MS. at the Church of Diyarbakir	A service book with hymns transcribed by Abraham of Basibrina, written in 1495.
MS. Paris	A service book with hymns in the handwriting of Abraham of Basibrina, written in 1496.
MS. at the Church of Mar Sargis in Ṣadad	A service book with hymns transcribed by the monk Bishara, written in 1564.
Jerusalem MS. 62	The benediction of water composed by Severus and

Manuscript	**Contents**
	vocalized by Jacob of Edessa dated 1569.
MS. at the Church of Fayruza	A service book with hymns in the handwriting of the monk George of Wank, written around 1601.

VI. Funeral Services

Vatican MS. 92	A funeral service book written on vellum in a good and fine Estrangelo script in 823.
Boston MS. 4013	Funeral services of priests, deacons, monks and laymen written in the twelfth century.
MS. at the Church of Diyarbakir	A complete funeral service book comprising various hymns written in the Estrangelo script by the monk Yeshuʿ of the Malphono Monastery in 1188.
Brit. Mus. MS. 14494	Some *sedros* for the dead, one of which was written by Athanasius, Patriarch of Antioch.
Brit. Mus. MS. 14520	A service book comprising a funeral service which begins with a hymn based on the melody of Paradise written by a learned church father.
Brit. Mus. MS. 17131	The funeral services for priests and monks. It also contains a *madrosho* by Bar Andrew.
Brit. Mus. MS. 14502	A funeral service book.
Brit. Mus. MS. 14525	A funeral service written on vellum in the Estrangelo script. Imperfect.
Brit. Mus. MSS. 14638 and 14636	Consolatory discourses on the dead.
Vatican MS. 93	Some *madroshos* for the dead included within the discourses of John the Ascetic.

Manuscript	**Contents**
Boston MS. 4016	Funeral services for men, women and children according to the order of Jacob of Edessa, written by Simon in a neat handwriting in the fourteenth century.
Jerusalem MS. 117	Funeral service for men and children, in two hymns written in 1324.
MS. at the Church of Ḥama	A funeral service for the dead according to the order of Melitene and Ḥiṣn Ziyad and the funeral service for the priests according to the order of Tur ʿAbdin, written in a neat handwriting at the beginning of the fifteenth century.
MS. at the Church of the Virgin in Barṭelli	An old funeral service book and another one for priests written in the middle of the sixteenth century.
Jerusalem MS. 120	A funeral service according to the arrangement of Jacob of Edessa.
MS. at the Church of Ḥomṣ	Funeral services for the clergy and laity with two hymns, one by St. Ephraim and the other by Asuna, written in the middle of the seventeenth century.
MS. at the Monastery of St. Matthew	A funeral service for nuns.
MS. at the Church of the Virgin in Qaraqosh	A funeral service for nuns.

VII. *MADROSHE* AND *MAʿNITHOS*

Vatican MS. 111	One hundred and sixty one *madroshos* by St. Ephraim, written on vellum in the Estrangelo script in 522.

MANUSCRIPT	CONTENTS
Vatican MS. 112	The same as above, written in the year 552.
Brit. Mus. [no number (tr.)]	Hymns of Severus of Antioch, written on vellum in 675.
Brit. Mus. MS. 17261	Supplicatory hymns and calendars of festivals.
Vatican MS. 113	Eighty-seven *madroshos* written before 932.
Brit. Mus. MS. [no number (tr.)]	*Madroshe* written before the thirteenth century.
Brit. Mus. MS. 14520	*Madroshe*, anthems and verses for the Passion Week. It also contains a funeral service and consolatory discourses.
Jerusalem MS. 60	The hymn of Severus and 230 supplicatory hymns of Rabula, written on vellum in 1210.
Brit. Mus. MS. [no number (tr.)]	General supplicatory hymns written in 1257.
MS. at our Library	A valuable collection of *madroshos*, fine introductory hymns and *qolos* written in handwriting in the thirteenth century.
MS. at our Church of West New York [now Paramous] in New Jersey	A valuable collection of *madroshos* according to the order of Melitene in the handwriting of the deacon Abraham of Dunaysar in 1285.
Zaʿfaran MS. 118	A valuable collection of *madroshos*, introductory hymns and *cathismata* written in a pleasant handwriting between the thirteenth and the fourteenth century.

VIII. THE *BETH GAZO*

Sharfeh MS. 511	A very lengthy *Beth Gaẓo* written between the eleventh and

Manuscript	**Contents**
	twelfth century.
Brit. Mus. MS. 17207	Portions of psalters and hymns for taking the Divine Eucharist written between the eighth and ninth century.
Brit. Mus. MS. 17232	A *Beth Gazo* in the handwriting of the deacon Denḥa, written in 1210.
B. Nationale, Paris MS. 147	A *Beth Gazo* in the handwriting of Philoxenus.
MS. at our Library	A *Beth Gazo* written between the fourteenth and fifteenth century.
MS. at the Church of Diyarbakir	A valuable lengthy *Beth Gazo* in the fine handwriting of Deacon Abu al-Ḥasan, written in the fifteenth century.
MS. at the Jerusalem Library	A *Beth Gazo* in the handwriting of the monk Simon Mubarak, written in 1436.
MS. at the Church of al-Ṭāhira (the Virgin) in Mosul	An old *Beth Gazo* written in an elegant Karkarite script.
MS. at the Monastery of Mar Abraham in Midyat	A very elaborate and valuable *Beth Gazo* in the handwriting of Bishop Simon of ʿAyn Ward, written in 1468.
Zaʿfaran MS.	A *Beth Gazo* written in 1471.
Jerusalem MS. 79	A *Beth Gazo* in the neat and fine handwriting of the monk Ṣaliba of Salaḥ, written in 1470 or 1480.
MS. at the Church of Meddo	A lengthy *Beth Gazo* transcribed from three copies, one of which belongs to the monk Basil in the handwriting of the monk Ṣaliba, written in 1478.
MS. at the Rockefeller University in Chicago	A small-size *Beth Gazo* in the handwriting of the monk Abraham of Basibrina, written

Manuscript	Contents
	in 1481.
Zaʿfaran MS. 124	A lengthy *Beth Gazo* in the handwriting of Jacob I, Patriarch of Antioch, written in 1488.
MS. at the village of Bati	A *Beth Gazo* written in 1488.
Brit. Mus. MS. 14736	A *Beth Gazo* in the handwriting of the monk Abraham of Basibrina, written in 1492.
Jerusalem MS. 64	A *Beth Gazo* written in a neat but thick script between the fifteenth and sixteenth century.
Woodbrooke Library, Birmingham MS. 321	A *Beth Gazo* comprising hymns of St. Ephraim according to the Khudaydi's[1] order, processional hymns and *madroshos* on eight melodies (except the melody of Paradise which is based on five melodies) transcribed by the priest Denḥa of Khudayda in 1542.
MS. at al-Ḥasakeh (Upper Jazira)	A *Beth Gazo* with the analysis of the scales of songs, written at the Monastery of Mar Abḥai in 1560.
MS. at our Library	A lengthy *Beth Gazo* written in a neat script completed by Bishop Bahnam of Quṣur (originally from Arbo) in 1568. Another *Beth Gazo* written in fine handwriting by Yeshuʿ in the middle of the sixteenth century. A third *Beth Gazo* transcribed by the priest Manṣur of Zāz in 1569. A fourth *Beth Gazo* written in the sixteenth century.

[1] After Beth Khudayda, present-day Qaraqosh, one of Mosul's large villages.

Manuscript	Contents
Jerusalem MS. 62	A *Beth Gazo* written in a Karkarite script in 1569.
MS. at the Zaʿfaran Monastery	A lengthy *Beth Gazo* comprising the Eastern Intercession in the handwriting of Denḥa, written in the middle of the sixteenth century.
MS. at the Church of Mardin	A lengthy *Beth Gazo* written at the close of the sixteenth century.
MS. at the Church of Barṭelli	A *Beth Gazo* according to the order of Takrit, written in 1590.
MS. at our Church in Constantinople	A *Beth Gazo* according to the order of Melitene and Mesopotamia, written in 1614.

CHAPTER SIXTEEN

THEOLOGY

Beside the benefits they gained from translating the Greek works of the pioneer Christian theologians, whether Greeks, Copts or Romans,[1] the Syrians excelled in theology and produced eminent theologians, whose names and works are given below.

If we exclude the many theological subjects which were deeply penetrated and fathomed by St. Ephraim, Isaac and Jacob of Sarug in their splendid poems and hymns, the works of St. Severus in which he examined and established the facts with decisive proofs, the Synodical letters exchanged between the Patriarchs of Antioch and Alexandria from 514 to 850, the doctrinal reports and letters written by bishops and abbots in the second half of the sixth century which were compiled in the *Syriac Documents*,[2] and the homilies and expositions of the Holy Bible, we would consider Philoxenus of Mabug the first Syrian theological authority who ventured into this momentous branch of knowledge. Philoxenus was followed by Jacob of Edessa, the Patriarch Quryaqos, John of Dara, Moses Bar Kepha, Bar Ṣalibi, and Bar Hebraeus. These church dignitaries are considered the leading theologians in establishing the divine knowledge and supporting it by authorities. They stand in the first category of theologians followed by a second and a third category.

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[1] The Syrians had no access to the Latin works of Roman scholars and thus knew nothing of the books of Tertullian and Augustine and what reached them of the works of Ambrose, Rufinus, Jerome and Leo came through Greek translations. We know of no Syrian scholar who knew Latin except the sage Theodore of Antioch (d. about 1240). For more on Theodore, see Matti Moosa, 'Theodore al-Anṭākī ʿĀlim wa-Faylasūf Suryānī', *Beirut Times*, Nos. 355-356, June 24 and July 1, 1993 (Los Angeles) (tr.).

[2] Published by J. B. Chabot in 1908.

Philoxenus wrote two valuable treatises on the Trinity, monotheism, and the Incarnation of the Word. Jacob of Edessa wrote a theological book mentioned by Bar Hebraeus in his *Hudoye* (Nomocanon or Direction) as well as an interesting chapter in the book *The Six Days* in which he discussed the salvation of man. Jacob also wrote an expository treatise of the celebration of the Divine Eucharist. Another author, the Patriarch Quryaqos, wrote an eloquent and splendid work on the Providence of God. John of Dara composed four apposite works on the priest and priesthood, the Resurrection, the angels, the demons, the human soul and paradise. Moses Bar Kepha wrote five excellent and very rich books on the *Hexameron* (the Six Days of Creation), the Resurrection, paradise, the angels, the human soul, the exposition of the sacraments, Baptism, the Chrism, and the Divine Eucharist. Bar Ṣalibi was the author of a large volume of copious subjects dealing with theology and the exposition of the sacraments. He also wrote another volume on polemics. From the pen of Bar Hebraeus we have *Mnorath Qudshe* (*The Lamp of the Sanctuaries*) and its abridgement, *Zalge* (*The Book of Rays*) in which he fathomed the divine knowledge and tackled its origins and branches. He also offered us two treatises on the human soul.

The second category includes Aphrahat the Persian who wrote the *Demonstrations*, the Patriarch Peter of Raqqa (Callinicus), who wrote a theological treatise of three chapters in refutation of Dominaus of Alexandria, Julian the Second who thoroughly commented on and clarified the work of his predecessor, John III and Athanasius II who composed masterful *sedros*, George, bishop of the Arabs, who expounded the sacraments of the church, John of Atharb who wrote a very useful treatise on the soul, Lazarus Bar Qandasa and Benjamin, metropolitan of Edessa, who excelled in masterful commentaries and notes, Lazarus Bar Sobto and Bar Wahbun who wrote two expository treatises on the celebration of the Divine Eucharist, Nonnus of Nisibin who refuted Thomas of Maraga and also wrote a treatise on monotheism, the Trinity and on the Word of God, Anton of Takrit who wrote a book on the Providence of God and expounded the sacrament of the Chrism, John the disciple of Marun the author of a tractate on the Incarnation of the Word, Bar Shushan and Bar Andrew who challenged the Armenians, Bar Ṣabuni the author of the *ḥusoyos* which indicate his deep-rooted knowledge in the divine knowledge

and Jacob of Barṭelli who wrote the two books of the *Treasures* and the *Plain Truth.*

Under the third category come Simon d-beth Zayte the author of treatises on the dogma, Phocas Bar Sergius and Theodore Bar Zarudi who commented on the work attributed to Dionysius the Areopagite, Daniel of Beth Bātīn who wrote a treatise on the difference between the Eucharist and the Chrism, the Rabban Sergius who refuted the allegations of the Armenians, John, bishop of Mardin who wrote two treatises on the exposition of the Divine Eucharist and the Chrism and Simon, Maphryono of Tur ʿAbdin (d. 1740), from whose pen we have two books *Theology* and *The Chariot of Mysteries.*

To this category may be added ʿAziz Bar Sobto who wrote a treatise entitled *The Ascent of the Mind* and Masʿud of Zāz who has a few theological chapters in his book entitled *The Spiritual Ship.*[1]

[1] In addition, we have theological writings in Arabic such as the *Apology for the Trisagion* by Ḥabib Abu Rāʾiṭa of Takrit in 821. Also we have many treatises on the Trinity and monotheism by Yaḥya ibn ʿAdi (d. 973), the book entitled *al-Murshid* by Abu Naṣr al-Takriti (d. 1071). His brother, Abu al-Faḍl ibn Jarīr, wrote two books on priesthood and the Eucharist which have been lost to us. From the pen of Daniel ibn al-Ḥaṭṭab (d. 1382) we have two books: *Usul al-Dīn* and *Tafsīr Dustūr al-Īmān.* All these books were written in a classical language and are preserved in the libraries of Paris, Leiden, the Vatican, Jerusalem, Egypt, the library at Ḥomṣ, and the Zaʿfaran Monastery. Of the works of later scholars with a mediocre style we have the lengthy book of *Catechism* by Maphryono Shukr Allah ibn al-Qaṣabji (d. 1764) and *al-Iʿtiqad al-Ṣaḥiḥ fi Tajassud al-Masiḥ*, by the Bishop George of Aleppo (d. 1773), copies of which are preserved in the library at Ḥomṣ, the library of Jerusalem and of ʿAqra.

CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

PSEUDO-DIONYSIUS THE AREOPAGITE

In view of the far-reaching effect and the great controversy which has been caused among scholars by the work ascribed to the theologian Dionysius the Areopagite, we will devote a special chapter to it.

This book, which is comprised of 466 pages, was dedicated to the Bishop Timothy.[1] Of its four treatises the first, divided into thirteen chapters dealing with the divine names (*de Divinis Nominibus*), takes up half of the work. The second, on the celestial hierarchy, contains fifteen chapters dealing with the angels, their duties, names and ranks. The third, on mystical theology, contains five chapters discussing God as an incomprehensible being free from falsehood. Finally, the fourth, on the ecclesiastical hierarchy, consists of seven chapters according to the Mosul copy. The Jerusalem copy, however, complies with the arrangement of the Latin translation in regard to the following: The Celestial Hierarchy, the Ecclesiastical Hierarchies, the Divine Names and Mystical Theology. It seems that either Phocas or Quryaqos Shamuna changed the organization of the old copy of this work.[2]

These treatises are followed by ten epistles, some of which were addressed to Gaius the ascetic and the rest to Dorotheos the deacon, Sosypatrus the priest, Dimophelus the ascetic, Polycarp the chief priest, Titus and John the Apostle. The Jerusalem copy mentions that the author wrote a treatise on the legitimate Ecclesiastical Hierarchy which he placed before the Celestial Hierarchy, but it was not rendered into Syriac.

There are many copies of this work, most of which were written on vellum. The oldest copy, transcribed about the seventh century (Mount Sinai Library, MS. 52), is imperfect at the beginning and

[1] Timothy, bishop of Ephesus. See W. Wright, *Catalogue of Syriac Manuscripts*, 2: 501, para. 5. (tr.)

[2] Wright, *ibid.*, 2: 499-501. (tr.)

the end. The second copy, transcribed in a very elegant Estrangelo script by the Edessene Malkite scribe, Quryaqos Bar Shamuna, who finished it on 1st December 766[1], is complete. It is preserved at our church of al-Ṭāhira in Mosul. The third copy, transcribed in the ninth century is preserved at our Jerusalem Library (MS. 123) and resembles the former in its script and elegance. It mentions the year 887 as the date of the donation of the book. Other copies are preserved at the British Museum (MS. 12151 written in 804 and MS. 22370 written about 1350.)[2]

Here are the contents of the book in detail. In the first treatise the author discusses the source of the divine names, the theology of the union and separation of the two natures of Christ and what is the essence of this divine union or separation, the meaning of prayer, worship and the writing of the theological science. He also discusses the good, the light and the radiant and rejects the perpetuity of evil and that it proceeds from the living God. He further discussed life, wisdom, reason, speech, truth, faith, power, justice, safety, equality and inequality, semblance and dissemblance, the cosmos, the Almighty, the ancient of days, eternity, times and peace, the essence of Him who exists by Himself, the essence of the living, the Most Holy, the King of Kings, the Perfect and the One God.

In the second treatise, he discusses the ecclesiastical hierarchy and its usefulness, the meaning of the attributes of angels, the reason the heavenly hosts were called angels and their first, middle and last ranks. The seraphim, the cherubim and the thrones are the first rank; the dominions, the powers or heavenly hosts and princedoms are the middle rank; the principalities, the angels and archangels are of the last rank. He also discussed the reason these celestial hierarchies were called heavenly hosts, why the term angels was used for the episcopal ranks, the number of angels which has been handed to us and the portraits which resemble the angelic hosts. Up to this time the subject of angels had been considered to be so obscure that it was not even taken up in the writings of

[1] The Brit. Mus. MS. 2306 was transcribed in 1859 not in 1547 as D. S. Margoliouth erroneously thought. See also Birmingham MS. 24 dated 1908.

[2] Other copies are preserved in the Vatican MS. 107 dated 861, Brit. Mus. MSS. 12152 dated 837; 14599 and 14540 written in the 9th century.

Basilius and Gregory Nazianzen. It only became known when the author of this book (Dionysius the Areopagite) wrote about it and his ideas were adopted by Christian scholars.[1]

The third treatise contained the mystical theology and the celestial cloud, the explanation of how we should praise and declare as one Him who is the cause of all and dominates over all; the theological terminologies which might be used negatively and positively; and the propositions that there is no perceptible being which by its eminence could become the cause of all perceptible things and that no rational being could become by its eminence the cause of all rational things.

The fourth treatise discusses the essence and purposes of bestowing the authority of priesthood and what should be done in the case of Baptism, the celebration of the Divine Eucharist, the Chrism, the ecclesiastical laying of hands, its ranks, rituals and also monasticism and the prayer for the dead.

Here are some of the author's opinions: The author believes that the Almighty God is the absolute and supreme being who can neither be contained by an attribute nor be comprehended by words. Also, the perfection, beauty and knowledge attributed to Him do not apply to Him in the same proportion of our understanding of these qualities that we perceive in the created beings[2] and that the two terms "Monotheism" and "Trinity" do not at all express the reality of the Divine Being, whose majesty is incomprehensible.[3] The deacon purifies the believer, the priest enlightens him and the bishop perfects him.[4] Furthermore, the Neo-Platonic philosophy which penetrated the theoretical mystical theology does not confirm reality but exposes it under a veil of symbols through which it leads the thirsty soul to holiness and light—but with no proof.[5]

The text of the book is preceded by these chapters:[6]

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[1] Tixeront, *The History of Dogmas in the Ancient Christian Age*, 3rd ed., (1919), 3: 202-203.

[2] *The Divine Names*, paras. 1, 5 and 6.

[3] *Ibid*, para. 13: 3.

[4] *Ecclesiastical Hierarchies*, 5-6.

[5] The Ninth Treatise: 1.

[6] These chapters may be found in the formerly mentioned copies of this book.

1. A treatise by Sergius the Priest entitled the "Introduction" which precedes the translation of the book from Greek into Syriac (34 pages).

2. A treatise composed by Phocas Bar Sergius of Edessa in which he explains the notes and expounds on the text (p. 3).

3. A defense of the book and its author and commentator by the Bishop John of Baysan (Scythopolis), the scholastic. The gist of the defense is that this book was written by (Dionysius) the Areopagite and that the objection of those who denied his authorship, on the grounds that Eusebius of Caesarea did not mention it, is irrelevant. In fact, Eusebius admitted that many books had not reach him, such as the works of Narcissus, Hemneas, Pantaenas and Clement of Rome (except his two epistles) and others. He only mentioned four works of Origen and a few others by Hemneas and that a Roman deacon named Peter informed him that the works of Dionysius the Areopagite were preserved at the library of Rome. The writer concludes that the objector to the teaching of this saint regarding Monotheism and Trinity, the rational and perceptible being, the Resurrection and the Last Judgment has simply no proof on which to condemn him.

4. A second defense of seven pages written by George of Baysan (Scythopolis), priest of the great church of Constantinople. It purports that Dionysius of Alexandria stated in his letter to Xystus II of Rome that because the Areopagite was well versed and proficient he was qualified to write on theology. He added that, although many scholars flourished in the church, their works, nevertheless, were lost to us, let alone the works falsified by the hypocrites. Both John and George were Malkites who lived in the first part of the sixth century.

5. A report by the priest Mar Atanos in 817, which precedes the book and its table of contents.

6. A treatise by the Rabban Lazarus Bar Qandasa supporting the author's opinion on the priority of the Seraphim's rank.

7. Commentaries on the text by Theodore Bar Zarudi of Edessa,[1] MS. 124, transcribed in the ninth or tenth century at the Jerusalem library contain explanations of the obscurities of the

[1] Brit. Mus. 2370. [The correct number of this MS. is Add. 22370. See W. Wright, *Catalogue*, 2: 500. (tr.)]

book in 37 pages. Contrary to other manuscripts this copy counts fifty chapters.

It is, therefore, evident from what has been mentioned that the Syrians received this book with approval. They were followed by the Byzantines, who greatly revered it and the Latins, who rendered it into their language and whose scholars were about to place it on the same footing with the Holy Scriptures.[1] On its foundation their chief scholar, Thomas Aquinas (d. 1271), based most of his elaborate theological writings.[2] He never deviated from its principles, which he regarded as final. The impact of mystical theology on the minds of the Westerners was so far-reaching that none of them before the fifteenth century doubted its authenticity. Not until the middle of the nineteenth century did the scholars loudly declare that the book was apocryphal and resolved that its writer was a philosopher-monk who possessed exceptional creativeness, ability and adroitness. This writer had a tendency towards the orthodox doctrine but shunned the disputations of the people in his time. He wrote the book in Greek in the land of al-Sham (Syria) or Palestine later than 482, perhaps in the latter part of the fifth or the beginning of the sixth century. He avoided mentioning the one incarnate nature or the two natures of Christ and advocated a new one-theandric act for the incarnate God[3] and welded the Neo-Platonic philosophy with the Christian science of theology after reading the works of Proclus (411-485), an adherent of this philosophy and making great use of them. Moreover, he associated the mystical theology with ecclesiastical theology. He also mentioned the recitation of the creed of faith in the celebration of the Eucharist, which was only established in the year 476 and came out for the baptism of infants and a complete monastic order (for which there is no trace in the first three centuries). In his writing, he purposely adopted a majestic style full of vague expressions and metaphors while avoiding simple wording

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[1] Tixeront, 3: 6.

[2] See B. Corderius in Migne, *Opera Dionyssii*, i, 88 in which he states "Totam fere doctrinam theologican ex purissimis Dionysii fontibus hansisse." The full title of this work which has been translated and edited by Corderius is *Opera S. Dionyssii Areopagile cum scholiis S. Maximi et paraphrasi Pachymerae* (Antwerp, 1634). (tr.)

[3] Tixeront, *ibid.*, 134, quoting the Divine Names, 1: 4.

in order to hide his purpose. In doing this, he may merely have been imitating the style of pagan philosophers, or he might possibly have believed that such a method would be more appropriate for his grave subject. He also pretended that he was guiding his readers to the way of perfection which ends with the witnessing of God. He also introduced a teaching free from doubt for contemplating and drawing near His presence.

This book appeared for the first time in 532-533 in a controversial session which included the Orthodox and Malkites. While the Orthodox cited it as a testimony the Malkites rejected it although a few of their scholars accepted and defended it. In the following century an exposition of this book was made by the monothelite monk Maximus (d. 662) after which it was unanimously accepted by the Orthodox and Malkite scholars. This is what contemporary Western scholars say about this book without discussing the arguments of ancient scholars. They also state that although they have not uncovered its mystery completely, they have paved the way for such a goal.

After presenting the arguments and evidence of these scholars and casting a penetrating look at the text and its Syriac expositions which occupied the scholars for nearly three hundred years (500?-817?), we may conclude that due to its form and style, this book is apocryphal. Its complicated style, of Neo-Platonic nature and its treatment of subjects unknown to the early period of Christianity, leaves no doubt that it was the composition of an unknown author. But it is not unlikely that it had a short authentic origin to which the author added much information and gave it its new form characterized by a special philosophical style. Although the testimony of Dionysius of Alexandria (d. 256) about the Areopagite did not reach us, it is as valuable and irrefutable as his testimony about the *Didascalia* and other subjects.

CHAPTER EIGHTEEN

ECCLESIASTICAL APOLOGETICS

Apologetical literature is the defense of the right of Christianity to exist. It is of Greek origin, but a translation of the ancient texts of ecclesiastical apologetics which have been lost to us survive in Syriac. A seventh century manuscript containing the apology of Aristides was discovered by Rendel Harris at the Monastery of St. Catherine in Mount Sinai. Harris proved that the author had addressed this Apology to Antoninus Pious and not to Hadrian as has been mentioned by Eusebius. Another apology, ascribed to St. Meliton, bishop of Sardis, is addressed to Antoninus. Its copy is thought to have been written in the seventh century. Both of these apologetical treatises have been published. Also published was the treatise entitled *An Explanation of the Excellence of Christianity over Paganism* by the converted Greek philosopher Ambrose.

CHAPTER NINETEEN

ECCLESIASTICAL JURISPRUDENCE AND CIVIL LAW

It is obvious that the Holy Church concerned itself with ecclesiastical jurisprudence in the Councils which it held and in the canons enacted by its fathers. Canons were, therefore, made at the Councils of Ancyra (Ankara), Neo-Caesarea, Nicea, Antioch, Laodicea, Gangara, Constantinople, Ephesus, Carthage, Sardica and Chalcedon. These canons were translated into Syriac and are preserved in old manuscripts in the libraries of the Zaʿfaran Monastery, the Vatican, Paris and London. There are two copies of the canons of Nicea. The first contains the permanent twenty canons which were translated by Marutha of Miyapharqin at the request of Isaac, the Catholicos of Ctesiphon. The second contains the canons called the Arabic because they existed in the eleventh century in this language. In our library at Ḥomṣ an Arabic copy of these canons survives which dates back closely to this century. Other copies are in the British Museum, MSS. 14526 and 14528, the Zaʿfaran Monastery MS. 121 and the Vatican Borgiana MS. 83. Accompanying these are the Syriac canons enacted by the Persian Bishops in the Council of Seleucia and Ctesiphon held in the year 410. Abbé Martin, published the canons of the Councils of Ancyra, Neo-Caesarea and Nicaea and portions of the canons of the first Council of Antioch which condemned the heresy of Paul of Samosata. Paul de Lagarde published the canons of the third Council of Carthage which was attended by eighty-seven bishops in the time of St. Cyprian. The canons of this Council, which had been translated from Latin into Greek, were also translated from Greek into Syriac by Jacob of Edessa in 687.

In 1875, Samuel Perry[1] published the Acts of the Second Council of Ephesus (449) according to the only two copies of the

[1] The Rev. S. G. F. Perry published the Acts of the Second Council of Ephesus in 1867 not in 1875 under the title of *An Ancient Syriac Document*,

British Museum, MSS. 14530 and 12156, both of which are imperfect. They were also translated by Paul Martin into French and by Hoffmann into German. Both copies contain details of the debates in the Council recorded verbatim, not to mention the documentary proofs which could not be found in the minutes of the other Councils which have reached us. Two valuable Zaʿfaran vellum MS. 144 transcribed in the tenth century[1] and MS. 245 transcribed between the eighth and ninth century, as well as the Paris MS. 62, contain canons included in a letter of the Italian bishops to the bishop of the East, i.e., of Antioch. These MSS. also contain canons derived from the epistles of Ignatius the Illuminator, a summary of the letter of Peter of Alexandria about those who renounce their faith under duress, questions answered by Timothy of Alexandria and epistles of Athanasius of Alexandria by Basilius, Gregory Nazianzen, Damasus and Gregory of Nyssa containing a few canons, forty-five canons enacted by the orthodox bishops, seven questions answered by the bishops Constantine, Antonine, Thomas, Pelagius and Eustathius in the third decade of the sixth century, eight canons included in the letter of the fathers to two priests in Cililia both named Paul, from canons included in a letter by Constantine bishop of Laodicea to Anba Marcus the Isaurian, eleven canons contained by the letter of a bishop to some of his friends and five canons enacted by Theodosius of Alexandria and twelve canons enacted by Basilius for the monks.[2] Furthermore, the two former Zaʿfaran manuscripts contain the canons made by Rabula, metropolitan of Edessa, for monks and priests, the canons of John of Tella and Sergius Bar Qasir and the numerous answers of Jacob of Edessa to the different problems presented to him by some of his contemporaries. These manuscripts are to a small extent, incomplete.

Our library at Ḥomṣ contains a unique and valuable copy completed in 1204. It is comprised of the Testament of Our Lord, the apocryphal canons of the Apostles, known as the *Didascalia*

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purporting to be the second in its chief features of the Second Synod of Ephesus (Oxford, 1867). (tr.)

[1] Birmingham MS. 8 contains a new copy transcribed from MS. 224 of Zaʿfaran. Another new copy transcribed from the former two manuscripts is at our library.

[2] Preserved in the Church of Basibrina.

Apostolorum, canons of the lesser Councils, canons of the principal Councils of Nicaea, Constantinople, Ephesus and Chalcedon, canons of the Syrian Synods, namely the Synod of the Monastery of St. Matthew held at the beginning of November 628 in which Marutha of Takrit and his bishops made twenty-four canons; the Synod of Kafrnabu in the province of Sarug held by George, Patriarch of Antioch, in 785 and which issued twenty two canons; the Synod of Beth Bātīn in the province of Ḥarran held by Quryaqos, Patriarch of Antioch, in 794, in which he (the Patriarch) enacted forty-six canons; the Synod of Ḥarran held by the same Patriarch and issued twenty-six canons; the Synod of al-Raqqa (Callinicus) held by the Patriarch Dionysius I of Tell Maḥre in October 818 and in which he enacted twelve canons; the Synod of the Monastery of Mar Shīlā near Sarug held in 846 by the Patriarch John IV issued in twenty-five canons followed by a table of the degrees of consanguineous relations which prohibit marriage; the Synod of Mar Zakka near al-Raqqa held by the Patriarch Ignatius II in 878 that issued twelve canons of which the first, the second and part of the third were lost; the Second Synod of Mar Shīlā held by the Patriarch Dionysius II in 896 which enacted twenty-five canons; the covenant made on April 22, 914 by the abbot of the Monastery of St. Matthew and his monks with two bishops of the same monastery as well as the parishioners of the dioceses of Nineveh, Mosul, Banuhadra and Marga for Christophorus Sergius II of Takrit, bishop of the Monastery of St. Matthew, Nineveh and Mosul in their opposition of the Maphryono Denḥa III; the Synod of Mar Ḥananya in Mardin held by Mar John, bishop of Mardin in 1156 and attended by the Maphryono Ignatius I and few bishops who issued forty canons of which the fourteenth and seventeenth canons were dropped from this copy; and thirty-one canons made by John for the Monastery of Mar Ḥananya and all the monasteries of its diocese.[1] This manuscript also contains a tract on the division of inheritance according to the Islamic Shariʿa as well as the emancipation of slaves in nineteen pages, the hundred canons of Christian Kings, the laws of the emperors Constantine, Theodosius and Leo, one hundred fifty-seven in number covering fifty-one

[1] The copy of the canons in the Monastery of Mar Ḥananya enacted by John was transcribed in the middle of the sixteenth century and attached with the old book.

pages; a treatise on the policy of the church to consolidate peace in twelve pages and twelve questions and their answers by Patriarch Quryaqos. Of this significant collection nothing could be found in the libraries of the West except the canons of Patriarch Quryaqos.[1] In the East we found only a few canons of Patriarch George in the copy of Basibrina which was lost in World War I, but a second copy is preserved in our library. Another manuscript in the Za'faran Monastery contains twenty-four selected canons abridged from the canons of the Synod of the Monastery of Mar Ḥananya.

According to Bar Hebraeus, the Patriarch John Bar Shushan made twenty-four canons for himself and the bishops, which we believe have been lost except the nineteenth canon. Also, lost to us are the twenty-nine canons issued by Michael the Great at the Monastery of Mar Ḥananya as well as the twelve canons which he enacted for the monks of the Monastery of St. Matthew, the seven canons issued by the Patriarch John XIII Bar Ma'dani which have been mentioned, particularly the seven canons from our former collection.[2] Furthermore, some of the Easterners alluded to civil laws enacted by Ambrosius of Milan at the request of the Emperor Valantinus for the governors of the provinces.

In his noble book, the *Hudoye* (Nomocanon), Bar Hebraeus summarized the ecclesiastical and civil canons. The book is divided into forty chapters in which the author included the lost canons of George, bishop of the Arabs (d. 725), as well as those made by Michael the Great. He also included the eight canons of the Synod of Kafrtut held by the Patriarch John IV in February 869 to regulate the relations between the Apostolic See and the Maphryono of the East. To these he added unknown canons, some of which are of his own composition. He elaborated and excelled in writing his chapters on the civil laws to which he added his own juristic opinions which rendered his book a constitution for the church.[3]

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[1] Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, MS. 62.

[2] The writer is referring back to the unique copy of 1204 preserved at his library in Ḥomṣ (tr.)

[3] An abridgement and commentary on some of the canons of Bar Hebraeus's *Hudoye* was made by Rabban Daniel Bar Isaac. Daniel also abridged the whole work in seventeen chapters written in classical Arabic

In the following generations, Ignatius Bar Wuhayb, Patriarch of Mardin, issued ten insignificant canons in 1304; Patriarch David Shah made three canons for the diocese of Hattakh in 1576;[1] Patriarch Peter IV issued ordinances and canons for the administration of the Church of Malabar in India at the Synod of Mulanthuruthy in 1877; Patriarch ʿAbd Allah II made thirty-nine canons at the Synod of Aluva (Alwaye) in Malabar in August 1911. Finally, we made one hundred and forty-four canons in both Arabic and Syriac at the first Synod which we held at Ḥomṣ in February 1933.[2]

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in 1384. [This note was misplaced in the original where it appears with the last footnote of the subsequent paragraph. (tr.)]

[1] Zaʿfaran MS. 12.

[2] In the Synod of the Zaʿfaran Monastery held in 1521, Patriarch ʿAbd Allah I, made a few canons in Arabic. Also, in the Synod held at the Monastery of St. Matthew in 1930, Patriarch Elias III, issued ordinances and some canons.

CHAPTER TWENTY

ASCETIC BOOKS

When monasticism and monastic orders spread, as is known, in the Syrian Church, the plant of faith was in its prime and hundreds of solitary cells and monasteries were established in every region and land filling the mountains and plains, it became necessary to set up rules, ordinances and laws for the organization of these cells and monasteries. It was also necessary to write ascetic literature to nourish and lead thousands of ascetics in the straight path of the authors of this literature. Because of their literary merits and eloquence, these works were recognized as part of the Syriac literature. These works are:

1. The *Homilies* of the Persian bishop Aphrahat written between 337 and 345 and divided into twenty-three theological and ascetic *Demonstrations.*

2. *The Book of Perfect Life* and the *Explanation of the Commandments of Our Lord* originally consisted of thirty theological and ascetic treatises. MS. 180 of the Jerusalem Library contains a unique imperfect and misarranged old copy of this book transcribed in the ninth century in the Estrangelo script on vellum. Due to the ignorance of the binder, this already imperfect copy also became misarranged. Two-thirds of it has been lost and only one hundred and eighty-two pages survive containing the following:

Treatise No. 8 on those who give to the poor all they possess;

Treatise No. 9 on righteousness and the love of the righteous and the prophets;

Treatise No. 10 on the benefit we gain when we endure hardships as when we do good (the latter also discusses the fasting of the body and the soul);

Treatise No. 11 on heeding the scriptures;

Treatise No. 12 on the public and the private worship in the church;

Treatise No. 13 on righteous conduct;

Treatise No. 14 on the righteous and the perfect;

Treatise No. 15 on Adam's process of generation;[1]

Treatise No. 17 on the Passion of Our Lord through which we gained salvation;

Treatise No. 19 on the excellence of the path of perfection;

Treatise No. 20 on the great obstacles which stand in the way of the City of Our Lord;

Treatise No. 21 on Adam's tree;

Treatise No. 22 on the fact that religious obligations cannot save those who perform them;

Treatise No. 23 on Satan, Pharaoh and the children of Israel;

Treatise No. 24 on repentance;

Treatise No. 25 on the terms God and Satan;

Treatise No. 26 on the law which God made for Adam after he had eaten from the tree;

Treatise No. 27 on the thief who was saved;

Treatise No. 28 on the fact that man's soul is not blood;

Treatise No. 29 on training the body by good deeds;

Treatise No. 30 on the commandments of faith and love of solitaries.

In 1926, Rev. Mihaly Kmosko published this work in the third volume of the *Patrologia Syriaca* with its translation into Latin entitled *Liber Graduum* (*The Book of Steps*). Some scholars have even called it *The Book of Ladders*. However, the correct name of the book is the one we formerly mentioned as quoted from the end of the Treatise No. 30.

The author of this book, as stated in its opening chapters, is anonymous. The prime statement reads; "This ascetic did not want his name to be written down and that no historian has recorded any information about him and thus we do not know his time exactly. We only know through tradition that he was a later disciple of the Apostles. We also realize from his words that he was a pioneer scholar of Syriac." This statement requires some consideration. The book does not precede the fourth century and that judging from its lucid and eloquent style it belongs to the fifth or sixth century. Furthermore, those disciples could have not at all lived to this era. There is, however, a marginal note on page 10 in a

[1] The author seems to have misnumbered these treatises by skipping Nos. 16 and 18. The original order of the enumeration has been kept without change by the translator. (tr.)

handwriting which I consider of the twelfth century stating that the author is Philon the Ascetic, of whom I found no information.[1]

3. The diverse treatises, questions and answers by the Egyptian solitaries Bacchumius (d. 346), Antonius (d. 356) and Ammonius (d. 384) who wrote letters to the monks, Macarius the Great and Egyptian (d. 390), John the Apocalyptic ascetic of Thebes (d. 390), Macarius of Alexandria (d. 394),[2] Isaiah of Scete at the end of the fourth century who composed fifteen treatises and Euagrius Pontius (d. 399), who was an ascetic in the Egyptian desert and the author of the *Book of the Hundreds* as well as other discourses and epistles, Moses of Abyssinia at the beginning of the fifth century, Marcus the ascetic of Tharmaka, a disciple of Chrysostom who was an ascetic in the wilderness of Judea or in the desert of Scete. The latter wrote a book and seven discourses and died after 431. Also, Isidore of Pelusium (al-Farma) who wrote many letters and died about the year 435, Isaac the priest of solitary cells, Shanudin who wrote epistles and homilies in the Coptic language (d. 466) and the ascetic Isaiah II (d. 488) who moved from Scete to Gazza and was the author of the book of homilies.[3]

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[1] In his *La Littérature Grecque*, Batiffol states on p. 312 that Epiphanius, metropolitan of Cyprus, ordained Philon as bishop of Carpasia in the island of Cyprus before 382. Philon was very pious and a powerful orator. He expounded the book *Song of Songs* and died before 394. Could he then be the author of this book?

[2] We have in Syriac three treatises and seven epistles respectively by Macarius of Egypt and Macarius of Alexandria. Scholars deny the work ascribed to the latter while Kmosko is of the opinion that the epistles were not written by Antonius but by Ammonius.

[3] The Library of Mount Sinai has six very old manuscripts written in the Estrangelo on vellum, two of which only are written in a beautiful handwriting. These are MS. 14 containing the questions of monks by Macarius of Egypt, MS. 23 containing the *Book of the Egyptian Ascetics*, MSS. 24 and 46 containing dialogues and homilies by the Egyptian fathers transcribed in the ninth century and MSS. 26 and 33 containing the book of Anba Isaiah on *Solitaries and Ascetics*. See also the Vatican Library MS. 122 dated 796, MS. 121 dated 1576 and MS. 123; Brit. Mus. MS. 827 and 853; the Jerusalem Library MS. 180; the Za'faran library MS. 50; the Monastery of St. Matthew MS. 16 transcribed around 1420; Cambridge MS. 2019 and Birmingham MS. 68. In 1913, Kmosko published sixteen epistles by Ammonius while François Nau published twenty-two Syriac

4. The roughly three hundred and sixty questions answered by St. Basilius the Great and addressed to the monks,[1] the *Book of Monastic Life* by Nilus[2] the Recluse (d. 430) in Mount Sinai, who also composed twelve discourses and more than a thousand letters of which three or four are in Syriac, thirty stories written by Anba Hieronymus in the year 420,[3] discourses by Paul, bishop of Cnitos in Italy and the friend of John the Edessan about 430 and others by John the recluse, John Naqar the recluse in the mountain of Edessa and Sergius the Recluse and Thomas the Solitary (d. 1146).[4]

5. A book on monastic life by Gregory the Ascetic, a Persian by origin and Cypriot by residence. Gregory graduated from the School of Edessa in the time of Malphono Moses and spent his days in the Izla Mountain.[5] He is thought to have lived in the second half of the fourth century. Of his books only a few treatises remain.[6]

6. The book entitled *The Paradise of the Fathers* by Palladius, bishop of Helenopolis (d. 425), published by Bedjan, is divided into three parts, the first containing 69 stories, the second 41 stories and

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leaves and others in Greek containing some of Ammonius' consuls, dictums and information in 1914.

[1] Vatican MS. 121 contains fifteen treatises and a letter by Ammonius.

[2] Mount Sinai MS. 16.

[3] Vatican MS. 123 transcribed in 1223. Also, MS. of the Church of Anḥil in Tur ʿAbdin dated 1208.

[4] Zaʿfaran MS. 50, Monastery of St. Matthew MS. 6 and Birmingham MS. 86.

[5] The Mountain of Masius which overlooks Nisibin.

[6] The Chaldean Library in Mosul MS. 96. Imperfect, written on vellum in the eleventh century. Also, Vatican MS. 122 and the Monastery of St. Matthew MS. 16 which is a thick volume, written in a firm and elegant handwriting, it contains a good portion of the book of Anba Isaiah, the letters of Euagrius and Isidore, two letters by John and Nilus the ascetics, discourses by Macarius, Gregory, John the Apocalyptic, Mark, Sergius, Moses of Abyssinia, Shanudin, Thomas and John, abbot of the convent of Mount Sinai, the dialogue by Palladius and a dialogue between a pupil and a teacher on virtuous conduct and types of virtue.

the third 17 stories. Among the chronicles of the ascetics it also includes wisdom by some writers.[1]

Except for the book of Gregory and the one entitled *The Perfect Life*, all of these were translated from Greek into Syriac. Also, the letters of Antonius and Shanudin were translated from the Coptic language. These works contain all that which impresses and affects the soul.

7. The Book of *The Perfect Christian Life* by Philoxenus of Mabug divided into thirteen discourses. It is indeed the most excellent of all the books on this subject. A description of it shall be given later.

8. A book on asceticism and monasticism containing useful lessons, counsel and exhortations for those seeking virtuous life was written by Athanasius Abu Ghālib, the solitary bishop of Jihan (d. 1177).

9. *The Ethikon* or the Book of Ethics by the most learned Bar Hebraeus who wrote it in 1279. It is divided into four tracts in which he discusses the ways of virtue in spiritual as well as physical life; it was specially meant to be for the monks and generally for the pious Christian.

10. *The Book of the Dove* also by Bar Hebraeus which is a short work meant to be a guide for ascetics and monks. It is divided into four treatises.

11. The booklet entitled *The Way of Truth* on spiritual life written by ʿAziz Bar Sobto, Patriarch of Tur ʿAbdin (d. 1482).

12. The book entitled *The Spiritual Ship* by Masʿud II of Zāz, Patriarch of Tur ʿAbdin (d. 1512). It contains a collection of tracts and spiritual exhortations for ascetics which had been compiled by his disciple ʿAziz of Midyat (d. 1482).[2]

Mention should also be made here of other works that monks were accustomed to read which dealt especially with the virtues of asceticism and orders of worship. They were: *The Book of Steps or the Ladder* by John Climacus (d. 649), abbot of the Greek Malkite monastery of Mount Sinai; the works of Nestorian ascetics from the end of the sixth to the end of the eighth century. These ascetics were Abraham of Naphtar, Sahduna (Martyrius), bishop of

[1] Mount Sinai Library MS. 29, Vatican MS. 126, Zaʿfaran MS. 162, as well as MSS. at the two churches of Anḥil and Ḥiṣn Manṣur dated 1159. Also Cambridge MS. 2019 containing selections from Palladius.

[2] See Part Two of this book for a description of these five works.

Mahuza, Arnun who joined the Malkites, Isaac of Nineveh,[1] Simon Taybutha, the ascetic physician, John Bar Phankaye, John Dalyatha (Grapevine), so nicknamed for living on grapevine products.[2] The latter is also surnamed the Spiritual Shaykh (Aged Man). These writers probably quoted the works of Joseph of Ahwaz and Babai the writer.

None of these ascetic works became as widely spread as the book entitled *The Way of Monasticism* by an Isaac who was born in Qatar and became bishop of Nineveh and hence was called Isaac of Nineveh. This work was translated into Greek, Arabic, Ethiopian, Latin, Italian, French, and German,[3] after it was revised by a few early scholars,[4] who, according to Bedjan, regarded its author one of their saints.[5] One of our monks, carried too far in his illusions about this book, even went to the extent of distorting its translation to make it sound "orthodox," as is mentioned in an Arabic copy translated by Father Jacob.[6] The (Garshuni) copy of the Jerusalem Library, written in fine hand in 1516, is a reproduction of this translation,[7] but we know that the translation itself was made by a Greek Malkite, because it fixed the time of the author according to the calendar used then, by stating that "He (the author) was at the beginning of the seven thousandth year of the world" [sic]. However, it has been established that this work was translated from Greek into Arabic by the deacon ʻAbd Allah Ibn al-Faḍl of Antioch (d. 1052) at the request of Niocophor Abu al-Naṣr. ʻAbd Allah divided it into thirty-five chapters and called its author a saint. Two Arabic copies of this work are extant in the monastery

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[1] The monk Paul Bedjan published the book of Sahduna and Isaac of Nineveh in 1903 and 1904 respectively.

[2] Wright, *Syriac Literature*, 109. (tr.)

[3] See Bedjan's introduction to the book, 7. This book was translated into English in 1923.

[4] Fragments of this work can be found in the old MS. 14 of Mount Sinai written on vellum in the Estrangelo script.

[5] Bedjan, Introduction, p. 5.

[6] Sharfeh *Catalogue* MS. 7/2, p. 379, dated 1453 or sometime before this year.

[7] Jerusalem MS. 182.

of the Greeks in Jerusalem.[1] This ʿAbd Allah also translated from the Syriac a compendium of the *Book of the Egyptian Monks* and its exposition by Philoxenus of Mabug containing two hundred and fifty questions. He also translated the epistle of Philoxenus on monastic ranks addressed to one of his disciples. The former *Book of the Egyptian Monks* is an abridgment of *The Paradise of the Fathers* by Palladius and Hieronymus (Jerome), although it is not mentioned in the list of Philoxenus of Mabug's Syriac works, nor do we believe it survived. However, MS. 2421 at the formerly mentioned monastery of the Greeks in Jerusalem opens with the following statement by Philoxenus of Mabug: "When I realized that this branch of knowledge is more useful and of better guidance than its origin and that it is the essence of essences, I proceeded to translate it in order to purify the tongue by reciting it at the rising and setting of the sun and by its reading polish the faculties of mind which have been rusted by sins." This book also contained a passage by the Spiritual Shaykh.

The Nestorians, too, were greatly interested in reading the works of Bar Hebraeus, particularly his *Ethikon* of which they had the oldest copy in the library of their Catholicos in the city of Maragha and which, under his supervision, was transcribed by his disciple the monk-priest Joseph in 1292.[2]

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[1] *Catalogue of Arabic Manuscripts*, 1901, at the Convent of the Greeks in Jerusalem. The MS. 24 transcribed in 1567 and MS. 59 entitled *Mukhtaṣar Kitāb al-Qiddīs Mar Isḥāq*, in Arabic, translated (into Arabic) by the deacon ʿAbd Allah ibn al-Faḍl. On p. 144 we read: "If the vessels of precious perfume offers the person who touches them the breath of their scent, how much better it would be if my senses became directly perfumed by your spiritual sayings which guide the souls and eliminate unhappiness. O you who aspires to solitude because it brings man closer to the only cause of everything and shuns tumultuous life which drives man away from the person of God."

[2] The Chaldean Library in Mosul, MS. 99. Following is the introduction written by one of their (Nestorian) scholars (who we believe is of the 14th century) to Bar Hebraeus' poem on the "Categories of the Perfect." It reads thus: "When I saw that the sovereign master and king of princes and scholars, lord of the learned and savants, the great prince Shams al-Dīn Joseph, may God prolong his days and magnify and elevate his position, was enthusiastic to obtain the works of the blessed father and saint, who is unique among the pioneer learned men and the example

of later scholars, Mar Gregorius the Maphryono, may God illuminate his grave, I chose this his poem which contains the categories of those who have attained the highest degree of perfection, adorned and edited its elegant contents and thus served him (Shams al-Dīn) by adding this work to his library." Another work is the book of *The Translator* by Elijah ibn al-Sani, bishop of Nisibin transcribed by ʿAbd Yeshuʿ bishop of the Jazira in 1547, which is preserved in our library at Ḥomṣ.

CHAPTER TWENTY-ONE

BOOKS ON GENERAL HISTORY

In the sixth century, Syriac literature reached the height of eloquence and artistic technique. It also occupied an eminent place in rhetoric and scholastic theology. The language, too, flourished with its vivacious expressions and old style. The century was distinguished by its harmony and coherence of ideas, brilliance of minds and efficiency of authorship. In this century appeared a series of greatly significant historical works which continued until later ages. Without these historical works, many centuries would have been left in dense darkness and historians of civilization would have always regretted the loss of their contents.

It would be unfair on our part to demand from the writers of these histories that they be conversant with the conditions of the philosophy of history which were developed much later than their time. They were not lacking in the examination of facts, though they used very little analysis. As to the subject of the development of civilization, it is the concern of our contemporaries who are solely responsible for it. For civilization was, at the time of these historians, in its beginnings and only later began to mature. In general, Syriac histories are solid, reliable and trustworthy and deserve all consideration. However, the places of criticism in them are few. These historical works are:

1. The history of the events of Syria and Mesopotamia from 495 to 506, which is the most accurate and complete source of the wars of the emperor Anastas I and Qabadh the Persian. It was written in Edessa about the year 518, but it is ascribed by some scholars to Joshua the Stylite and even has been published under his name. As a matter of fact, the author of this history is an anonymous professor at the school of Edessa who was probably a Malkite.

2. The anonymous history known as the *History of Edessa*, which covers the period from 131 B.C. to A.D. 540. Although it is brief at the beginning, it contains a very useful account of events from the third century on. It is a very accurate history and an important

source of the history of both East and West. Despite his recognition of the Four Councils, the author shows a tendency toward Nestorianism.

3. The *Ecclesiastical History* of John of Ephesus, who died around 587, is the oldest of the Syriac histories. It is divided into three parts; the first and second run from the time of Julius Caesar to 572 and the third continues the chronicle until 585. The first part is lost. Of the second, fragments only have remained and have been published. The third is contained in a manuscript transcribed in the seventh century, a few leaves of which are wanting. It was published by Cureton. Despite its disorder, caused by the misfortunes which befell the author, this work is a very accurate history.

4. Of scarcely less value is the author's other work, entitled *Biographies of Eastern Saints*, written between 565 and 566. In this work the author discusses in detail the lives of the majority of ascetics whom he personally observed. His work is, therefore, of great value. It was twice published.

5. A collection of historical works by an anonymous author containing a great part of the *Ecclesiastical History* of Zachariah Rhetor, bishop of Mitylene, whose Greek original has been lost. It contains the events from 450 to 491. This collection is divided into twelve books: the story of Joseph, the history of Sylvester of Rome, the revelation of the repository of the bones of St. Stephen, the history of the *People of the Cave (The Seven Sleeping Youths of Ephesus)*, the *Henoticon of Zeno*, the chronicles of the Ḥimyarite Martyrs, the letter of Rabula of Edessa to Gemellinus, bishop of Perrhe (Farine), the description of the buildings and ornaments of Rome, the delineation of the habitable world by Ptolemy,[1] the history of the churches of Egypt and Syria in the fifth and sixth centuries, the death of Theodosius, bishop of Jerusalem and the life story of Isaiah the Ascetic.

6. The *Ecclesiastical Histories* of Eusebius, Socrates and Theodoret of Cyrus which the ecclesiastical Syrian historians possessed in the fifth and early sixth centuries, except the history of Sozomen. Of Eusebius' history, we have a copy whose transcription was finished

[1] See Wright, *Catalogue*, 2: 1061, on the *Delineation of the Habitable World* by Ptolemy. (tr.)

in 462 and is preserved in the library of Petersburg. The translation of this history which has been twice published[1] is distinguished for its accuracy. Moreover, the many important differences between it and the existing Greek text make it preferable to the latter, whose oldest copy was transcribed in the ninth century.[2] The MS. 941 (British Museum) contains fifteen chapters of Theodoret's *Ecclesiastical History*. *The Chronicle of Eusebius* was rendered into Syriac by Jacob of Edessa.

7. The history of Cyrus, the priest of Sarug or Baṭnan, containing events from 565 to 588, which has been lost to us.

8. The *Chronicle of Jacob of Edessa*. After revising the *Chronicle* of Eusebius, Jacob's design was to continue it in his compendium history from the twentieth year of the reign of Constantine the Great until 692. Michael the Great made much use of this history, of which sixty-seven pages only remain, published by Brooks.

9. The annals by the stylite ascetic John of Atharb (d. 738).

10-12. Three chronicles composed in the eighth century by Moses of Anḥil, Daniel Bar Moses of Tur ʿAbdin and John Bar Samuel in the Western part of Syria.

13. A lengthy general ecclesiastical and civil chronicle from the creation to the year 775 written by a monk from the monastery of Zuqnin in four books. The first runs from Adam to Constantine the Great; the second from Constantine to Theodosius the Lesser; the third is interrupted at the time of Justin II, whose sources shall be discussed later; and the fourth continued the chronicle from 599 to 775. In this work the author elaborated the calamities which befell the lands of the East during the Umayyad and part of the Abbasid eras. Assemani had erroneously ascribed this work to Dionysius of Tell Maḥre and his error was copied by later scholars who quoted him. The truth about the authorship was discovered in our time.

14. A significant historical collection, mostly published by Brooks under the title *Chronica Minora* in 1903. This collection comprises four parts taken from a transcribed manuscript in the eighth and ninth centuries, a few folios of which are wanting. The

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[1] Published in 1898 and 1899 in London and Paris.

[2] According to ʿAbd Yeshuʿ of Ṣoba, the seventh century author Simon of Beth Garmai had translated this history into Syriac, but it has been lost to us.

first part and the largest, ends with the year 641; the second in 570; the third in 636; and the fourth in 529. They are followed by a synopsis of the history of the councils up to the Council of Chalcedon, a table of the Umayyad Caliphs and an important tract of the Arab conquest stating that the battle of the Yarmuk took place on August 20, 636. Half of this tract has been effaced by time.[1] This collection also contains fragments of a compendium history written by a Palestinian Maronite author around the eighth century. These fragments cover the events in the time of Muʿāwiya I, which could also be found in the history of Theophane, with slight differences. They also contain a chronicle written by a monk from the monastery of Qarṭmin which extends to the year 846 and whose copy was transcribed in the tenth century as well as fragments by an anonymous author covering the period from 754 to 813.[2]

15. An elaborate short history written by a monk from Qarṭmin. This history which extends to the year 822 also covers portions of the history of the monastery of Qarṭmin and its abbots, published by this writer in Paris in 1914.

16. The *Chronography* of the erudite Dionysius of Tell Maḥre, Patriarch of Antioch, covering the period from 583 to 843. It is divided into sixteen books which, in turn, are subdivided into chapters. Michael the Great and Bar Hebraeus leaned heavily on this work of which only five pages have remained and were published by Assemani.

17. A lost ecclesiastical history composed by Moses Bar Kepha, metropolitan of Baremman and Mosul, who died in 903.

18. The *Chronicle* of deacon Simon of Nisibin.

19-21. Three short chronicles written by Ignatius, metropolitan of Melitene (d. 1064), Elijah, bishop of Kesum (d. 1171) and Dionysius Bar Ṣalibi, metropolitan of Amid (d. 1171).

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[1] In the same collection, Guidi published an accurate compendium written by a Nestorian scholar about 680 in which he included unknown events connected with the Sassanid era in Iraq or al-Ahwaz.

[2] We believe that some of these anonymous chronicles contained in the *Chronica Minora* were perhaps the remainder of the chronicles of Cyrus, Guriyya or John of Atharib. They may even contain the chronicles of David Bar Moses and the deacon Simon of Nisibin.

22. *The Chronicle of Michael the Great*, Patriarch of Antioch, which is a general ecclesiastical as well as a profane history running from the creation of the world to A.D. 1196. It falls into four thick volumes, each page of which contains three columns. The first column contains the civil history; the second the ecclesiastical history; and the third is devoted to extraordinary natural phenomena and other matters. One of the advantages of this chronicle is that the author relied on many important sources and quoted many chronicles which otherwise would have been lost. This chronicle was published by the Rev. Jean B. Chabot in a French translation of the sole copy possessed by the Syrian Church of Edessa.

23. *The Civil and Ecclesiastical History* of the anonymous Edessene author in two volumes. The first volume, in which the author distinguished the profane from the ecclesiastical history, runs from the time of Constantine to 1234. It was published twice. The author, an Edessene cleric who was still living between 1187 and 1234, is to be commended for his excellent composition, accuracy and solidity of style. He also wrote another ecclesiastical history which has been lost.

24-26. The most learned Bar Hebraeus possesses an extensive reputation as a historian. The following three excellent histories raise him to the standard of top-level historians. They are:

1) The *Chronography* from the Creation to A.D. 1285, in which he abridged the history of Michael the Great, enriched it with useful historical information and continued it to his own time, using Syriac, Arabic and Persian sources. Later, it was continued to 1296 by his brother al-Ṣafi.[1]

2) *Tārīkh Mukhtaṣar al-Duwal* (Compendium History of Dynasties), written in eloquent Arabic with a free abridgement from his Syriac *Chronography*.[2]

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[1] Translated into English and published with the Syriac text in two volumes by Ernest A. Wallis Budge. (Oxford University Press, 1932). For more information on the publication and translation of this work consult Budge's introduction to this work. (tr.)

[2] In 1663, Edward Pococke published the complete Arabic text of *al-Mukhtaṣar fi al-Duwal* with a Latin translation under the title *Historia Compendiosa Dynastiarum.* It was also edited and twice published in 1890 by Rev. Anton Salhani in Beirut under the title *Tarikh Mukhtaṣar al-Duwal*; the

3) The *Ecclesiastical History* in two books.[1] The first book contains the history of the Patriarchs of Antioch, preceded by a table of the names of the chief priests of the Old Testament. The second contains the history of Catholicii and Maphryonos of the East as well as Nestorian Catholicii both of which end in 1285.

27. Short and crudely written appendages to the *Chronography* as well as the *Ecclesiastical History* from 1285 to 1496. The author of these appendages continued briefly the succession of Patriarchs and Maphryonos, by adding to them short biographies. Also, he related the invasions of the Huns, the Persians and the Mongols against Diyarbakir from 1394 to 1402, the calamities inflicted by Tamerlane upon Tur ʿAbdin (1395-1403), the murder of Nawruz, Qazan's war against the Egyptians in Syria in 1298 and the events of Tur ʿAbdin and its environs from 1394 to 1493. These appendages were most likely compiled by the two priests Isaiah and Addai of Basibrina because of their elaboration on the chronicle of their country, Tur ʿAbdin; especially, Basibrina and also judging from their composition and style with which we are familiar. These appendages, except for the one relating to the murder of Nawruz, have been published.

28. The author of this book has composed five Syriac historical works as follows:[2]

1) *History of the Patriarchs of Antioch and the Maphryonos of the East* from 1493 to the present;

2) Table containing the names, genealogy and short biographies of 780 bishops of the Syrian dioceses from the year 1200 to the present;

3) The *Ecclesiastical History of Tur ʿAbdin* from 1365 to the present;

4) *A Compendium Ecclesiastical History* from 1286 to the present;

Jesuit Catholic press: 1890. It was reprinted by the same press in Beirut in 1958. (tr.)

[1] The complete Syriac text of this work was published by J. S. Abbeloos and T. J. Lamy in three volumes, Section I in two volumes and Section II in one volume accompanied by a Latin translation and notes under the title *Gregorii Barhebraei Chronicon Ecclesiasticum e Codice Musei Britannici descriptum.* Vols. 1 and 2 were published in Louvain, 1872; Vol. 3, Paris and Louvain, 1877. (tr.)

[2] Mar Ignatius Aphram I Barṣoum (author of this book). (tr.)

5) An ecclesiastical as well as profane chronicle from 1905 to the present.

CHAPTER TWENTY TWO

PRIVATE HISTORY

Apart from general historical works, Syrian authors composed private histories such as the extensive life-stories and biographies of saints and illustrious church dignitaries from 488 to 1146. Among these dignitaries are Peter the Iberian, Jacob of Sarug, Philoxenus of Mabug, Severus of Antioch, John of Tella, John Bar Aphtonia, Aḥudemeh, Jacob Baradaeus, Athanasius I, Severus of Samosata, Marutha of Takrit, Gabriel of Qarṭmin, Theodotus of Amid, Jacob of Edessa, Simon d-beth Zayte, John VIII, Bar ʿAbdun and the solitary Thomas of Shamrin. An account of them will be given later.

In this chapter we shall discuss the history of the Ḥimyarite martyrs as well as seven biographies (excepting the fourth one) of famous dignitaries which have come down to us. They are:

1. History of the orthodox Arab Ḥimyarite male and female martyrs including the names and chronicles of 472 of them who had been tortured first by Dhu-Nuwas and then by Masruq the Jewish King in Najran between 520 and 524. We think that this unique and interesting work was written in the middle of the sixth century.[1]

2. A short biography of Severus Moses Bar Kepha, metropolitan of Baremman (d. 903), a copy of which is incorporated in his book, *The Reasons of Festivals or Festal Homilies for the Whole Year* along with other homilies.[2]

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[1] The late Syrian Patriarch of Antioch Mar Ignatius Jacob III discovered a new Syriac source on the Ḥimayrite martyrs and published it in *al-Majalla al-Baṭriyarkiyya* (*The Patriarchal Magazine*) in 1965-1966 and then in book form entitled *al-Shahada al-Ḥimayriyya fi al-Wathāʾiq al-Suryāniyya* (Damascus, 1966) (tr.)

[2] See W. Wright, *Catalogue of Syriac MSS. in the Brit. Museum*, 2: 621 and 877. (tr.)

3. The biography of John, metropolitan of Mardin (1125-1165), composed shortly after his time and including his noble deeds. It also contains the names of the monasteries and churches which he built or remodeled, thus enhancing the prestige of the diocese. Only three copies remained of this long biography; one is in the Vatican, MS. 96 published by Assemani, the second, imperfect, is at our library in Ḥomṣ and was transcribed in 1602 and the third is a short copy contained in MS. 297 at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris which we have abridged, translated into Arabic and published with much additional information in our book *Nuzhat al-Adhhan fi Tarikh Dayr al-Zaʿfaran* (*History of the Zaʿfaran Monastery*) (pp. 52-62).[1] Another short version of this biography is contained in MS. 297 of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

4. A treatise composed by Michael the Great containing the biography of Dionysius Jacob Bar Ṣalibi, metropolitan of Amid (d. 1171), his works and feats. This treatise which Michael mentioned in his chronicle (vol. 2, p. 699) has been lost to us.

5-6. Two biographies of the Maphryonos of the East, Gregorius Bar Hebraeus and his brother Barṣoum al-Ṣafiy, composed in the dodecasyllable meter (the Sarugite meter) by Gabriel, metropolitan of the Jazira (1288-1295), in 145 pages.

7. An elaborate biography of Patriarch John XIV, known as Bar Shay' Allah (d. 1493), composed by some of his disciples in 1497 in 15 pages.[2] There is also another biography of him which is longer than the one incorporated by the appendage of the *Ecclesiastical History*.[3]

8. The biography of Masʿud II of Zāz, Patriarch of Tur ʿAbdin from his birth in 1431 until he became bishop in 1482, written by his disciple the monk ʿAziz of Midyat in eight pages.[4] Appended to it is the account of his investiture as the arch-abbot of the monasteries of Tur ʿAbdin and his reply to it.[5]

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[1] Published in the Zaʿfaran Monastery in 1917.
[2] Cambridge MS. 82 DD3.
[3] Bibliotheca Vaticana MS. 387.
[4] The library of the Sayyida Monastery MS. 130.
[5] Zaʿfaran MS. 51.

CHAPTER TWENTY-THREE

DIVERSE HISTORICAL TRACTS

In many different manuscripts we have found more than sixty Syriac historical tracts comprised of about two hundred and sixty pages, some of which relate to the First and Middle Ages (255-1300) and are not incorporated by history books while the others relate to later periods, i.e., from 1300 to the twentieth century. Most of these tracts are written in a good style, but a few are of mediocre style and eight are of poor and imperfect style. As these tracts are considered historical documents, we thought it profitable to give a brief account of each one of them as follows:

1. A list containing the names of 87 bishops who held the first Council of Carthage in 255, the 13 bishops of the Council of Ancyra, the 22 bishops of the Council of Neo-Caesarea held in 314, the 29 bishops of the Council of Antioch held in 341 and the 16 bishops of the Council of Gangara held in 364[1].

2. The rebuilding of the Monastery of Mar Basus by Peter Ibn Joseph of Ḥomṣ about 480.[2]

3. The account of John III, Patriarch of Antioch, about the false ordinations instituted by the Julianists from 549 to 587[3] and a letter by eight orthodox bishops to the monasteries of the province of Amid around 532.[4]

4. One hundred and ninety monasteries of the land of al-Sham particularly its southern Arab province between 560 and 570.[5]

5. The Synod of the Monastery of St. Matthew and the signatures of its members in 628.[6]

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[1] Zaʿfaran MSS. 244 and 245. Also the *Book of Canons* in Basibrina (Tur ʿAbdin).

[2] *Acta Sanctorum et Martyrum*, vol. 4, pp. 499-507.

[3] Brit. Mus. MSS. 14629 and 17193.

[4] Zaʿfaran MS. 76.

[5] Brit. Mus. MS. 14602 published under *Syriac Documents*.

[6] A unique manuscript at our library in Ḥomṣ.

6. The names of about seventy bishops who lived in the sixth, seventh and eighth centuries whose names were mentioned in the *Book of Life* of Zāz.

7. The purchase of Dayr al-Suryan (the Monastery of the Syrians) in Egypt in the middle of the sixth century.[1]

8. Signatures of the forty-eight bishops who attended the Council of al-Raqqa in 818.[2]

9. The opposition of the monks of the Monastery of St. Matthew and the inhabitants of Nineveh to Maphryono Denḥa III in 914.

10. The building of the churches of the Virgin, the apostles, and Aḥudemeh in 1046 by the deacon Theodorus of Takrit.[3]

11. The immigration of seventy monks to the Syrian Monastery in Egypt and the care taken of its library by the monk Barṣoum of Marʿash in 1084.[4]

12. The invasion of the Turks into the Monastery of Qarṭmin in 1100.[5]

13. The chronicles of three bishops of Jerusalem by the monk Michael of Marʿash in 1138.[6]

14. The biography of Ignatius III Bar Kaddana written by his successor Ignatius Romanus in 1138.[7]

15. The calamity of Edessa in 1144, the second crusade and the feats of Ignatius Romanus by Ignatius V Sahdo, metropolitan of Jerusalem, which he recorded in 1146.[8]

16. Building of the altar of the Monastery of St. Bahnam in 1164[9] and the building of Mar George Monastery in Mardin by the deacon Abu ʿAli in 1169.[10]

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[1] Bibliothèque Nationale MSS. 27 and 297.

[2] At the library in Ḥomṣ copied from a manuscript at Basibrina. The tracts of which we give no source are in our library at Ḥomṣ.

[3] Zaʿfaran, at the end of the Gospels MS. 13.

[4] Bibliothèque Nationale MS. 27.

[5] The *Book of Life* in Basibrina.

[6] Library of Lyons, MS. 1.

[7] Bibliothèque Nationale MS. 51.

[8] Jerusalem Library MS. 27.

[9] H. Pognon, *Inscriptions Semitiques de la Syrie* (1907), p. 134.

[10] Zaʿfaran MS. 14.

17. The exploits of Al Thomas of Basibrina and their contribution to their village, 1166.[1]

18. The works of Bar Ṣalibi (d. 1171).[2]

19. The letter of Bar Wahbun to the Patriarch Michael about 1186.

20. The epidemic which caused the death of thirty-five monks of the monastery of Qarṭmin in 1199.

21. The consecration of John XII and his visit to Amid in 1209 written by himself.[3]

22. The chronicles of Mina, metropolitan of Amid and his family as well as the destruction of four churches composed by the two monks Abu al-Faraj Ibn Abi Saʿīd of Amid and Bacchus of Beth Khudayda between 1206 and 1224.[4]

23. The covenant given by Ignatius III to Basilius Joseph, metropolitan of Khabur, in 1231.

24. An account of some Tatar invasions written by the priest Yeshuʿ of Ḥiṣn Kifa in 1235 and Tamerlane's destruction of Syria by Cyril, metropolitan of Cyprus, in 1401.[5]

25. The building of the Monastery of Mar Abai and the Monastery of al-ʿAmud (St. Michael in Mardin) by Rabban Moses Bar Ḥamdan as well as the churches of Diralya, Dunaysar, Qellith and Rumania between 1250 and 1257.[6]

26. Chronographical tractates from 1257 to 1373.[7]

27. The obituaries of nearly a hundred Patriarchs, Maphryonos and bishops from 1283 to the present, including two obituaries written in 591 and 903.[8]

28. Table containing the bishops under Patriarch Nimrud in 1292.[9]

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[1] Bibliotheca Vaticana MS. 37.

[2] Bibliothèque Nationale MS. 289.

[3] Bibliothèque Nationale MS. 289, also published in the journal *Orient Chretien*, 1911, p. 237. Also Jerusalem Library MS. 28.

[4] Quoted from a book of Liturgies in Beirut.

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] Pognon, *ibid.*, pp. 187-189.

[7] Basibrina.

[8] From an inscription on a stone in Wayran Shahr and the Monastery of Mar Jacob of Salaḥ.

[9] Cambridge MS. 82 DD3.

29. A treatise on the two Hebraeus brothers by the deacon Bahnam Habbo Kanni in 1292.[1]

30. The proclamation of Michael II to the dioceses in the land of the Greeks in 1295.

31. The Mongol's invasion of Mosul, Arbil and the Monastery of Mar Bahnam in 1295.[2]

32. The war of the Mongolian Kings, Argon and Qazan, against the Egyptian armies. Also the exploits of the Maphryono Barṣoum al-Safy written in 1300.[3]

33. The election of Patriarch Ismaʿil in 1333.[4]

34. An account of the pillage of the church of the Forty Martyrs in Mardin in 1333 written by the monk Yeshuʿ Bar Khayrun.[5]

35. The destiny of church vessels as well as the books of the Patriarchal monastery of Mar Barṣoum written by the monk Abraham of Mardin as related by the priest Aaron of Arzenjān in 1365.

36. An account of the calamity of the monk Daniel of Mardin written by himself in 1382.[6]

37. Tamerlane's invasion of the Monastery of Qarṭmin. Also the names of the bishops and the forty monks who suffocated from smoke in 1394.[7]

38. The genealogies and chronicles of the Patriarch Abraham II, Bahnam, Khalaf, John XIV, Nuḥ, Yeshuʿ I and the Maphryono Barṣoum Maʿdani, mostly of their own composition from the year 1400 to 1518.

39. The calamities which afflicted the Christians in Kharput and Melitene in the years 1311, 1399 and 1451 recorded by Joseph, metropolitan of Kharput and Karkar and others.[8]

40. The account of the death of Dionysius Malke Zuqāqī I, metropolitan of Maʿdan, in 1465, composed by his disciple.

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[1] Medicio Laurenziana MS. 208.

[2] Pognon, *Inscriptions Semitiques*, 135.

[3] Jerusalem Library MS. 109.

[4] Basibrina.

[5] Bibliothèque Nationale MS. 276.

[6] Bibliothèque Nationale MS. 244.

[7] Basibrina, *The Book of Life*.

[8] Boston MSS. 3976 and 3945.

41. The virtues of the ascetics of Tur ʿAbdin written by David of Ḥomṣ in 1466.[1]

42. The noble deeds of George, bishop of the Monastery of Qarṭmin, which happened in Jerusalem in 1490, together with the deeds of Abraham ʿAwad, metropolitan of Ḥiṣn Kifa, which took place at the Monastery of the Cross.[2]

43. The chronicles of David of Ḥomṣ of himself as well as of the Patriarch Jacob I shortly before 1500.[3]

44. The political events of Mesopotamia together with the conditions of the bishops and monks of Tur ʿAbdin from the years 1501 to 1510 recorded by the monk ʿAziz of Midyat in four useful treatises.[4]

45. A table of the Patriarchs of Antioch from 1495 to 1661 as well as the Patriarchs of Tur ʿAbdin to the year 1571.[5]

46. An account of the consecration of the Chrism by Patriarch Nuḥ at the church at Ḥomṣ in the year 1506 written by the priest ʿIsa of Ḥomṣ.[6]

47. The invasion of Tur ʿAbdin in 1394 and 1505.

48. The Turks' occupation of Mardin in 1517 recorded by the priest Simon Shumays al-Quṣuri.

49. The genealogy of John of Karkar, metropolitan of Jerusalem and Tripoli and his martyrdom in 1587.[7]

50. The deeds of Patriarch David Shah, his death and the death of three church fathers of his own family of the house of Nur al-Din 1583-1639.[8]

51. An account of the building of the Monastery of Mar Zakka in Karkar in the year 1588 as well as the reconciliation of the Patriarchs Pilate and Hidayat Allah in 1593 by Gregorius Vaness of Wank of the House of Najjar, bishop of Cappadocia and then Edessa.[9]

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[1] The MSS. in Basibrina.

[2] The MSS. in Midyat.

[3] The manuscripts at the Monastery of the Cross.

[4] The manuscripts of Tur ʿAbdin and Amid.

[5] Cambridge MS. 82 DD3; Medicio Laurenziana, Florence MS. 136.

[6] Recorded at the end of the Gospels at our library in Ḥomṣ.

[7] Cambridge MS. 82 DD3 and 2005.

[8] *Ibid.*

[9] Jerusalem MS. 169.

52. The building of the Church of Mar Zayna in Qaraqosh in 1589 and 1738.

53. The biography of Ephraim of Wank, metropolitan of Hattakh, together with the conditions of some monasteries as well as the famine in his time from his own composition, 1638-1661.

54. A compendium of the history of the Malabar Church from the middle of the seventeenth century to the year 1877 recorded by some priests of Malabar.[1]

55. An account of the chronicles of Patriarchs, particularly George II, from 1672-1806.

56. The invasion of Tur ʿAbdin in 1710 written by the priest John of Basibrina.

57. The feats of the Patriarchs George II and Isaac containing the building of churches and monasteries, written by the Bishop ʿIsa and Chorepiscopus Yeshuʿ al-Quṣuri in 1713.[2]

58. The siege of Kirkuk and Mosul by the Persian King Tahmasp in 1743 by the priest Habash Jumuʿa of Beth Khudayda as well as the famine and the heavy snow which struck Mosul and its environs in 1757 recorded by the deacon Matthew Najjar of Beth Khudayda.[3]

59. The journey of Maphryono Shukr Allah Qasabji of Aleppo to Malabar in 1751, of his own composition.

60. The history of the See of Antioch from 1782 to 1785 by ʿAbd Allah Shadyan, metropolitan of Damascus.

61. The invasion of Azekh and Isfis by the Prince of Rowanduz in 1834 recorded by the Bishop George.

62. The chronicle of Patriarch Elijah II and Joachim of Ḥbob, metropolitan of Malabar, to the year 1845 composed by Joachim himself.

63. The invasion of Seʿert and Tur ʿAbdin by ʿIzz al-Din Shir and Manṣur Beg the Bakhtis recorded by the priest Mirza of Meddo in 1855.

64. The building of the church of the Monastery of St. Matthew in 1858 and the murder of Bishop Denḥa in 1871 written by the priest George of Baʿshiqa originally from Ḥbob in Tur ʿAbdin.

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[1] At our library in Ḥomṣ there are three copies written in poor style which were compiled in 1809, 1838 and 1877.

[2] Birmingham MS. 480.

[3] Manuscripts at Qaraqosh.

65. The chronicles of Patriarch Jacob II from 1866 to 1871 composed by his secretary, later the Patriarch ʿAbd Allah II.

66. The massacre of 1895 in Diyarbakir written by the priest Ephraim of Midyat.

67. The autobiography of Bishop Paul, the Patriarchal representative in Constantinople, which he composed in 1912.

CHAPTER TWENTY-FOUR

THE LIVES OF MARTYRS AND SAINTS

As a branch of history, the accounts of the lives of martyrs and saints have a special place in all Christian literature, first, because they are copious and second, because they were written by masterful authors. The Syriac legacy is full of them. These accounts are of two kinds, the first written in Syriac in the Eastern countries of Mesopotamia, Persia and some parts of Syria; the second translated from the Greek prevailed in the Euphrates, Syria, the land of the Byzantines and Egypt, at the time when Greek was the literary language and had captured the imagination of non-Greek writers. Some of these lives were recorded either in the time of the saints and martyrs or shortly thereafter and are called "biographies" because they relate the exact events with no addition or deduction. Others are called "stories" written at a much later period and are not free from embellishment and additions which seeped through narrations and tradition. However, impartial scholarly criticism and good taste are responsible for the sifting, giving more weight to, or disparaging these stories and for distinguishing the good from the bad.

The biographies which had been recorded in their own time were those of Guriyya, Shamuna, Ḥabib, the martyrs of Samosata, the Palestinian martyrs written by Eusebius of Caesarea, the majority of the Persian martyrs during the persecution of Shapur II, nicknamed "He of the Shoulders," the fifth century martyrs, excepting the anecdotes of Mar Bahnam, Basus and ʿAbd al-Masiḥ (Ashir). Those which were written at a much later period were the account of the struggle of Sharbil, his sister Babuy and Barsamya, bishop of Edessa, around the year 105. They were written after the Council of Nicaea in the middle of the fourth century, because the author openly states "consubstantial with the Father," a term unknown in Christendom before that Council. He also alluded to a saying of the church fathers which does not synchronize with that early period, but rather agrees with the language of the dialogue

between the martyr and the judge. Similarly, the story of Shmuni, the Maccabees, her children and Lazarus the Priest who was martyred under the tyrant King Antiochus Epiphanes IV (175-164 B.C.) was recorded long after the Christian era.

However, time was not opportune for writers of the early period to record the struggle of their martyrs. The scanty surviving histories were mostly drawn from the records of the courts which tried those martyrs, while even scantier were the histories which had been written at the close of the third and the beginning of the fourth century.

The conditions for recording the lives of the saints were the same. Among the records are the original biography of Eusebius of Samosata, written in a smooth and eloquent style by his contemporaries; the biography of Rabula of Edessa, which is the most eloquent, beautiful and well-written of all biographies; and the biography of John Bar Aphtonia, which is characterized with eloquence and immaculate style; the life story of Pelagia the penitent harlot dancer of Antioch written by the deacon Jacob as well as the life stories of Theodosius, bishop of Jerusalem, Peter the Iberian, Isaiah the Egyptian ascetic of the country of Gazza, three biographies of Severus of Antioch and fifty anecdotes of the Eastern ascetics (including some bishops) written by John, bishop of Asia (Ephesus).

Into other lives of saints and martyrs, authors as well as scribes interpolated far-fetched tales and legends, such as the anecdotes of the ancient ascetics of the East who shunned worldly pleasures. The East, to be sure, was not blessed with biographers of the stripe of Palladius, Rufinus and Hieronymus who had personal incentive to record the true events of their time, except for Theodoret of Cyrus, who confined his writings to the ascetics of Cyrus and its environs and a few other individuals who wrote some biographies. It seems as if the Eastern mind, while religion had the greatest influence on the souls and hearts, did not accept the life stories of saints and martyrs unless they were embellished with exaggeration. The Western mind was also the same in ancient times and in the Middle Ages. Of these all, the life stories of Mar Eugene and his companions (which Nestorian writers in the Middle Ages embellished and enlarged and to which they added some of their compatriots who lived between the sixth and tenth centuries) as they were originally recorded become hard to ascertain. This ugly

distortion incited most of the Orientalist critics to deny the existence of this ascetic (Eugene) and even became very confused about the time in which he lived. Later, some of our Tur ʿAbdin authors wrote down in the eighth and ninth centuries the biographies of Samuel and Simon, the establishers of the Monastery of Qarṭmin as well as those of its abbot Gabriel and Simon d-beth Zayte who led an ascetic life in it and later became bishop of Ḥarran. They also bedecked them with fabulous stories. Some authors commented on these stories in the beginning of the twelfth century. Likewise, the life story of Mar Barṣoum, the ascetic of Samosata, was garnished with similar legends. The critic, however, has much less to say about the story of Mar Matthew the ascetic and the struggle of Bahnam and his sister Sarah, which were written around the seventh century. They have also less to say about the life story of the ascetic Aaron of Sarug which François Nau thought was composed in the ninth century and Baumstark in the seventh century. We are of the opinion that it was written before that date (the seventh century).[1]

Of the lives of saints and martyrs which we could not ascertain is the story of Abḥai the ascetic who came from one of the villages of Mardin. Abḥai abandoned the world, became bishop of Nicaea, but retreated to ascetic life in the mountain of Karkar and built a monastery, where he died in 455, which bore his name, but which was also known as the "Monastery of Ladders." In 1185, the Patriarch Michael the Great revised and arranged the story of Abḥai, but did not touch the interpolations in order to keep the original intact. There is also a poem in praise of Abḥai said to have been composed in the twelve-syllable meter by Jacob of Sarug or others. Although this bishop (Abḥai) was a friend of emperor Theodosius II, according to his story, none of the old historians bothered to mention him; even the table of the bishops of Nicaea does not include his name. Nevertheless, we do not doubt his

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[1] Bar Hebraeus in his *Hudoye*, part 5, section 3, p. 60, quoting Jacob of Edessa, states "the story of the martyr, Mar George, which is cited as a narration, is full of false allegations, irrational talk and falsehood which is not proper for a martyr to pronounce. Christ who has crowned them (martyrs) did not abandon them merely to do so or that such a thing would befall them."

existence and ascetic life, but doubt the time in which he lived and the activities ascribed to him during his episcopate.

What should be noticed in this regard is the distortion by the early heretics, the malicious enemies of Christianity, of the chronicles of the righteous apostles. These heretics fabricated stories into which they injected their poisonous principles under a cover which cannot be detected by the simple, but which is obvious to the intelligent. The influence of these heretics could be seen in the life stories of the apostles Peter, Paul, John, Thomas and particularly Matthew. These stories came down to us in Syriac or Arabic.

Some of these biographies or stories are lengthy. For instance, the biography of Abraham Qaydunoyo is 35 pages long, the biographies of St. Ephraim, John the Lesser and Chrysostom are 40 pages each, those of Eusebius of Samosata and Rabula are 53 pages each, those of Pacchomius, Abḥai, Aḥo and Simon d-beth Zayte are 58 pages each, that of Qaradagh is 65 pages, of John of Tella 70 pages, of Seraphion 78 pages, of Simon Bar Sabbai 79 pages, of Theodotus 80 pages, of Aaron 16 chapters, of St. Antonius 120 pages, of Simon the Stylite 143 pages, of Peter the Iberian 144 pages and that of Barṣoum is 180 pages. Some of these biographies, such as those of the Iberian, Marutha of Takrit and Theodotus, are fraught with historical, geographical and ritual profits which enhance their literary value. We may divide this chapter into four sections:

Section One: The Lives of the Martyrs of Edessa, Samosata, and Persia

Few are the acts written in Syriac of the Christian martyrs, the heroes who fought for the cause of Christianity in Western Mesopotamia and Euphrates-Syria during the persecution of the Roman emperors, because they were mostly written in Greek. They are:

The two life stories of Sharbil and Barsamya written in the middle of the fourth century; the account of the struggle of Gurya, Shamuna and Ḥabib of Edessa recorded by an eye witness named Theophile in 307 or 308 and contained expressions which were legally and officially practiced. Jacob of Sarug composed two poems in their praise. Besides, we have the life stories of ʿZazaʾel of

Samosata dated 304 together with the martyrs of Samosata Hipparchus and Philotheus and their five companions dated 308.

On the other hand, the acts of the Persian martyrs which began after the persecutions of the Roman Empire were about to abate are many. The most famous of these acts are:

1. The acts of the two brothers Ador-Baruh and Mayhar Narsi and their sister Mahdokht in the environs of Kirkuk in 318 composed by Gabriel the Chaldean monk of Beth ʽAbi (The Monastery of the Thicket) in the first half of the eighth century.

2. The acts of Coberlaha and his sister Qazu the children of King Shabur and that of Dadu in 332 composed by the two priests Dad Yeshuʽ and ʽAbd Yeshuʽ.

3. The acts of Sabur, bishop of Niqatur and Isaac, bishop of Beth Selukh, Mana Abraham and Simon in 339.[1]

4. The acts of Zebina, Lazarus, Marut, Narsi, Elijah, Mahri, Ḥabib, Saba, Shampita, Jonah and Brikh Yeshuʽ in 327 recorded by Isaiah Bar Ḥadabu of Arzun who was an eye witness.

5. The history of Beth Selukh in which the author mentions Mana the bishop and the nuns Thecla, Tang, Tatun, Mama, Mezika and Anna.

To Marutha of Takrit is ascribed the composition of the acts of the martyrs under Shapur II of the Shoulders. Furthermore, Mari Ibn Solomon, a twelfth century historian and the deacon ʽAmr Ibn Matta al-Tyrhani (d. 1340)[2] relate that Aḥai, Catholicos of Ctesiphon from 410 to 415, composed stories of the Persian martyrs and wrote a book on their martyrdom before he became Catholicos according to the first and after he became Catholicos according to the second. However, we do not know whether any part of these writings has been preserved.

The stories are: the account of the struggle of Simon Bar Sabbaʽi [Son of the Dyers] the Catholicos; Jidyab and Sabina, bishops of Beth Laphet; John, bishop of Hormizd-Ardashir; Bolida, bishop of the Euphrates; John, bishop of Karkh Mishan, as well as the history of ninety-seven priests and deacons in 341. Also the martyrdom of Koshtazad the King's chamberlain; Bosi, the chief artisan and his daughter, Amarya and Muqim, bishops of Beth

[1] It is old and, as it seems, was composed in Edessa.

[2] Pp. 26 and 31.

Laphet; Hormizd, the priest of Shuster; Azad, the King's servant; Tarbu, the sister of the Catholicos, with her sister and companions, Miles, bishop of Sus, Shahdost and his clerical companions in 342; Bar Shabya the abbot and the monks of his monastery in 342; the priest Daniel and Warda the nun in 343; Narsi, bishop of Shahr Qart and his disciple Joseph in 344; the stories of the martyrs of Arbil and Adiabene which are: John, bishop of Arbil and Jacob the priest in 344; Abraham, bishop of Adiabene, in 345; the one hundred twenty martyrs of Ctesiphon and its environs in 345; Bar Baashmin, the Catholicos and his companions who were clerics, Ḥananya of Arbil in 346, Jacob the priest and his sister Mary the Nun from the village of Tell Shalila in 347; Thecla the nun and her four companions in 347; the Gaylani Martyrs, Brikh Yeshuʿ, ʿAbd Yeshuʿ, Sabur, Sanatruq, Hormizd, Hadar Sabur, Halphid, Ith Alaha, Muqim, Halmadura and Phoebi in 351; Bar Ḥadhbshabba, the deacon of Arbil in 355; Ith Alaha and Hafsi in 356; Qaradagh, the military governor of Adiabene, in 359 whose account of martyrdom, as some believe, was written in the sixth century; the martyr captives of Bazabdi in 362; Saba the youth and his companion Abai in 363; the forty Persian martyrs including two bishops in 376; Badmea, the abbot of the monastery near Beth Laphet in 377; Acepsimas, bishop of Hanitha, in 378 and Joseph the priest and Ith Alaha the deacon in 379.

To this list should be added the story of Bahnam, his sister Sarah and their forty martyr companions around 382; the account of the martyrdom of Basus and his sister in 388 which has been lost to us but survived in a lengthy ode composed by the Patriarch Bahnam of Ḥidl shortly before 1404; the story of ʿAbd al-Masiḥ (Ashir) of Sinjar in 390; the martyr ascetic Phineas of Tanis at the end of the fourth century, whose story was written a long time after him, the martyrdom of Narsi the monk, Tataq and the ten martyrs of Beth Garmai, the twelve thousand martyrs of Kirkuk in 409; the martyrdom of ʿAbda, bishop of Hormizd Ardashir and his seven companions in 421; Jacob, who was cut to pieces in 421; Phiruz in 422; Mayhar Shabur and Phethiun in 448 and the martyrdom of Baboy, the Catholicos, in 481.

Section Two: The Acts of the Martyrs of Palestine, Mesopotamia, Armenia, Byzantium, Egypt, and Yemen

Eusebius of Caesarea wrote the history of the Palestinian martyrs (who numbered 467) during the tenth persecution. An abridgement of his work was translated from the Greek into Syriac shortly after its composition and it went through two editions. It suffered a great many alterations.

Besides this, we have the two highly embellished and greatly exaggerated stories of the famous Mar George; the martyrdom of Romanus and his companions in Antioch; the story of Shmuni of the Maccabees and her sons and Lazarus the priest; the account of the martyrdom of the nun Febronia of Nisibin in 304, composed by Thomaius the nun; the story of Agripas and Parnitus and their twelve thousand companions, or according to another source the account of four thousand Greek and Syrians martyred in the mountains of Ahmoy also called Ḥasmay or Ashuma,[1] whose story is believed to be of Syriac origin; the martyrdom of Sergius and Bacchus in two copies and in whose praise Sts. Ephraim and Jacob of Sarug composed two poems; the story of the forty martyrs of Sebaste; the stories of Thecla the disciple of Paul, Sophia and her three daughters, the people of the Cave (the Sleeper Youths of Ephesus) in whose praise Jacob of Sarug composed a poem, Babula (Babila), Patriarch of Antioch in 251, Eugene and Pacilina the Romans in 253, Cyprian the bishop and Justa Pictorinus, Pictor, Nicephorus, Claudius, Deodorus, Seraphion, Papius in Carthage, Christopher the barbarian and his companions in Lycia, Lucian and Marcian, Paphos and his twenty-four thousand companions in the village of Magdal near Antioch in 303 whose story was written five days after their martyrdom. Other accounts immediately recorded were those of Phrobus, Tarachus, Andronicus in 303; Barbara and Juliana, Quryaqos and his mother which was written at the behest of Theodorus, bishop of Konya (Iconium), Mama and his parents, the martyrdom of Hagnes (Agnes) the Roman virgin, the stories of Placidas (also called Eustathius), his wife and children; Leontius and his teacher Poblius (Popillius), John of Kafr Sania in the time of Maximian Heracleus in 311 whose martyrdom was recorded by Eutochus, the King's

[1] Called Qaraj Dagh today.

secretary and deposited in the city's library. Later, the administrator of Justice, John the Roman, built a church in his name at Kafr Sania in the days of Theodosius,[1] Stratonice and Seleucus at the city of Cyzicus;[2] Theodotus in the city of Philippi in 331, two stories of Theodorus the martyr of Euchaita in 363; Plotine (Plotinus) the bishop and confessor apostle; the story of the reputed ascetic Mar Beth Sahdi the martyr ascribed to Chrysostom.[3] We have found a poem in his praise. Orientalists however, doubt his existence and the anecdote of Simon the Aged who was martyred in the Middle Mountain.[4]

We have also the stories of Mina the Egyptian who was martyred in the year 303; Paphnotius the solitary and his five hundred and forty-six martyr companions in 307; Pantaleon and his companions in 309; the martyrdom of Peter, bishop of Alexandria, in 311; Maria the Egyptian, Cosmas and Damian and their brothers in 306 (who was praised in a poem); the history of the Ḥimyarite martyrs who were tortured by Dhu Nuwas and then by Masruq the Jew in 519 and 524 which reached us in a unique Syriac manuscript, the story of Ḥarith the Arab martyr the first part of which was written in Syriac by Sergius or Jurjis, bishop of al-Rasafa, a contemporary of Dhu Nuwas and was later translated into Greek.

Section Three: The Acts of the Holy Apostles, Patriarchs and Bishops

Following are the life-stories of the holy Apostles and men written in Syriac:

1. An account of the discovery of the head of John the Baptist and its translation to Ḥomṣ in the year 453.

2. The martyrdom of Peter and Paul.

3. The story of John the Evangelist and his companions.

4. The life-story of Thomas the Apostle.

5. The life-story of Onesimus the disciple of Paul.

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[1] Zaʿfaran MS. 118.

[2] In another copy, these two names are mentioned as Stratonice and Silvanus.

[3] Zaʿfaran MS. 118.

[4] To be found in a unique MS. at Birmingham, MS. 535.

6. The life-story of Clement of Rome.

7. The life-story of Ignatius the Illuminator.

8. The life-story of Gregory Thaumaturgus.

9. The life-story of Gregory the preacher of the Armenians.

10. The life-story of Jacob of Nisibin.

11. The life-story of Nicolas, bishop of Mira.

12. The biography of Athanasius of Alexandria written by Amphilochus, bishop of Inconium (Konya).

13. An account of seven miracles by Basil of Caesarea recorded by his successor Aledius.

14. The life-story of Eusebius of Samosata.

15. The life-story of Gregory of Nyssa.[1]

16. The life-story of John Chrysostom.[2]

17. The life-story of Abraham, bishop of Ḥarran by Theodoret of Cyrus.[3]

18. The life-story of Rabula, metropolitan of Edessa.

19. The life-story of Dioscorus of Alexandria written by his disciple Theopistus which is not free of redundancies.

20. The life-story of Theodosius of Jerusalem, written by Zachariah Rhetor, bishop of Mitylene.

21. The life-story of Peter the Iberian, bishop of Mayuma translated into Syriac from a lost Greek source.

22. The life-story of Jacob of Sarug.

23-24. Two accounts, one short and the other long, of the life of Philoxenus of Mabug, the latter of which we found in Basibrina, rendered it into Arabic and published it twice. The Syriac text was later published by Mingana. Most likely it was composed long after the death of this saint with additional information connected with his remains in the middle of the twelfth century.

25-27. Three biographies of Severus of Antioch, the first of which was written in Greek by Zachariah, bishop of Mitylene, in the year 515 or 516. In it Zacharias defended him by refuting the allegation and impugnations of his adversaries. This biography ends at the date of his elevation to the patriarchate. The second came

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[1] In a MS. in Berlin.

[2] These fifteen stories are to be found in the Zaʿfaran MS. 117 except for the story of Thomas the Apostle, the stories of Jacob of Sarug and the long stories of John of Tella and Simon of Beth Arsham.

[3] Brit. Mus. MS. 14609.

from the pen of John, abbot of the Monastery of Aphtonia and it discusses his participation in doctrinal disputes in particular. It was translated into Syriac by Sergius Bar Qasir, bishop of Ḥarran. The third is short and anonymous.[1]

28-29. Two biographies of John of Tella, the first written by John of Asia and the second written in more details by his companion, Elijah the monk.

30. The life-story of Simon of Beth Arsham, the Persian contestant by John of Asia.

31. The life-story of Aḥudemeh, the Catholicos, ascribed to Marutha of Takrit.[2]

32-33. Two biographies of Jacob Baradaeus, the first written by John of Asia and the second, which is more detailed, written after 622 or 741.

34. The history of John of Gazza, bishop of Hephaestus in Egypt.

35. The history of Kashish, bishop of the island of Chios.

36. The life-story of Athanasius I, Patriarch of Antioch.[3]

37. The life-story of Athanasius' brother, Severus, metropolitan of Samosata.[4]

38. The biography of Marutha of Takrit by his successor, Maphryono Denḥa.[5]

39. The life-story of Gabriel, bishop of Qarṭmin, by a monk from his monastery.[6]

40. The life-story of Theodotus of Amid written by the priest Simon of Samosata as related to him by his disciple, Joseph the monk.[7]

41. The biography of Jacob of Edessa.[8]

42. The life-story of Abḥai, bishop of Nicaea.

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[1] Preserved in a MS. at our patriarchal library in Ḥomṣ transcribed in the ninth or tenth century.

[2] Published by Nau after Brit. Mus. MS. 14645.

[3] Michael the Great, *Chronicle*, 388.

[4] Michael the Great, *ibid.*, 418.

[5] Published by Nau after Brit. Mus. MS. 14645.

[6] A manuscript at our library in Ḥomṣ.

[7] Zaʿfaran MSS. 117 and 118 copies of which are in the library at Ḥomṣ and in Diyarbakir.

[8] Michael the Great, *ibid.*, 445.

43. The life-story of Simon Bar Zaytuni, bishop of Ḥarran, by a monk in the monastery of Qarṭmin.[1]

44. The story of Ḥananya, metropolitan of Mardin and Kafartut.[2]

45. The biography of John VIII Bar ʿAbdun the confessor, Patriarch of Antioch (d. 1031).[3]

We also have short and unauthenticated biographies of Dionysius the Areopagite, Julius of Rome, Gregory Nazianzen, Gregory of Nyssa, Cyril of Alexandria, all of which, with other biographies have been erroneously ascribed to Jacob of Edessa.

Section Four: Acts of the Ascetics, Anchorites and Others

Following are surviving life-stories of Syrian ascetics written in Syriac:

1. The life-story of Abraham Qaydunoyo which has been erroneously ascribed to St. Ephraim.[4]

2. The life-story of Julian the Aged as related by his disciple Acacius, metropolitan of Aleppo.[5]

3-4. Two accounts of the life of St. Ephraim written long after his time with added information.[6]

5. The life-story of Rubil the ascetic who lived in the monastery of ʿUmrin.[7]

6. The life-story of Aaron, the ascetic of Sarug, in the lands of Claudia (d. 389) written by his disciple Paul.[8]

7. The life-story of Eugene the Copt.

8. The story of Matthew the ascetic in the mountain of al-Phaph at the end of the fourth century.[9]

9. The life-story of Abraham the Ascetic who lived in the Lofty Mountain (d. 409) by his disciple, Bishop Stephen.[1]

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[1] At our patriarchal library in Ḥomṣ.

[2] Published by Schell in *Z.F.A.* in 1897.

[3] Michael the Great, *Chronicle*, 560.

[4] Zaʿfaran MS. 117.

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] *Ibid.*

[7] *Ibid.*

[8] *Ibid.*

[9] At the patriarchal library in Ḥomṣ.

10. The story of Samuel al-Mashtini in 409.[2]

11. The life story of the ascetic physician Dimet of Amid (d. ca 410) written long after his death.[3]

12. The life-story of Malke of Qulzum (Clysma) written far after his time.

13. Jacob the recluse in the monastery of Salaḥ (d. 421).[4]

14. The story of Simon of Qarṭmin (d. 433).[5]

15. The story of Asius (Asya) the ascetic.[6]

16. The story of Isaiah of Aleppo.

17. The story of Daniel of Jalsh (d. 439) written by St. Jacob the Malphono.[7]

18. The story of Aḥo (c. 457) written expertly shortly after his time about the sixth century.[8]

19. The story of Simon the Stylite most likely written by Cosmas the priest. It contains his miracles. Jacob of Sarug composed two poems in praise of Simon the Stylite.

20. The life-story of Barṣoum, chief of the ascetics (d. 458), written by his disciple Samuel the priest.[9]

21. The story of Ḥananya (d. 500) composed by Jacob of Sarug.[10]

22. The life-story of Simon of Kafr ʿAbdin.[11]

23. The story of Ṭalya the ascetic youth preserved in the unique manuscript 535 in Birmingham.

24. An innovated life-story of John Bar Aphtonia composed by a scholar monk of his monastery.[12]

25. The life-story of Ottel from a village near the town of Doliche.[1]

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[1] Zaʿfaran, MS. 117.

[2] Michael the Great, *Chronicle*, 560.

[3] Zaʿfaran MS. 117.

[4] *Ibid.*.

[5] At the patriarchal library in Ḥomṣ.

[6] At the Sharfeh Library.

[7] Zaʿfaran MS. 117.

[8] At the patriarchal library in Ḥomṣ.

[9] Zaʿfaran MS. 117.

[10] Brit. Mus. MS. 12174.

[11] Zaʿfaran MS. 117.

[12] At Berlin Library, published by F. Nau.

26. The life-story of John Kafani in the Monastery of Zāz in Tur ʿAbdin, written after the sixth century and commented upon in 1198.[2]

27. The life-story of Lazarus of Ḥarran.[3]

28. The life-story of Qawma the stylite in Miyapharqin whom we believe was a seventh-century ascetic.[4]

29. The life-story of Nathaniel the ascetic who is either the one mentioned in the story of Qawma or in the work of Palladius (p. 56). His lifestory, however, was found in a unique manuscript at the Monastery of Mar Malke in Tur ʿAbdin.

30. The life-story of Thomas the Solitary (d. 1146).[5]

We also have the life stories of many ascetics written by John of Asia from the end of the fifth century to the year 573; and eight stories of Yareth, Ziʿa Shaliṭa, Jonah, Eulogius, Moses, Daniel and Benjamin—but we doubt the authenticity of their doctrine, condition and time.

Following is a list of the histories of the Egyptian ascetics, most of which were translated from the Greek while only a few were translated from Coptic to Syriac:

1. The story of Paul, the first of the ascetics, written by Hieronymus.

2. The life-story of Bacchmius by one of his contemporaries.

3. The life-story of John the ascetic who lived in a well during the persecution.

4. The life-story of Antony the Great by Athanasius of Alexandria.

5. The life-story of Macarius the Great of Alexandria.

6. The life-story of Paul the Simple the disciple of Antonius.[6]

7. The life-story of Euagrius.[7]

8. The life-story of Bishwai by John the Lesser.

9. The life-story of Seraphion.[8]

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[1] Zaʿfaran MS. 117.

[2] At our library in Ḥomṣ abridged from a copy in Barṭelli.

[3] Zaʿfaran MS. 117.

[4] From a manuscript in Amid which we have abridged.

[5] Michael the Great, *Chronicle*, p. 634.

[6] Zaʿfaran MS. 209.

[7] *Ibid.*

[8] *Ibid.*

10. The life-story of Isidore.

11. The life-story of John the Lesser.

12. The life-story of Marcus of Tharmaka.

13. The life-story of Paul the famous ascetic from the town of Ṭamwah written by his disciple Ezekiel from a neighboring village.[1]

14. The life-story of Daniel of Scete and the virgins who became his disciples.[2]

15. The life-story of Father Daniel and Eulogius the Sculptor.[3]

16. The life-story of Eugenius the Egyptian.

17. The life-story of Shanudim.[4]

18. The life-story of John Camu excellently translated from the Arabic into Syriac in the third decade of the thirteenth century except for one word which the translator mis-translated.[5]

19. The life-story of the martyr ascetic Moses the Abyssinian.[6]

20. The life-story of Isaiah the ascetic in the land of Gazza written by Zachariah, bishop of Mitylene.[7]

21. The life-story of a deacon who was at Qannubin and a virtuous bishop who sinned and then repented.

In the earlier periods of Christianity Syrian scholars translated into Syriac the history of the Egyptian fathers known as the *Lausians* by Palladius (d. 425). It was re-translated by Ḥannan Yeshuʿ, the Chaldean monk of Beth ʿAbi, in the middle of the seventh century under the title *The Paradise* and spread in the East.

The Syrian scholars also translated the history of the monks by Rufinus of Achille (d. 412) as well as the stories of the ascetics of the Egyptian desert of Hieronymus (d. 420).

The stories which have been translated from the Greek are:

1. The miracle of the Virgin in Euphemia.

2. The history of Hierotheus of Athens.

3. The history of John the Roman known as the Son of the Kings.

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[1] Zaʿfaran MS. 117.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] Zaʿfaran MS. 209.

[6] Zaʿfaran MS. 117.

[7] *Ibid.*

4. The Chronicles of the sons of the nobles of Rome who abandoned the world.

5. The life-story of Archilides of Constantinople who exercised ascetism in Palestine under Gratianus and Valentianus. Originally his story was written in Coptic.

6. The story of the two brothers Maximian and Domitian, the sons of Valentinus and Isodorus, written by the Anba Bishwai.

7. The life-story of Alexius the Roman (the Man of God) in Edessa whose story was written in the middle of the fifth century.

8. The life-story of Paul, bishop of Cnotus in Italy, who abandoned his See after holding it only two weeks to live a life of ascetism in Edessa in the time of Rabula

9. The life-story of Jacob the Wanderer.

10. The life-story of Martinianus.

11. The life-story of Grasmius who died in the beginning of the reign of Zeno. His story was written about the year 525.

12. The history of Xenophon the noble and his two sons John and Arcadius.

13. The story of a solitary who dwelt in the trunk of a tree.

14. The story of Andronicus and his wife Athanasia in Antioch.

15. The story of Ḥananya and his wife Mary from Jericho.

16. The life-story of Eusebius of Phoenicia.

17. The life-story of Marcus the merchant and Gaspar the pagan who embraced Christianity.

18. The life-story of Cyrianus.

19. The life-story of Peter the Rich African Patrician who did not give alms.

20. The account of the discovery of the Cross by Helen the Queen.

21. The story of the picture of Christ drawn by the Jews at Tiberias which is in fact a message written by Philotheus the deacon.[1]

The following are histories of anchorites:

1. The story of Marina.

2-3. The two stories of Leonsimus the daughter of Kings and the four hundred ascetics.

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[1] See these life-stories as well as those of the anchorites which are to be found in the two MSS. at Zaʿfaran and Diyarbakir.

4. The life-story of Eupraxia, her parents and her holy women companions in the days of Theodosius.

5. The life-story of Pelagia the penitent dancer of Antioch with some additions.

6. The life-story of Euphrosyne the daughter of Paphnotius of Alexandria.

7. The life-story of Mary the Copt.

8. The life-story of Elaria, daughter of Zeno the King.

9. The life-story of Lucy the Virgin.

10. The story of a penitent virgin.

11. The miraculous life of a virgin.

The following stories whose titles we found in old manuscripts are lost:

1. The story of King Abgar.

2. The story of Isaac the martyr under Decius.

3. The revelations of the saints in the time of Valerian and Galian.

4. The story of Paul and his sister Juliana.

5. The life-story of Epiphanius of Cyprus.

6. The story of Isaac of the Monastery of Gabula whom we believe lived in the second half of the fifth century. Later, the monks of his monastery became entangled with the heresy of the Phantasiasts.

7. The life-story of Placiduna.

8. The life-story of Andrew the martyr.

9. The two accounts of the life of Euphemia the martyr.

10. Life-stories of the Gothic martyrs of whom we could find no information.

In addition, the writer of the stories of Samuel and Simon of the Monastery of Qarṭmin mentioned fifty ascetics who flourished in this monastery and were distinguished for their piety and the miracles they performed. The stories of these ascetics are lost to us except for that one of the formerly mentioned Ṭalya the youth.[1]

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[1] We have the following (life-stories of Saints and Martyrs) in Arabic: 1) The life-story of Zayna the daughter of Lycianus; 2) The life-story of Arenius of which the original Syriac is lost; 3) The life-story of Anba Karas; 4) The life-story of Michael the ascetic and founder of the monastery known by his name in Mardin. It is also called the Stylite

These biographies and life-stories excepting the life-stories written by Palladius and John of Ephesus, total 230 in number. The number of their pages is between 5000 and 6000. We have copied the index of these life-stories and anecdotes from six huge volumes of vellum transcribed between the tenth and the twelfth century. They are preserved in the libraries of Jerusalem, Diyarbakir, London and Berlin as well as individual copies which we found in the Zaʿfaran Monastery, Tur ʿAbdin, Barṭelli, al-Sharfeh Monastery and Azekh. We have also added to them the table of the life-stories fixed by David of Amid in a copy of the Holy Bible in Basibrina transcribed from the copies of the life-stories of saints at the Monastery of Mar Barṣoum and the MS. 241 of the Zaʿfaran Monastery which was transcribed in 1000. Of these life-stories of saints, Bedjan published six volumes.

Monastery as well as the Monastery of the Fish and was built in 350 A.H./A.D. 961; 5) The life-story of Zayna, the Syrian martyr, bishop of Baremman, and his sister Sarah in the year 629. His story was revised and additions were appended to its Arabic version. I believe it was composed after 1000; 6) The life-story of Barṣoum, bishop of Kafrtut, who we believe died after the middle of the tenth century. His life-story was however written in the eleventh century and it still has a Syriac touch.

CHAPTER TWENTY-FIVE

ON STORY WRITING

Story writing is ancient in Christian literature. For the proficiency of the Christian writers led them to traverse this field as extensively as their fertile imagination allowed. The little, however, which has reached us from this art in Syriac is a translation from the Greek. It is as follows:

1. The story of Cain's murder of Abel written by Symmachus.[1]

2. The story of the Blessed Sons of Yunadab (the Rechabites) of Jewish origin related by an ascetic named Zozimus. It was translated from the Hebrew into Greek and in turn into Syriac by Jacob of Edessa.[2]

3. The story of Abraham the Hebrew Patriarch.[3]

4. The story of Joseph and his wife Asiyah (Asenath), the daughter of Potiphar the priest of the city of Oun (Heliopolis), which had been incorporated by a pseudo-writer into parts four, five and six of the first book of the *Ecclesiastical History* of Zachariah Rhetor. In part four this writer mentioned a letter written by the author to Moses of Agel requesting him to translate this story from the Greek into Syriac and Moses' reply to him.[4]

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[1] Zaʿfaran MS. 118.

[2] At Zaʿfaran and Diyarbakir published by F. Nau.

[3] Al-Sharfeh MS. 24/11.

[4] The *Ecclesiastical History* of Zacharias Rhetor or Scholasticus, bishop of Mitylene, originally written in Greek in twelve books and dedicated to a courtier named Euphraxius, had been edited and published by Dr. Land in his *Anecdota Syriaca*, Leiden, 1870. This history is preserved in many manuscripts particularly MS. Brit. Mus. Add. 17202. It is apparent from the introduction to the third book that this work had been compiled in Syriac by an anonymous Syrian monk who lived later than 569 about seven or probably eight decades after the termination of Zacharias history in 518. The plagiarizing monk, however, uses Zacharias as his chief authority despite the material which he incorporated into books 1, 2, 7 and 12 gathered from various sources. The letter to Moses of Agel and his

It is a splendid story which the translator rendered beautifully, combining lucidity with solidness. It is comprised of twenty-five pages. It was translated from an old copy in the possession of a man named Mar ʿAbda, a relative to the family of Baro of Rish ʿAyna and was preserved in their library. We believe that its original was written in the fourth century. The writer calls it a "Legend."[1]

5. The story of Pilate.

6. The story of the Discovery of the Cross by Protonice the wife of Claudius Caesar.[2]

7. The thirty-four-page story of Sylvester the Pope of Rome and his converting and baptizing of Constantine the Great and his disputation with the Jewish doctors who were delegated from Judea to Rome and appeared in the presence of the Emperor and the Senators with Helen.[3]

8. A fabricated historical (Roman) narration which appeared in the first half of the sixth century. It contains the chronicles of Constantine the Great and his children, the biography of Eusebius, bishop of Rome (there is no bishop of Rome with this name), his torture by Julian the Apostate and the patience of Jubanian (Jovian) Caesar.[4] From the historical point of view this narration is invalid. But because of its smooth style and the fact that it is free from Greek, it could be considered an eloquent piece of literature. In fact, it influenced the historians in the Middle Ages even the Arab historians.[5] To this narration should be added a treatise on the apostasy of Julian transcribed in the seventh century.

9. The story of Honorius Caesar and the piety and practice of ascetism which has been ascribed to him.

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reply as well as the story of Joseph and his wife Asiya (Asenath) are to be found in the MS. Brit. Mus. Add. 17202, folios 4, 5 and 6 respectively. [For an English translation of this work see *The Syriac Chronicle Known as that of Zacharaiah of Mitylene*, translated by F. J. Hamilton and E. W. Brooks (London: Methuin & Co., 1899). (tr.)]

[1] Published in the mentioned history, pp. 17-55.

[2] Zaʿfaran MS. 118.

[3] In the same history, pp. 56-83.

[4] This is most likely the Emperor Jovian who succeeded Julian the Apostate, not Jubanian as the author has stated. (tr.)

[5] Such as Ṭabari, Ibn al-Athīr and Abu al-Fidā'.

10. The story of Maurice Caesar and his assassination with his children.[1]

[1] We have in Arabic the stories of Job, Joseph and his brothers as well as the stories of the Prophets Moses, Elijah and Jonah.

CHAPTER TWENTY-SIX

PHILOSOPHY

Philosophy, as it is known, is a Greek science which was born in the ancient Greek colonies in Asia Minor, Sicily, southern Italy, and northern Africa and which grew up in Greece itself. From the Greek fountain, nations drew their knowledge and learned men set out in quest of Greek principles until later ages. Therefore, the Syrians, Romans, Copts and others did not have a specific philosophy and the contributions of the philosophers such as al-Farabi the Turk, Ibn Sina (Avicenna) the Persian, and Ibn Rushd (Averroes) the Andalusian are based on extensive translations and interpretations to which they have successfully added their own opinions.[1]

As shall be seen later, some of our scholars had significant expositions and commentaries on Greek philosophy. However, the modern philosophical renaissance known as Neo-Scholasticism, most of which is the result of vigorous study of the natural sciences in which most leading European nations participated, is the product of the late sixteenth century. It is still in the process of development and, as philosophy to the Syrians, who generally speaking were men of religious nature, was a means not an end, their chief scholars did not place great emphasis on it. This statement applies to the rest of the sciences which we shall later discuss. This chapter shall be divided into three sections:

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[1] The learned Bar Hebraeus, in his *Tarīkh Mukhtaṣar al-Duwal* (*Compendious History of Dynasties*), p. 93, states that "Aristotle is the organizer and formulator of these aphoristic sciences. He is also the establisher of their rules, the adorner of their advantages, the moulder as well as the ripener of their toughest substance. The most eager scholars to understand him and his words were al-Farābi and Ibn Sina, for they construed his science properly and made it accessible for those seeking to draw from their sweet fountain."

Section One: The Philosophical Writings of The Syrians in General

Historians of literature opened this chapter with Mara Bar Seraphion (Serapion) of Samosata, who is conjectured to have existed in the middle of the second century. He was not a Christian, but he believed in the oneness of God and considered our Lord Jesus Christ a sage. He is well known for his Syriac letter to his son which demonstrates the principles of his stoic philosophy. In his letter, Mara exhorted his son to control his whims, that wealth and prestige should not influence him because they were transient and that he should seek wisdom and practice it for it is worth seeking.[1] It was related that a friend asked him upon seeing him laughing while still jailed in a Roman prison "On your life, Mara, what makes you laugh?" Mara answered, "I am laughing at time which throws back at me an evil I did not start."

The first Christian philosophical work, however, is Bardaysan's *Laws of the Countries.* Bardaysan was an Aramaean philosopher who embraced Christianity but was excommunicated for his heresy. He was well versed in philosophical sciences and the place he occupies in Syriac literature is beyond description. Of his works nothing remained except this small book in which he discusses fortune and fate that he dictated to Philip, one of his disciples, or that Philip wrote as he heard it from him in 197.

Bardaysan claimed that three factors affect the life of man: nature, fortune and will. Fortune is the power with which God invested the stars to administer the changing conditions in the manner which he has ordained for men. This influence takes place at the hour of birth, when the different types of fate, whether those of happiness or unhappiness, health or sickness, become consummate according to the relationship between the stars and the elements.[2]

Besides, we have from the pen of Jacob of Edessa his treatise *De Causa Ominum Causarum* or *The First Cause*, *The Creating* and *the Almighty*, *which is God*, *the Protector of All.* According to George,

[1] See the Syriac text and the English translation of the letter of Mara Bar Saraphion to his son in Rev. W. Cureton, *Spicilegium Syriacum* (London, 1855), 70-76. (tr.)

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 1-40. (tr.)

bishop of the Arabs, this treatise was the introduction to Jacob's exposition of the *Six Days* which has been lost to us. By Moses Bar Kepha we have a doctrinal, theological and philosophical treatise on free will and predestination. Another work entitled *Causa Causarum* is by an anonymous Syrian bishop from Edessa, most likely a tenth century scholar who had knowledge of Arab mystic philosophy. In this work, the author discussed the knowledge of God by rational and natural proofs with the exclusion of traditional proofs. He alluded vaguely to the doctrine of Trinity and talked about the heavenly as well as the earthly world, i.e. men, animals and minerals. The book is an encyclopedia containing the knowledge of science of the Middle Ages. Finally, Bar Hebraeus incorporated into his two theological works, *The Lamp of the Sanctuaries* and *The Book of Rays*, treatises on philosophy and fate.

Section Two: The Influence of Aristotelian Philosophy

The Syrians were the first of the oriental nations to study philosophical sciences by translating and commenting on the works of Aristotle. They preceded and even taught the Arabs who tackled these sciences through Syriac translations. These sciences were transmitted into Europe in the Middle Ages via Spain and were studied by Western scholars.

As early as the middle of the fifth century, the Syrians began to teach the peripatetic philosophy at the School of Edessa. Also, they translated the *Isagoge* of Porphyry, commented on it and translated it for the second and third time. By the time the star of the priest Sergius of Rish ʿAyna and the monks of the monastery of Qenneshrin began to rise, the Syrian scholars had adhered to the philosophical writings of John Philoponus,[1] as well as the Aristotelian and the Neo-Platonic philosophies of Plotinus. In the second half of the seventh century, however, Greek studies

[1] John Philoponus of Alexandria who lived in the middle of the sixth century was a grammarian and philosopher. Later he adopted the heresy of Tritheism for which he was excommunicated by the church. The Syrians, however, adhered only to his philosophical writings and renounced his doctrinal teachings infested by his great heresy. [For more on John Philiponus see Uwe Lang, *John Philiponus and the Controversies over Chalcedon in the Sixth Century* (Leuven, 2001). (tr.)]

declined and the efforts of the Syrian translators began to show in the ninth and tenth centuries. They were followed by a period of selection and compilation.

Among the scholars of the first era we mention Ibas and his two disciples, Kumi and Probus, who translated the works of Aristotle. Ibas, metropolitan of Edessa, (435-457) is thought to be the first to translate the *Isagoge*. Then he went on to translate some of the Nestorian writings of Theodore of Mopsuestia. Kumi succeeded him at the end of the fifth century and a book of his translation was found in the MS. 88 of the Seʿert library which was pillaged during the last war. As to Probus, the chief physician and the archdeacon of Antioch, he worked on the translation of the *Isagoge*, the science of the allegorical interpretation of the Holy Scripture and the *Analytica Priora* by Aristotle.[1]

The most famous philosopher of the second era is Sergius the Syrian of Rish ʿAyna (d. 536). From his pen we have the treatise on logic in five books addressed to Theodore, bishop of Merv, a tract on *Negation and Affirmation*, another on the *Causes of the Universe* according to the views of Aristotle, a tract on *Genus*, *Species and Individuality* and the *Categories* of Aristotle. Of his translations, we have the *Isagoge* of Porphyry, the *Categories* of Aristotle, the *Being of the World*, a treatise on the *Soul* and portions of Galen's writings. Sergius did an excellent job of presenting the original meaning in so clear a language that these translations are preferable to their Latin counterparts.

In the seventh century, our Monastery of Qenneshrin attained wide fame by becoming a stopping place for students of Greek philosophy. In 604, its chief professor and bishop, Severus Sabukht, began the teaching of philosophy, mathematics and theology. He also devoted time to inviting commentaries on the remaining philosophical works. We have a treatise on the syllogism

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[1] In his introduction to the book of Aristotle, George, bishop of the Arabs, stated that "there are three reasons why some works are erroneously ascribed to him (Aristotle). First, the confusion of some names; second, the confusion of names resulting from joint authorship; and third, the avarice for gaining illicit money. For King Ptolemy used to offer abundant money for the sake of obtaining the works of Aristotle which encouraged many authors to write books in the name of the said philosopher."

in the *Analytica Priora* of Aristotle and tracts on the allegorical interpretation of the Holy Scripture, a letter addressed to the priest Ithalaha on the exposition of certain terms and a letter to the Periodeutes Jonah on the interpretation of some points in the logic of Aristotle. Also in this monastery flourished a monk to whom is ascribed an exposition of some old commentaries on the *Isagoge*. It was published by Baumstark.

The disciple of Severus Sabukht, Jacob of Edessa, composed a significant work, the *Enchiridion*, a tract on philosophical terms. Also, two poems on philosophical subjects were ascribed to him. Besides, we have the translation to the Syriac of the *Isagoge* of Porphyry by Athanasius II of Balad, Patriarch of Antioch, in 645 and another *Isagoge* by an anonymous Greek writer. George, bishop of the Arabs, translated the *Organon* of Aristotle and wrote an introduction to each book with commentaries too. Because of its importance and the exactitude of its style, this work was greatly admired by the French philosopher, Ernest Renan, who preferred it to all the Syriac philosophical works which he read.[1] Among the scholars who worked with philosophy during and after this era was Aḥudemeh, Catholicos of Takrit (d. 575). He composed a book of *Definitions* on all parts of logic, a treatise on *Fate and Predestination*, on the *Soul* and on *Man as the Microcosm* and a treatise on the *Composition of Man as Consisting of a Soul and Body*. Other philosophical writers were Ḥabib Abu Rai'ṭa of Takrit (d. 829), Nonnus of Nisibin the Archdeacon (d. 845), Moses Bar Kepha, metropolitan of Beth Remman (d. 903), who, according to Bar Hebraeus, wrote a commentary of the *Dialectics* of Aristotle and the two monks, Raphael[2] and Benyamin.[3]

From the tenth to the middle of the eleventh century Syrian philosophical scholars, whether from Baghdad or Takrit, excellently translated philosophical and medical works. These scholars were Abu Zachariah Denḥa the Syrian dialectician (d. 925), Yaḥya Ibn ʿAdi (d. 974), Abu ʿAli ʿIsa Ibn Zurʿa (d. 1008), Abu al-Khayr al-Ḥasan Ibn Siwār al-Khammar and Isaac Ibn Zurʿa (d. 1056).[4] They

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[1] Ernest Renan, *De Philosophia Peripatetica apud Syros*, Paris, 1852, 33-34.

[2] Bar Hebraeus, *Ecclesiastical History*, 2: 215.

[3] Bar Hebraeus, *Tarīkh Mukhtaṣar al-Duwal*, 285.

[4] Masʿūdi, *al-Tanbīh wa al-Ishrāf*, 155, Bar Hebraeus, *Tarīkh Mukhtaṣar al-Duwal*, 93, 296 and 315, and Ibn al-Nadim, *al-Fihrist*, 369-370.

were well versed in both Syriac and Arabic and some had mastered Greek. Their works and translation, however, do not fall within the scope of this work.[1]

Of the scholars who concerned themselves with philosophy in the fourth and last era are Dionysius Bar Ṣalibi, metropolitan of Amid, who wrote a commentary in 1148 on the *Isagoge* of Porphyry, commentaries on the *Categories*, *the Allegorical Interpretation of the Holy Scriptures* and the *Analytic* of Aristotle. Other scholars were Gabriel of Edessa (d. 1227), who wrote many medical and philosophical works, Jacob Bar Shakko of Barṭelli (d. 1241), who wrote a compendium work on logic and the definition of philosophy and also natural mathematical and theological literature for establishing them in the Christian schools. The person who concluded the Aristotelian philosophical works among the Syrians was Bar Hebraeus who studied them as adopted from the Greek and added to them what he fancied from the writings of Arab philosophers, Ibn Sina in particular. He wrote a valuable large encyclopedia entitled *Ḥewath Ḥekhemtho* (*Butyrum Sapientiarum*) in three volumes comprising the whole Aristotelian discipline which he abridged in his work *Teghrath Teghrotho* (*Mercatura Mercatusarum*). Also, he wrote two small works entitled *The Speech of Wisdom* and *The Pupils of the Eyes*, two treatises on the rational soul and philosophical poetry. In these works he attained the utmost heights and eminent end. He was also determined to write a larger work on philosophy in which he would explain its obscurities and reveal its secrets relying on his deduction and personal opinion, but his death prevented the realization of his dream. Besides his philosophical writings Bar Hebraeus translated from Arabic into Syriac Ibn Sina's *al-Ishārāt wal-Tanbīhāt* (*The Book of Indications and Prognostications*) and *Zubdat al-Asrār* (*The Cream of Secrets*) by Athir al-Din al-Abhariy. An account of his works shall be given later.

[1] Of the translators from Syriac to Arabic were ʿAbd al-Masīḥ ibn ʿAbd Allah ibn Nāʿima of Ḥomṣ, Hilāl ibn Abi Hilāl of Ḥomṣ, Zaruba al-Nāʿimi of Ḥomṣ in the tenth century and Isaac of Raqqa, also known as the Taflīsī, a physician of Sayf al-Dawla ibn Ḥamdān (*Ṭabaqāt al-Aṭibba*ʾ, 2-140). Also, the physicians Abu Isaac Abraham ibn Bākos and his son Abu al-Ḥasan ibn Bakos, Isaac ibn ʿAli ibn Abraham ibn Hilāl al-Kātib ibn Bakos contemporary of Abu al-Faraj ibn al-Ṭayyib (d. 1043), all of whom we consider as Syrian Orthodox.

Section Three: Other Syriac Translations From Greek

Syrian scholars translated other philosophical and literary works by Greek philosophers of whose writings we found a group of treatises like the collection of ethical and moral maxims by Pythagoras,[1] the Platonic definitions of faith, God, love and righteousness,[2] as well as Plato's advice to his disciple; the counsel of Theano, the female philosopher;[3] the "Counsel of philosophers on the soul;" the "Counsel of philosophers;" the "Life of Secundus" the philosopher;[4] discourses on the soul as well as philosophical maxims thought by some scholars to be the composition of Gregory Thaumaturgus;[5] the "Maxims of Menander;"[6] the "Maxims of Xystus;"[7] a dialogue on the soul between Socrates and Erostrophus;[8] a tract on the soul;[9] Isocrates' discourse address to Demonicus;[10] a treatise ascribed to Plutarch as well as his treatise on "*de cohibenda ira*;"[11] the treatise of Lucian on the "Dispraise of Calumny;"[12] and the treatise by Thamistius, unknown in Greek.[13]

Some of these treatises have been abridged in order to show their purpose. Besides, a manuscript at the Dublin Library contains maxims of many Greek philosophers with a short collection on *The*

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[1] Pulished by P. de Lagarde, in *Analecta Syriaca*, 195-201.

[2] Published by Sachau, in *Inedita Syriaca*, 66-70. Plato's Advice to his disciple has a Christian touch which serves as a proof that it is a pseudo-Platonic. The Garshuni MS. 159 Vaticana also contains pseudo-Platonic maxims.

[3] Sachau, p. 70.

[4] Some of it was published by E. Sachau and the rest by Mrs. Lewis in Vol. 1 of *Mount Sinai Studies.*

[5] Published by Mrs. Agnes Lewis.

[6] It is comprised of 153 maxims published by Sachau and then by Baumstark after the Brit. Mus. MSS. 14658 and 14614.

[7] P. de Lagarde, *Analecta Syriaca*, 2-31. This treatise was ascribed to Xystus the Pope of Rome but originally it is the writing of Xystus the philosopher.

[8] See de Lagarde, p. 158.

[9] Published by Mrs. Lewis.

[10] de Lagarde, *ibid.*, 167.

[11] *Ibid*, 117.

[12] *Ibid.*

[13] E Sachau. *Inedita Syriaca*, 17.

Desire for Patience.[1] Baumstark believes that the two treatises of Plutarch are the translation of Sergius of Rish ʿAyna. Also we have in Syriac the sayings of Aesop (Luqman the Sage). By Theodosius Romanus, Patriarch of Antioch (d. 896), we have a treatise comprising of one hundred and twelve Pythagorean maxims to which he added a few commentaries in Syriac and Arabic.[2] We have also found in a manuscript in Mount Sinai, a treatise by Plutarch, on the spoils which man gains from his enemies.[3] Moreover, Gottheil published portions of Syriac translations of the writings of Appolonius Theane.

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[1] Published by I. Guidi from the Vatican MS. 135.

[2] Published by H. Zotenberg in the *Journal Asiatique*, 8: 424.

[3] Published by Nestle in vol. 4 of the *Mount Sinai Studies*.

CHAPTER TWENTY-SEVEN

ON THE SCIENCE OF MEDICINE

The Syrians had special concern for the science of medicine which they became famous for in the Orient and which they practiced for more than thousand years. In his Syriac *Chronography*,[1] Bar Hebraeus mentioned the physicians Sergius of Rish ʿAyna, Athanus (or Atanas) of Amid, Phylagrius, Simon Taybutha, Gregory and Theodosius, Patriarch of Antioch, and Ḥunayn Ibn Isḥaq who along with Simon Taybutha is Nestorian.[2]

From the writings of these physicians we know that Sergius translated into Syriac a group of Galen's works as had been formerly mentioned. From Sergius we have the translation of Galen's *Ars Medica* and *De Alimentorum Facultatibus*. Yet we know nothing of Atanas, Phylagrius and the bishop Gregory except that the first and the third had a *Kunnash* (medical collection) mentioned by Ibn Abi Uṣaybiʿa. It is most likely that Atanas and Phylagrius lived in the seventh century whereas Gregory lived in the eighth. We also have a *Kunnash* by Theodosius the Patriarch in which he attained the highest achievement. Pognon published an anonymous Syriac translation of Hippocrates' *Aphorism*. We also have a large anonymous medical book consisting of more than 600 pages written in smooth and solid style preserved in the library at Ḥomṣ. It is slightly imperfect at the beginning and at the end but it contains a treatise by Ḥunayn. The notes on this book are written by the deacon Basil, the son of the priest John of Melitene, in his own handwriting in 1224.

From the pen of the Syrian philosopher Gabriel of Edessa (1227) we have many books on medicine and philosophy. Bar Hebraeus was also a skilled physician who attained to the utmost skill in medicine. He translated Dioscorides' treatise *De Medicamentis*

[1] Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 57.

[2] Simon wrote the book of *Aphidymea*, a copy of which survives in the Library in Jerusalem MS. 234, transcribed in 705.

Simplicibus and four parts of Ibn Sina's *Canon* or *al-Qānūn fi al-Ṭibb* into Syriac. Of his own composition is a large medical book containing all of the then extant medical theories. In Arabic he wrote a digest of the great book of al-Ghāfiqī and a commentary on the *Aphorisms* of Hippocrates. Further, he composed a treatise on the advantages of the members of the body and wrote a commentary on the *Quaestiones Medicae* of Ḥunayn to the chapter on the antidote.

The following is a list of the Syrian physicians whom we were able to find:[1]

1. Marutha, bishop of Miyapharqin (d. 421)
2. Sergius of Rish ʿAyna the Archiator (d. 536)
3. Gabriel of Sinjar (d. 610)
4. Emaous the priest
5. Athanus (Atanas) of Amid
6. Phylagrius.
7. Gregory the bishop (8th century)
8. Patriarch Theodosius (d. 896)
9. Abraham Ibn Bacchus
10. Yaḥya Ibn ʿAdi (d. 974)
11. ʿAli Ibn Bacchus (d. 1004)
12. ʿIsa Ibn Zurʿa (d. 1008)
13. Abu al-Khayr al-Ḥasan Ibn al-Khammar
14. Abu Bishr the Syrian
15. Abu al-Faraj al-Yabrūdi (d. 1035)
16. ʿIsa Ibn ʿAli Ibn Bacchus (d. 1043)
17. Al-Faḍl Ibn Jarir al-Takriti
18. Abu Naṣr Yaḥya Ibn Jarir al-Takriti (d. 1079)

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[1] See the biography of Marutha and the Syriac *Chronography* of Bar Hebraeus 57, 449, 456, 457, 479, 492 and 563 and his *Ecclesiastical History*, 1: 205, 207, 391, 609, 615, 667, 727 and 735, and 2: 109, 311, 407, 425, 529 and 547; also Bar Hebraeus, *Tārīkh Mukhtaṣar al-Duwal*, 442, 444, 447 and his *Anthology*, 40. See also Vatican MS. 96, the *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, 2: biography 28 of John Bar ʿAbdun, the anonymous *History of Edessa*, 2: 395, 308, 309 and 320. Also see Michael the Great, *Chronicle*, 2: 622; Ibn Abi Uṣaybiʿa, *Ṭabaqat al-Aṭibba'*, 2: 140. Also the *Book of Medicine* in the library at Ḥomṣ, Medicio Laurenziana, MSS. 208 and 32, the Commentary on *Quaestiones Medicae* of Ḥunayn in the library at Ḥomṣ and *Nuzhat al-Adhhān fi Tārīkh Dayr al-Zaʿfaran*, 84.

19. Deacon Abu al-Yusr (d. 1100)
20. The priest Abu al-Faraj (d. 1112)
21. Deacon Abu Saʿd of Edessa (d. 1138)
22. Deacon Abu ʿAli the chief physician (d. 1169)
23. Deacon Sahdo Al Shumanna (d. 1170)
24. Burhan the skilled physician (d. 1190)
25. Athanasius Denḥa, metropolitan of Edessa (d. 1191)
26. Simon of Khartbart (d. 1207)
27. John Mina, metropolitan of Amid (d. 1222)
28. Abu al-Ḥasan al-Qaysari (d. 1222)
29. Abu al-Karam Saʿid Ibn Thomas of Baghdad (d. 1223)
30. Archdeacon Abu Saʿd, chief of the Eastern physicians (d. 1224)
31. Ḥasnun of Edessa (d. 1227)
32. Gabriel of Edessa
33. Abu Sālim Ibn Karaba of Melitene (d. 1234)
34. Mari Al Thomas of Baghdad (d. 1236)
35. The sage Theodore of Antioch (d. 1240)
36. ʿIsa of Edessa, the disciple of Ḥasnun (d. 1244)
37. Abu al-Khayr Sahl Ibn Saʿīd Al Thomas (d. 1245)
38. The priest Yeshuʿ Al Thomas of Ḥiṣn Kifa (d. 1248)
39. Deacon Aaron Ibn Thomas of Melitene (d. 1252) father of Abu al-Faraj Bar Hebraeus.
40. Michael Ibn Barjas of Melitene (d. 1255)
41. Abu al-ʿIz Ibn Daqīq. of Mosul (d. 1258)
42. Maphryono Ṣaliba of Edessa (d. 1258)
43. Taj al-Dawla Abu Ṭāhir Al Thomas (d. 1277)
44. Qūfir Ibn Aaron of Melitene
45. Abu al-Khayr of Edessa (d. 1284)
46. Abu al-Faraj of Melitene Bar Hebraeus (d. 1286)
47. The priest Simon Al Thomas (d. 1289)
48. Deacon John Ibn Saru of Barṭelli (d. 1292)
49. Deacon Bahnam Habbo Kanni of Barṭelli (d. 1293)
50. Isḥaq Ibn Abi al-Faraj Ibn al-Qassis (the priest) (d. 1299)
51. The priest Jamal al-Din of Arbil (d. 1369)
52. Maphryono ʿAziz of Seʿert (d. 1487)
53. Deacon John of Damascus (d. 1580)
54. Patriarch Niʿmat Allah Nur al-Din (d. 1587)
55. Bishop Thomas Nur al-Din (d. 1592)

56. Prince Qura, the chief physician and contemporary of Jacob of Sarug.[1]

Of these physicians the ones who wrote medical books in Arabic are: Abraham Ibn Bacchus, Yaḥya Ibn ʿAdi, ʿAli Ibn Bacchus, ʿIsa Ibn Zurʿa, Abu al-Faraj al-Yabrūdi, the two brothers al-Faḍl Ibn Jarir and Yaḥya Ibn Jarir.

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[1] See the author's erratum on p. 232 of the Arabic version. (tr.)

CHAPTER TWENTY-EIGHT

ON NATURAL SCIENCE

Few are the Syriac compositions in natural science which have reached us, but of these a few texts on the science of animals, known as natural science (Physiology) were published by Tychsen in thirty-two short sections in Rostock in 1795. Further, in the fourth volume of his *Anecdota Syriaca*, Land edited a more detailed work consisting of ninety-one chapters with a commentary on each chapter drawn from the Holy Bible and Christian doctrines. The writer frequently cites the *Book of the Six Days* by Basilius of Caesarea. To these, Land also added his own comments. We have also a third collection consisting of one hundred and twenty-five chapters which discusses animals, trees and stones with some geographical observations which show that its Nestorian author used Arabic sources. From this collection al-Ḥasan Bar Bahlul used some excerpts on natural science in his *Lexicon*.

From the letter of Alexander to Aristotle ascribed to Celestine, the Syrians knew the stories of legendary animals. Further, Bar Ṣalibi composed a treatise on the composition of the human body, two portions of which remain in the Oxford Library. On the same subject, the MS. 116 at Berlin contains a heptasyllabic poem, imperfect at the beginning, edited by Gottheil in the Hebrew collection. An old and obscure manuscript at the British Museum,[1]

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[1] This is Brit. Mus. MS. Add. 14662 written in a neat regular hand of the ninth century. It contains an abridged recension of the *Geoponica* which has been described by P. de Lagarde in his *De Geoponicon Versione Syriaca Commentaria* (Leipzig, 1855). This work contains the treatment of different kinds of soils, the crop suitable for each; the times of sowing and gathering in, manures and their preparation. Also it contains tracts on grafting, pruning and planting of trees, especially the vine and its cultivation and how to preserve it from frost, hail, flight and all kinds of vermin. Finally, it contains tracts on cattle, horses, sheep, asses, poultry and their diseases, catching of fish, bees, beehives and honey. (tr.)

imperfect at the beginning and the end, transcribed in the eighth or ninth century, contains the science of cultivation [*Geoponica*]. It was published by de Lagarde. Perhaps it is the translation of Sergius of Rish ʿAyna who wrote a book on agriculture which had been erroneously ascribed to Qusṭa Ibn Luqa the Malkite of Baʿalbak. The book is in Arabic. The original author of the book, however, is Anatolius Vindanius of Beirut. It has been published four times in Greek. In chapter 163, Photius of Constantinople mentioned that the book contains twelve parts, but the Syriac translator added another two chapters drawn from many sources particularly the book entitled *Veterinary Medicine* by Anatolius.

CHAPTER TWENTY-NINE

ON NATURAL SCIENCES, THE SCIENCE OF ASTRONOMY, GEORGRAPHY, MATHEMATICS AND CHEMISTRY

Bar Daysan was the first to write on astronomy, but his work was lost. It is perhaps the same work to which George, bishop of the Arabs, alluded to in his treatise on Aphrahat's *Demonstrations.* By Sergius of Rish ʿAyna we have a treatise addressed to Theodore showing the action or influence of the moon to which he appended another treatise on the motion of the sun. This tract was published by Sachau.[1] From the astronomical compositions of Severus Sabukht we have *Signs of the Zodiacs* of which remained the extracts on the habitable and inhabitable portions of the earth, the measurement of the heaven and the earth and the space between them, the astrolabe and a treatise on the 14th of Nisan (April), Greek 976 (A.D. 665).[2] Further, we have other geographical works such as the interesting discourse of Jacob of Edessa on the *Hexameron* of creation in which he used the work of Ptolemy as his source, the discourse of David Bar Paul on the *Definitions of Regions and the Alternations of Days and Nights* and a large work on the six days of creation by Moses Bar Kepha. Moreover, the author of *Causa Causarum* incorporated in Part II of this book, which consists of four chapters, diverse scientific information including original as well as quoted definitions as they were known in the land of the East in the tenth century. These chapters also contain pictures illustrating the text.

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[1] Sachau, *Inedita Syriaca*, 101. (tr.)

[2] According to Wright, this treatise, which is more or less theological in its nature, was addressed by Sabukht to the priest and periodutes Basil of Cyprus on the 14th of April in the year Gr. 976 (A.D. 665). See Wright, *A Short History of Syriac Literature*, 139. (tr.)

The *Book of Treasures* by Jacob of Barṭelli contains chapters on the Form i.e., of the Heavens on geography. The same author also incorporated in part four of the second volume of his work *The Dialogue* short discourses on astronomy, arithmetic, surveying and music. He drew his sources from Nicomachus, an anonymous Pythagorean, as well as the Arab sciences. His purpose was to elevate the reader through the knowledge of mathematics to the highest peak of philosophical thinking, namely theology. The two works of Bar Hebraeus, *The Lamp of the Sanctuaries* and the *Book of Rays* contained geographical subjects, while his noble work entitled *Ascent of the Mind* contained a treatise on astronomy and cosmography. He also taught mathematics in Maragha in 1268 and wrote a commentary on the *Megiste* by Euclid.[1] Further, the second volume of P. E. M. Berthelot's *Chemistry in the Middle Ages*[2] contained short tracts or Syriac canons by a goldsmith discussing the mixing of minerals, their coloring and the transformation of substances. These tracts are originally Greek but the Syrian hand changed them according to the method of experiment.[3] As for the ancient pseudo-alchemy, the Syrians were motivated by the Christian teaching and practice to reject it as they also rejected the absurdities of astrology.

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[1] The *Megiste* is by Ptolemy and not Euclid. (tr.)
[2] Published in Paris in 1893.
[3] Brit. Mus. MS. 1007.

CHAPTER THIRTY

THE TRANSLATION OF FOREIGN WORKS

Motivated by their desire and yearning for knowledge, the Syrians spent great efforts in translating[1] Greek works into Syriac. In this they also demonstrated their exceptional faculties and intelligence.

The translation movement began early in the Christian era. After the Holy Bible was translated from the Hebrew and Greek, the epistles of this period as well as the canons and ordinances based on the Bible were also translated. This was followed by the activities of the School of Edessa which began the translation of the theological, historical and jurisprudence masterpieces of religious leaders and speculative thinkers. By the middle of the century they proceeded to translate the books of philosophy as well as those of diverse sciences and left no Greek science or art not rendered into their tongue. The School of Edessa did not stand alone in this regard, but it is most likely that a group of top scholars in Syria and its many monasteries participated in this great effort into which only a few capable learned men and writers could venture.[2] For the knowledge of Greek—then the language of learning and politics—spread among our Western Syrian schools and institutions widely that there was hardly a monastery or a big or moderate school whose teachers did not learn it or teach it. And when they mastered both languages and excelled the Easterners (Nestorians) in eloquent style, significant writings and serious scientific subjects—despite what has been lost of their legacy

[1] [Arabic *tarjama* in the original. (tr.)] The word *tarjama* and its derivatives are borrowed from the Syriac.

[2] In his letter to Simon, the abbot of the Monastery of Liqin, in the first quarter of the sixth century, Barlaha stated, "The blessed St. John the faithful, the authority and lover of God, himself alone translated one or two books from Greek into Syriac … to the rest of the chapters which have been translated with great hardship by men out of their zeal toward God."

through time—out of their pens came interesting writings and composition. The origins of some of these writings were lost but they survived in the Syriac translation.

Indeed, the Syrian scholars have contributed to science as they have to those who seek its treasures. They also became the torches of their Syrian nation which benefited from the knowledge of outstanding learned Christians as well as ancient philosophers. The impact of this knowledge on the Syrian nation was manifested in the successful activities of Syrian scholars in the arena of learning for a thousand years. This is in contrast to the Christian Greek nation, which enjoyed the fruits of its rich language, but avoided learning the Aramaic tongue and thus did not benefit from the product of our scholars and historians. Thus, its libraries harbored no (Syriac) writings except those of Bar Daysan and few by St. Ephraim. Its histories too were more or less devoid of events in the Near and Middle East.

The impact of this deficiency remained conspicuous in both profane and ecclesiastical history until the beginning of the twentieth century when contemporary western scholars and their predecessors began to fill the gap through the study of our language and by publishing the works of our scholars.

Had the Greeks done the same, the translations of some of the books which were lost would have been preserved, as have been those Armenian translations.[1]

The translation movement reached with us the highest peak as a result of the distinguished work of the translators in the golden era, i.e., from the fourth to the eighth centuries. They all shared the same faculty of eloquent and lucid style combined with excellent meaning. Though at the beginning they placed emphasis on literary translation, starting from the middle of the seventh century they

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[1] In his *La Littérature Syriaque*, (Paris, 1907), 323, Duval states that Michael Andropoulos translated from Syriac into Greek the "Story of the Sindbad or Sindban and the philosophers who were with him" for Gabriel, Prince of Melitene, in the end of the eleventh century. The story is originally Pahlavi which had been rendered into Arabic by Moses in the middle of the eighth century. At the same time Simeon Seth translated the book *Kalila wa Dimna* for emperor Alexius Comnenus. This book was translated from Pahlavi to Syriac by the Periodeutes Bodh, the Chaldean, in the sixth century.

placed more emphasis on meaning. They also learned scientific discipline, thanks to the innovations of Athanasius II of Balad and Jacob of Edessa. However, what distresses us and the history of literature is that history did not reward competent translators by perpetuating their memory. Perhaps out of modesty these translators chose not to disclose their names. No doubt, most of them were servants of religion as bishops, monks and priests who renounced the pleasures of the world and denied themselves everything except that which drew them nearer to God and benefited their neighbor.

Translators are either known or unknown. Those who are unknown are:

1. The translators of the Holy Bible.

2. The translators of the epistles of Clement and Ignatius and the *Didascalia* and others in the second and third centuries.

3. The translators of the minor ecumenical councils and others in the fourth and fifth centuries.

4. The translators of the works of the doctors of the church from the early period of the second century until the first quarter of the fourth century.

5. The translators of the works of Eusebius of Caesarea, Athanasius the Apostolic, Titus of Buṣra, at the end of the fifth century; Gregory of Nyssa, the Cypriot, John Chrysostom and others in the fifth and sixth centuries. The works of Gregory Nazianzen were perhaps translated in this period too.

6. The translators of the canons of emperors in the fifth century.

7. The translators of the epistles of the fathers in the sixth century.

8. The translators of ascetic books and the biographies of saints and their stories.

9. The translators of church hymns called the Canons in the eighth century.

The known translators were:

1. Marutha, metropolitan of Miyapharqin (d. 421).

2. Rabula, metropolitan of Edessa (d. 435).

3. Archdeacon Probus of Antioch (end of the fifth century).[1]

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[1] Phroba (Probus) was a disciple of Hiba (Ibas), the Nestorian metropolitan of Edessa. He was only known to have translated

4. Chorepiscopus Polycarp of Mabug (d. 508).
5. John the Blessed (beginning of the sixth century).
6. Simon, abbot of the Monastery of Liqin.
7. Paul, metropolitan of al-Raqqa (Callinicus) (d. 528).
8. The priest Sergius of Rish ʿAyna (d. 536).
9. Stephen, assistant to Sergius of Rish ʿAyna.
10. Rabban Moses of Agel (d. 550)
11. Sergius Bar Qasīr, bishop of Ḥarran (d. 580)
12. Thomas of Amid (d. 598).
13. Paul, metropolitan of Tella.
14. Thomas, the deacon.
15. Paul, metropolitan of Edessa (d. 619)
16. Paul, the abbot (d. 624).
17. Thomas of Harkel, metropolitan of Mabug (d. 627).
18. Janurin of Amid (d. 665).
19. Patriarch Athanasius II (d. 686).
20. Jacob of Edessa (d. 708).
21. Phocas Bar Sergius.
22. Theodosius, metropolitan of Edessa (d. 830).
23. ʿArbi, metropolitan of Samosata (d. 850).
24. Ignatius III, metropolitan of Melitene (d. 1094).

25-26. The translators from Persian to Syriac were: 1. Severus Sabukht, bishop of Qenneshrin (d. 667). 2. John of Tiflis who translated the Gospel from Syriac into Persian. He has been mentioned formerly among the translators of medical and philosophical works from Syriac into Arabic.

27. Gregory Bar Hebraeus, Maphryono of the East, translated four philosophical and medical books from Arabic into Syriac.

28. Yeshuʿ the priest, translated the *Chronicle* of Michael the Great into Armenian.

Section One: Translated Works until A.D. 400

Following is a list of the works of church doctors translated from Greek:

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philosophical books and was highly praised by Jacob of Barṭelli in his *Dialogue*.

1. The two epistles of Clement of Rome to the Corinthians, his other two pseudo-epistles on virginity and eight books comprising the Canons ascribed to him.[1]

2. The seven epistles of Ignatius the Illuminator, said to be an abridgement of the originals, three of which were addressed to Polycarp, Ephesus, and Rome and were published by Cureton.[2] At Basibrina we found the epistles to Magnesia, Tralles, Philadelphia and Asia (Izmir) with the abridgement of Polycarp's epistle to Philippi. The Greek version of chapter twelve, which is most important, is lost.

3. The apologies of Aristides the Athenian philosopher and Ambrose the Greek convert to Christianity in the second century.[3]

4. Eleven explanatory extracts of the Holy Bible by Hippolytus of Rome and his homily on the Passover (Easter) addressed to the Empress Mamaea and an extract from his reply to Gaius the priest.[4]

5. Several extracts, some of which are authentic and some merely ascribed to Eustinus, Melito, bishop of Sardis, Irenaeus, Clement of Alexandria and Cyprian,[5] together with four homilies on Faith, the Incarnation, the Annunciation of the Virgin and the

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[1] The two epistles to the Corinthians were published in 1899 after Cambridge MS. 1700. The two epistles on virginity with marginal notes which are at our library in Ḥomṣ were published in 1856. Of the eight books, one is preserved in MS. 247 at the Jerusalem library.

[2] After three Brit. Mus. MSS. 14618, 17192 and 12175, commented upon between the 6th and the 9th centuries. The epistle of Polycarp is in Paris MS. 62 dated the 9th century.

[3] For the complete translation of the epistles of Clement, bishop of Rome, the seven epistles of Ignatius and the epistles of Polycarp to Philippi, see *The Apostolic Fathers*, translated and edited by J. B. Lightfoot (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Baker Book House, 1962). This being a complete and unabridged edition of Lightfoot's assigned translations in two parts published by Macmillan and Company, in 1890-1891. Lightfoot's translation has been made from the original Greek and Latin MSS. with reference to MSS. of Syriac, Armenian, Coptic or Ethiopic translations. (tr.)

[4] Brit. Mus. MS. 12165 dated 1015 and MS. 14434, 8th century.

[5] Published by Abbé Martin in the four volumes of the collection of Pitra.

Epiphany by Gregory Thaumaturgus;[1] extracts from the six letters of Dionysius of Alexandria to Nopatus, Dionysius, Stephen, the two Popes Stephen I and Xystus II, Paul of Samosata and a refutation of his heresy;[2] extracts from the treatise of Methodius, the martyr, bishop of Lucia on the Resurrection in refutation of Origen. The original Greek of this treatise except for a small portion has been lost.[3] Also, other extracts and a treatise on the end of times in 25 pages, probably spurious;[4] extracts from the homilies of Peter of Alexandria on the Divinity, Resurrection and that souls did not precede the bodies in existence; on the admonition of those who renounce faith under persecution;[5] several homilies by Alexander of Alexandria[6] and extracts by Seraphion, bishop of Thumuis.[7]

6. A book by Eustathius of Antioch comprising seven treatises in refutation of Arianism mentioned by the Catholicos Timothy I in his last letter to the priest doctor Sergius. Perhaps Martin published extracts or only portions of it.[8] It also contains a homily on the Annunciation (of the Virgin).

7. The *Ecclesiastical History*, the *History of Martyrs in Palestine* and the *Divine Manifestation of our Lord* by Eusebius of Caesarea, the *Chronicle* of Eusebius translated by Jacob of Edessa and the *Defense of the Gospels*, parts of which were incorporated by Severus the monk in his collection No. 853.[9]

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[1] Mount Sinai MS. 15; Brit. Mus. MS. 856.

[2] Published by Martin. Some of it could be found in the Brit. Mus. MS. 798.

[3] Jerusalem MS. 124 and Brit. Mus. MS. 855.

[4] Vatican MS. 58 dated 1584 and a new copy at our library in Ḥomṣ.

[5] Brit. Mus. MSS. 855 and 856, and Paris MS. 62. Also Vatican MS. 148.

[6] Brit. Mus. MS. 17192, 9th century.

[7] Published by Abbé Martin in the fourth volume of the collection of Pitra.

[8] *Ibid.*

[9] Petersburg Library dated 462, Brit. Mus. MSS. 14639 of the 6th century, 12150 dated the 4th century and MS. 160 of the 10th century at the Vatican.

8. Four homilies on Lent, Stephen, faith and new forms and the treatise against the Jews by the Syrian Eusebius of Edessa, bishop of Ḥomṣ who died shortly after the year 359.[1]

9. A book on refutation of Arianism by Athanasius of Alexandria of which we have a valuable and unique copy which is written in fine Estrangelo script on vellum but slightly imperfect. It contains three treatises in 167 pages most likely transcribed in the eighth century.[2] Also by Athanasius are fifteen festal letters on Easter written from 329 to 348 and slightly wanting. They are preserved in an old manuscript transcribed in the eighth century;[3] a discourse on the incarnation of the word transcribed in 564;[4] a treatise against Appolinarius;[5] discourses on the Trinity, Epiphany, orthodox faith, the Crucifixion and Good Friday;[6] two letters to Apyctius, bishop of Corinth and another letter to Adelphius on the Incarnation;[7] a treatise on virginity said to be unauthentic and an apology for his escape.[8]

10. The four discourses on Titus, bishop of Buṣra (d. 375) against the Manicheans of which the first, the second and part of the third treatises[9] survive in Greek; an explanatory discourse of some passage of the Gospel; the fourteenth discourse of Christian teaching by Cyril, bishop of Jerusalem (d. 386).[10]

11. The works of Basilius of Caesarea: the homilies of the Six Days of Creation, discourses on the Week of Passion in 236 pages transcribed by Athanasius the priest in 666,[11] a book of Ethics of 178 pages containing spiritual and theological discourses in which

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[1] Brit. Mus. MS. 14665, 10th-11th century. The last was mentioned by Abd Yeshuʿ of Ṣoba in the table of authors.

[2] Jerusalem MS. 126.

[3] Brit. Mus. MS. 14569.

[4] Vatican MS. 104.

[5] Brit. Mus. MS. 18813, 7th century.

[6] Basibrina.

[7] Brit. Mus. MSS. 14537, 7th century; 14531, 7th-8th century.

[8] Brit. Mus. MS. 14537.

[9] Brit. Mus. MS. 12150 dated 411.

[10] Birmingham MS. 69.

[11] Mount Sinai MS. 9, 9th century, written in Estrangelo script on vellum. It is imperfect and Brit. Mus. MS. 17143, 5th century, and Zaʿfaran MS. 241.

he discusses Baptism, the Eucharist and lives of some martyrs;[1] three treatises against Eunomius, two of which are written on vellum in the Estrangelo script, the first is imperfect;[2] two letters to his brother Gregory and the people of Suzopolis with many counsels;[3] fourteen discourses on the Nativity of our Lord, on Lent, on learning by experience based on the saying of the right man of the Bible "I shall pull down my barns," on the forty martyrs, on faith, against the drunkards; an explanatory homily of a chapter from the Bible usually recited on the eve of the first Friday of Lent; on the Six Days of Passion, on the Resurrection;[4] on the Holy Spirit;[5] letters of Basilius and on monastical regulations.[6]

12. The homilies of Gregory the Theologian, his two-syllabic poems and his letters[7] translated (into Syriac) by the abbot Paul in 624 as well as Vinerius of Amid and Athanasius II, the translation of the first one (abbot Paul) was revised by Jacob of Edessa or perhaps by ʿArbi, metropolitan of Samosata, who evidently chose selections of these homilies for translation. Further, his poems numbering 130 were translated in the fifth or the sixth century. However, these poems which were published in two volumes in Beirut in 1889 do not agree with the original arrangement due to confusion and abridgement. The homilies of Gregory which have reached us are seven:

1) On the Nativity of our Lord.
2-3) On the Epiphany.
4) On the Passover and Easter.
5) On Sunday and the Spring.
6) On Mamas the martyr youth.

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[1] Cambridge MS. 3175 written on vellum in Estrangelo script containing 54 pages.

[2] Brit. Mus. MSS. 17145 and 14635, 8th-9th century.

[3] The *Book of Paradise*, Monastery of St. Matthew MS. 6. and Birmingham MS. 69.

[4] Zaʿfaran Library, Basibrina, and Birmingham MS. 545.

[5] Brit. Mus. MSS. 17143, 5th century, 14542 dated 509 and 14543, 6th century.

[6] Brit. Mus. MSS. 14544, 5th-6th century; 14545, 6th-7th century; and Vatican MS. 122 dated 769.

[7] Brit. Mus. MSS. 14450, 6th century, and 14612, 6th-7th century.

7) On the Pentecost,[1] and an epistle to Cledonius.[2]

13. The writings of Gregory of Nyssa comprising of a thirteen-chapter homily against Eunomius,[3] sixteen discourses on the commentary on the *Song of Songs*, five discourses on the Lord's Prayer, eight discourses on the Beatitudes,[4] two discourses on the Holy Trinity,[5] a discourse on the Fortune of Man,[6] a discourse on the *Hexameron*,[7] a thirty-six chapter discourse on the perfection of the creation of man, in which he completed his brother's treatise on the Six Days of Creation, a large tract on the *Oratio Catechetica Magna*,[8] a dialogue with his sister Macrina on the Soul and Resurrection,[9] a letter to Theophilius of Alexandria against Apollinarius;[10] a discourse on virginity of which fragments survive and six homilies containing:

1) a commentary on the Liturgy.[11]
2) on the Incarnation of our Lord.
3) on Stephen.
4) on the Passion.
5) on the Resurrection (Easter).
6) eulogy for Meletius, bishop of Antioch[12] and other homilies with several counsels.

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[1] The libraries of Zaʿfaran and Basibrina; Birmingham MS. 545.

[2] Gregory, in fact, wrote two letters to Cledonius and not one letter as the author has erroneously thought. See Wright, *Catalogue*, 2: 430 and 431, paras. 28 and 29. (tr.)

[3] Brit. Mus. MS. 861.

[4] Brit. Mus. MS. 14450, 6th century. Vatican MS. 106, 6th century. Also Brit. Mus. MS. 14601, 9th century.

[5] Brit. Mus. MSS. 14118, 7th-8th century, 14726, 10th century and 12155.

[6] Vatican MS. 106.

[7] Brit. Mus. MS. 17196, 9th century.

[8] Brit. Mus. MSS. 14597 dated 569 and 14538, 10th century.

[9] Brit. Mus. MS. 17193 dated 874.

[10] Vatican MS. 106.

[11] Vatican, MS. 106, Brit. Mus. MSS. 14635, 6th century, and 17183, 10th century. Also Diyarbakir Library, MS. 20, 12th century.

[12] Zaʿfaran and at our library in Ḥomṣ and Basibrina. Copies of the Commemoration Homilies are also found in the Brit. Mus. MSS. 12163, 7th century, 12165 dated 1015, 17192, 9th century, and Berlin (Sachau) MS. 726 dated 740.

Also ascribed to him are the answers to the questions of his brother Basil on the knowledge of the Torah (Pentateuch), doctrines, anecdotes, liturgies and ecclesiastical ethics which according to Baumstark were originally Syriac and written in the ninth century.[1]

14. Chapters by Didymus of Alexandria (d. 398) against Arianism, a treatise on preaching by Glasius, metropolitan of Caesarea of Palestine (d. 398) and a discourse on faith by Ambrose (d. 397).[2]

15. A short treatise on the weights and measures mentioned in the Bible by Epiphanius of Cyprus[3] and published in 1936. His treatise, *The Container of Medicine*, against Heresies, contained in a wanting manuscript at the end in the Library at Ḥomṣ was transcribed around 1200 and a homily on the Presentation of our Lord in the Temple,[4] a discourse on heretics and a commentary on the Gospels by Amphilochus, bishop of Iconium (d. 400).[5]

16. A commentary on the book of Ecclesiastes by John the solitary ascetic addressed to Theogenus the ascetic of which a vellum copy written in the Estrangelo script is preserved in the Mount Sinai MS. 16.

Section Two: Translations until the Year 451

17. The writings of John Chrysostom are made up of a discourse on the priesthood,[6] two discourses on repentance and Counsel to Theodore,[7] twelve homilies against the heretics,[8] eight discourses against the Jews,[9] a discourse on the Divinity of Christ against the

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[1] Brit. Mus. MS. 12171 dated 832; Berlin MS. 352; Cambridge MS. 2023, 13th century; Diyarbakir MS. 113, 16th century; the Monastery of al-Sayyida MS. 142 dated 1678 and MS. 92 dated 1683.

[2] Brit. Mus. MSS. 749 and 798.

[3] Brit. Mus. MS. 12162.

[4] At Zaʿfaran, as well as at our library in Ḥomṣ.

[5] Birmingham MS. 69.

[6] Brit. Mus. MSS. 17193 dated 874, 18817, 9th century, 17191, 9th-10th century.

[7] Brit. Mus. MSS. 14670, 6th-7th century, 14669 and 17183, 10th century.

[8] Brit. Mus. 14567, 6th century, 14727, 13th century (On Baptism).

[9] Brit. Mus. MS. 14623 dated 822.

heathens,[1] two discourses on baptism and three homilies "ad Stagirum a daemone Vexatum,"[2] a consolatory epistle to those exiled from home,[3] several homilies containing commentaries on the Gospels of St. Matthew[4] and St. John[5] and the Pauline epistles;[6] of these homilies as well as his festal homilies we know one hundred and one homilies, sixty-five of which are preserved at our library. Only one homily was published by François Nau, while thirty-five others were mentioned by some old manuscripts in the series of homilies for the whole year. These hundred homilies are as follows:[7]

1) On the Consecration of the Church.
2) The Annunciation of Zachariah.
3) On the Nativity of our Lord.
4) On the Incarnation of Christ and on the Mother of God.
5) On the Annunciation of the Virgin Mary.
6) On the Manifestation of our Lord from the commentary on the Gospel of St. Matthew.

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[1] Brit. Mus. MS. 14504, 7th century.

[2] Brit. Mus. MS. 14567, 6th century.

[3] Brit. Mus. MS. 14612, 6th-7th century.

[4] Brit. Mus. MSS. 12142, 6th century, 14568 dated 557, 14560, 14559, 14567, 17166 and 14612, all of them are of the 6th-8th century, 17183, 10th century (eight homilies), 17267, 13th century, and 14727, 14th century.

[5] Brit. Mus. MSS. 14563, 6th century, 12159, 6th-7th century, 14562, 7th-8th century and 18727, 13th century.

[6] Brit. Mus. MSS. 12160 dated 584, translated at al-Raqqa (Callinicus) probably by Paul, metropolitan of Callinicus, also 14566, 6th century, 12180, 14564 and 14565, all of them are of the 6th-7th century, 14563, 7th-8th century, 12154, 8th-9th century, 14601, 9th century and 17267, 13th century.

[7] These homilies are to be found in: Zaʿfaran MS. 72 dated 1000, another copy of the same MS., the copy of the Metropolitan Julius Elias and a copy at the library in Ḥomṣ. Also Vatican MSS. 109 dated 691 and 197, 7th century; Berlin (Sachau) 220, 8th-9th century; Vatican 368 and 369; Brit. Mus. 14603, 14607, 14612, 6th-7th century, 14605 dated 652; 14546, 14604 and 14608, 7th century, 14531, 7th-8th century, 14535 and 14601, 9th century, 14579 dated 913, 17212, 9th-10th century, 14611, 14725 and 17183, 10th century, 12165 dated 1025, 17180, 11th century, 17206, 11th-12th century, 14739, 12th century, and 14727, 13th century.

7) On the Baptism of our Lord by John.

8) On the Beginning of Lent.

9-10) On Lent.

11) On Fasting and Repentance.

12) On the Leper from the commentary on the Gospel of St. Matthew.

13) On the contest of our Lord with Satan.

14) On Fasting.

15) Extract from the twenty-fifth homily on the Epistle to the Romans about the punishments which took place throughout the ages and against those who deny Hell.

16) Extract from the fifth homily on the Epistle to the Romans concerning that we should fear Hell and on our lack of Love.

17) Extracts from the second homily on the contest of our Lord with Satan.

18) Extracts from the thirty-seventh homily on the Gospel of St. John.

19) On Zacchaeus the Publican.

20-22) On the Prodigal Son.

23) On the two Blind men from the commentary on the Gospel of St. Matthew.

24) The third contest of Our Lord with Satan.

25) On Matthew the Publican.

26) Extracts from the third homily on Humility from the commentary on the Gospel of St. Matthew.

27) On Mid-Lent.

28) On the ten Virgins.

29) On the Rich man whose ground brought forth plentifully.

30) On Lazarus and the Rich man.

31) Extract from the sixty-ninth homily from the commentary on the parable, "The Kingdom of God is likened unto a King who made a feast for his Son," from the Gospel of St. Matthew.

32) On the Mercy of God which our evils cannot overcome.

33) On the verse from the Psalms, "Surely men are likened unto vapor," according to the Syriac version (Ps. 39: 6) and "Surely they are disquieted in vain," according to the Greek version.

34) On Mercy.

35) On Psalm 100.

36) On the words of David, "who is the man who seeketh life," and on those who blaspheme.

37) Extract from the tenth homily on the second Epistle to the Corinthians on the fearful (second) coming of Christ.

38) Extract from a homily showing that the observance of Lent is not sufficient to qualify us for partaking of the Divine Eucharist on the great day of the resurrection of our Lord, separate from the virtue of the soul; also on malice and faith.

39) Extracts from three homilies on Lazarus of Bethany compiled from the commentary on the Gospel.

40) On Palm Sunday.

41) On Palm Sunday Festival.

42) For Monday of the Passion Week and on the Arrival in the Harbor which he delivered at the church of Asia while in exile.

43) The sixty-eighth homily on the verse from the Gospel of St. John, "the people answered him, we have heard out of the law that Christ abideth forever: and how sayest you, the Son of Man must be lifted up? Who is this Son of Man,"[1] and on our duty to take care of the lives of our brethren.

44) The seventy-sixth homily on the Gospel of St. John, "rise, let us go hence,"[2] and "I am the true vine and my Father is the Husbandman,"[3] and on Iniquity.

45) On the saying of the Lord, "If it is possible, let this cup pass from me," and on heretics.

46) Same as the previous one.

47) On the Passion of Our Savior.

48) On the Treachery of Judas, on the Holy Sacraments and on that we should not bear grudges.

49) Extracts from the eighty-third homily on the Gospel of St. Matthew, "Then cometh Jesus with them to a place called Gethsemane…"[4]

50) Extracts from the homily eighty-four on the Gospel of St. Matthew, "And, behold, one of them which were with Jesus stretched out his hand and drew his sword."[5]

51) The evening of the Friday of the Crucifixion.

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[1] The Gospel according to St. John 12:34. (tr.)

[2] *Ibid.*, 14:31. (tr.)

[3] *Ibid.*, 15:1. (tr.)

[4] *Ibid.*, 26:36. (tr.)

[5] *Ibid.*, 26:51. (tr.)

52) Extracts from the homily eighty-six on the Gospel of St. Matthew, "And Jesus stood before the Governor: and the Governor asked him, saying: Art Thou the King of the Jews?"[1]

53) Extracts from the eighty-seventh homily on the verse from the Gospels, "Then the officers led Jesus unto the hall of judgment."[2]

54) On the Salvation we are given by the Cross.

55) On the Passion of our Lord.

56) For the Saturday of Annunciation, on Baptism, the Thief and on that we should neither be glutton nor drunk.

57) On the graveyard[3] and the Cross.

58) The eighty-fifth homily on the Gospel of St. John concerning the Evening of the Passover and on the verse, "And after this Joseph of Aramathea."[4]

59) On the Resurrection and on "Let us escape from fornication and iniquity."

60) On the Resurrection of our Lord.

61) On His Ascension to Heaven.

62) On the Virgin.

63) A homily on the epilogue of the Epistle to the Romans in praise of Sts. Peter and Paul.

64) On the commemoration of martyrs and confessors.

65) On the dead.

66) On that we should not weep over the dead as other people do.

67) On the Humanity of our Lord which begins thus: Beloved, the souls which love God daily enjoy the heavenly festivities.

68) A homily to be recited in the evening of the first Wednesday of the Lent.

69) Another one for the second Sunday of the Lent.

70) A homily for the fourth Sunday on the Canaanite Woman.

71) For the evening of the fifth Sunday.

72) For the evening of the first Friday of the Lent.

73) For Good Friday.

74) On the Cross and the Thief.

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[1] *Ibid.*, 27:11. (tr.)

[2] The Gospel according to St. John 19:28. (tr.)

[3] See erratum on p. 232 of the Arabic version. (tr.)

[4] The Gospel according to St. John 19:38. (tr.)

75) On the end of the Lent and the Saturday of Annunciation.
76) On the Nativity of our Lord.
77) On the Massacre of the Innocents.
78-79) On Baptism.
80-81) On the Beheading of John the Baptist.
82) On the Lent.
83) For the second Saturday of the Lent.
84) For the third Sunday of the Lent.
85) For the sixth Sunday of the Lent.
86) On wealth and poverty.
87) Extract from the homily on the Epistle to the Romans.
88-89) on the Canaanite Woman.
90) On the Sinner Woman.
91) On Friday of the Crucifixion.
92-93) On the Saturday of Annunciation.
94) For the evening of the Passover.
95) For the evening of the Monday after the Resurrection.
96) For Low Sunday.
97) On the Pentecost.
98) On the Apostles.
99) On Babula, the Patriarch.
100) On the Maccabees.
101) On Romanus the martyr.

18. The commentary on the Gospels by Theophilus of Alexandria (d. 412) and his letter to the monks of St. Bacchumius; the treatise of John, metropolitan of Jerusalem (d. 412) on Faith and the letter of Accacius, metropolitan of Melitene (d. 431) refuting the allegations of Andrew of Samosata.[1]

19. The writings of Cyril of Alexandria (d. 444): the *Book on the worship in Spirit and in Truth* comprising seventeen treatises of commentaries on the Jewish Laws—written in the mystical method. Their form is that of a dialogue between the author and Palladius, bishop of Helenopolis, who died around 425. A copy of this work in the Armenian Monastery of St. Jacob in Jerusalem is written in a fine elegant Estrangelo script in the eighth or ninth century, imperfect at both the beginning and the end with some six

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[1] Birmingham MS. 69, Berlin MS. 321, Brit. Mus. MS. 856 and Zaʿfaran MS. 76.

treatises missing in the middle. Only 394 pages remained of this manuscript.[1] Of Cyril's writings are also the *"de Recta Fide"* which he wrote for the Emperor Theodosius the Lesser, a copy of which he delivered to Rabula, metropolitan of Edessa, who translated it into Syriac;[2] a treatise on the Trinity, a copy of which is at the British Museum;[3] the *Book of Glaphyrra* (mysteries) consisting of thirteen commentary treatises selected from the commentaries on the Pentateuch translated by Moses of Agel into Syriac around the year 525;[4] two volumes containing a detailed commentary on the Gospel of St. Luke and 156 homilies first published by Payne Smith in 1858 after many manuscripts in the British Museum, the oldest of which was transcribed between the seventh and eighth century. The first volume which contains eighty homilies of 330 pages was published by J. B. Chabot in 1912 who also relied in its publication on two Berlin manuscripts commented upon between the eighth and the ninth century. Of the original Greek of this first volume, which is wanting at the beginning, nothing is left except a few portions. However, we have in the two volumes of the homilies of the fathers for the whole year, three of which were published, namely the second homily for the Nativity (of our Lord), two homilies for the Epiphany, and a homily for the Nativity of John the Baptist. The rest are still not published. These unpublished homilies are:

1) The Nativity of our Lord.

2) The third homily, on the Presentation of Our Lord in the Temple.

3) The eleventh homily, on the Presentation of our Lord in the Temple and Simon the Aged.

4) The eighty-seventh homily, on the Festivals of Martyrs.

5) On the man with palsy.

6) The one hundred and thirtieth homily, on the Palm Sunday Festival.

7) On the parable of the vine.

8) The one hundred and fortieth homily.

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[1] Brit. Mus. MS. 617 and the MS. at the Armenians Monastery, which was given by the Syrian Monastery in the year 1877.

[2] Brit. Mus. MS. 14557, 7th century.

[3] Brit. Mus. MS. 613 dated 611.

[4] Brit. Mus. MSS. 15-16 and 14555, 6th-7th century.

9) The one hundred and forty-sixth homily.

10) The one hundred and forty-first homily on Maundy Thursday.

11) The one hundred and forty-ninth homily.

12) The one hundred and fifty-first homily on "And the whole multitude of them arose and led him unto Pilate."[1]

13) The one hundred and fifty-fourth homily on "And it was about the sixth hour."[2]

14) The one hundred and fifty-fifth homily on the Resurrection of our Lord.

15) On the Holy Mother of God against Nestorius,[3] and twelve letters one of which is addressed to Acacius, bishop of Scythopolis, on the theory of ʿZazaʾel.[4]

20. Canons of the principal as well as the minor councils to the middle of the fifth century. Among these are the canons of the Council of Carthage in the year 251 and twenty-five canons sent by the Italian bishops to the Eastern bishops who assembled in Antioch and other laws enacted by Christian kings for the purchase of lands, slaves and also for dowries, the division of inheritance among brothers, wills and other laws enacted in the fifth century. Appended to these laws is the letter of Constantine the Great to the Council of Tyre which acted meanly by dismissing Athanasius of Alexandria, the letter of the two emperors Theodosius the Lesser and Valantinius to Stephen, metropolitan of Ephesus, on the dispensation of church affairs, the letter of Leo, archbishop of Rome, to the Emperor Marcian in reply to the latter's letter delivered by the bishop Lucian and the deacon Basil and the letter of John of Rome to Prosdocius.[5]

21. Thirty-seven chapters of the *Ecclesiastical History of Socrates*, fifteen chapters of the history of Theodoret of Cyrus[6] with a few

[1] The Gospel according to St. Luke 23:1. (tr.)

[2] *Ibid.*, 23:44. (tr.)

[3] At the Zaʿfaran library as well as at our library in Ḥomṣ. Also the copy of Metropolitan Julius.

[4] Portions of this letter are preserved in the Birmingham Library MS. 69.

[5] At our library in Ḥomṣ. Also in the *Book of Canons* at Basibrina.

[6] Vatican MS. 441.

chapters of his book *The History of Monks*[1] and his epistle to the people of Constantinople[2] and the History of Zachariah, bishop of Mitylene.

22. A homily by Antiochus, bishop of Akka (Ptolemais) (d. 408), beginning with "I praise thee a new praise;"[3] a homily against the heretics on the Substance and Nature;[4] a discourse on the prayer of Habakkuk[5] by the Syriac speaking Severianus, bishop of Gabala, who died around the second decade of the fifth century; a discourse by Atticus, archbishop of Constantinople (406-426),[6] on the Ever Virgin Mother of God[7] which is not found in Greek; two discourses by Theodotus, metropolitan of Ancyra (d. 440) , on the Nativity of our Lord;[8] Seven discourses by Proclus of Constantinople (d. 446), three of which are on the Incarnation, the Nativity of our Lord and on Clement the martyr, bishop of Ancyra, which is not found in Greek;[9] a homily for Low Sunday beginning with "For Sinai is our festival of salvation" and another homily on the ascension beginning with "when I was counting in my mind the advantages which our human race has gained from the Cross;" two discourses on the Mother of God; on the evening of Good Friday; on Judas the Treacherous;[10] two letters to the Armenians and another one to John of Antioch;[11] three discourses by Arichtaus, bishop of Antioch, Pysidia contemporary of Proclus on the Mother of God,[12] the Nativity of our Lord,[13] and on Epiphany.[14]

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[1] Brit. Mus. MS. 941.

[2] Portion of it is contained in Birmingham MS. 69.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] Brit. Mus. MSS. 862 and 863.

[5] Birmingham MS. 69.

[6] About the period in which Atticus remained in his See, see the *Chronicle* of Elijah, metropolitan of Nisibin, 110-112.

[7] Zaʿfaran; at our library in Ḥomṣ; Basibrina.

[8] *Ibid.*

[9] Published by Chabot from a Vatican copy.

[10] Zaʿfaran; and at our library in Ḥomṣ; Basibrina.

[11] Birmingham MS. 69.

[12] Basibrina.

[13] Brit. Mus. MSS. 14531 and 14735 published by Nau in *Patrologia Orientalis*, 13, part 2, 1916.

[14] Only portion of it is published by Nau.

23. A commentary on the Psalms by the priest-monk Eusechius of Jerusalem (d. 451).[1]

Section Three: The Rest of the Translated Writings from the Year 451 and After

24. The treatise of Timothy II of Alexandria (d. 477) against the Council of Chalcedon of which only one hundred and twenty-six pages remain[2] partly published by Nau.[3] It also has a complete Armenian translation.

25. The book ascribed to Dionysius the Areopagite translated by Sergius of Rish ʿAyna[4] and the book ascribed to Hireothios,[5] the teacher of Dionysius, translated by someone in answer to the request of a pupil named Philias.[6]

26. Two homilies on the Annunciation of Zachariah and the Nativity of our Lord by Antipater, metropolitan of Buṣra (around 460),[7] a homily on Simon the Aged and the presentation of our Lord in the Temple by the priest Timothy[8] of Antioch (or Jerusalem), both translators were orators living around the year 535,[9] a homily on St. George the martyr by the priest Theodolus (ʿAbd Allah) of whom we know nothing;[10] a homily on the decease of the Virgin by the priest Andrew of Jerusalem;[11] a homily by Pantaleon, priest of the Monastery of Byzantium, on the Elevation

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[1] Brit. Mus. MS. 855.

[2] Brit. Mus. MS. 12156 written before the year 562.

[3] See, *P. OR* (1916), 92-137.

[4] See above, 46-48.

[5] This book of Hierothios is entitled *de Mysteris reconditis domus dei* (*The Hidden Mysteries of the House of God*). It was translated by Theodosius, Patriarch of Antioch, and partly selected, arranged and commented upon by Bar Hebraeus. See Brit. Mus. Orient 1017. See also A. L. Forthingham, Jr., *Stephen Bar Sudaili, The Syrian Mystic and The Book of Hierothios* (Leiden, 1886). (tr.)

[6] See the biography of Theodosius of Antioch.

[7] Basibrina.

[8] Basibrina.

[9] J. Pargoire, *L'Église Byzantine de 527 a 847* (Paris, 1905), 40.

[10] Zaʿfaran, Basibrina, and in our library at Ḥomṣ.

[11] Basibrina.

of the Cross[1] (Pantaleon was an orator who lived in the first half of the seventh century),[2] and a homily on the consecration of the Chrism by John (Phasaj?)[3] of whom we know nothing.

27. The writings of Severus of Antioch translated by Paul of Callinicus (al-Raqqa), Paul of Edessa, Athanasius II and Jacob of Edessa. These writings are: *Philalethes*, treatises against Nephalius, Phelisismus, Alexander and John of Caesarea and against Julian the Phantasiast, the homilies for the whole year, the hymns of Severus, a selection from his letters, a commentary on the Gospel of St. Luke and others which shall be mentioned later.

28. An apology against the priest John Aegeates by Theodoret of Cyrus,[4] the treatises of John Rufus in the refutation of the Council of Chalcedon, a commentary on the Revelation by Oecumenius,[5] a refutation of the treatise entitled *The Spider's Web* by Rufina the Silver Merchant.[6]

29. The book of Theodosius of Alexandria[7] (d. 366) as well as his twenty-five questions, five canons,[8] and a letter to the Armenians.[9]

30. The *Diaetetes*[10] or "Arbiter" against the Council of Chalcedon and two theological treatises by John Philoponus[11] published by Sanda in Beirut in 1930.

31. Synodical letter exchanged between the two Patriarchs of Antioch and Alexandria after the MS. of Basibrina. These are:

1) the letter of John II, archbishop of Alexandria (505-516) to Severus, Patriarch of Antioch, carried by the bishop of Elarianus, the priest Valise and the deacon Chartarius on the 8th of April

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[1] Basibrina and Berlin (Sachau) MS. 320.

[2] The disputation of Bar Salibi with the Byzantines, chapter 29, a copy of which is at our library in Ḥomṣ.

[3] Basibrina.

[4] Brit. Mus. MS. 863.

[5] Brit. Mus. MS. 855.

[6] See it in the biographical part of this book.

[7] Brit. Mus. MS. 699.

[8] Basibrina.

[9] Birmingham MS. 69.

[10] The *Diaetetes* or "Arbiter" discusses the union of the two natures in the person of Christ. (tr.)

[11] Vatican MS. 144, Brit. Mus. MS. 12171 dated 815.

which is the Monday of the Week of White [the week after Easter], the year 561 of Antioch (A.D. 512). This letter is composed of six pages and begins with "Let the significance of committing miracles arise now;"

2) the letter of Severus to John comprising six pages and beginning with "As the equality of the human race, etc.;" a twelve-page letter of the Council of Antioch held by Dionysius, metropolitan of Tarsus and his brethren the bishops to John II, Patriarch of Alexandria, beginning with "To his Beatitude our Holy Father," etc.;

3) a three-page reply of John to the Council in 511, beginning with "To my Lords, the Wise Brethren;"

4) A nine-page synodical letter from John III of Alexandria to Athanasius II, Patriarch of Antioch, on June 4, 686 beginning with "To my Holy and Blessed Father in all his affairs;"

5) a three-page letter of Joseph of Alexandria to John IV, Patriarch of Antioch, his priests, deacons and congregation entitled "To the righteous in all his deeds," and beginning with "John, the Divine Apostle;"

6) a two-page reply of John IV of Antioch to Joseph of Alexandria in the year 846,[1] and beginning with "When I hear the Holy Bible commands by saying;"

7) a letter of John bishop of Hepaestus the Copt sent from the island of Cyprus about 540 to the abbots of the Eastern monasteries concerning those who return to the orthodox faith.[2]

32. Twenty-two letters and one discourse contained in an old and unique vellum manuscript transcribed in the seventh century.[3] They are:

1) a seven-page synodical letter of Theodosius of Alexandria to Severus of Antioch;

2) twenty-four page reply of Severus to Theodosius;

3) the letter of Theodosius to the clergy concerning a certain false belief that had sprung in his days among those of his communion about the oneness of God;

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[1] The old code of Laws in Basibrina.

[2] The book of the *Disputations* of Bar Ṣalibi in the Zaʿfaran Library and at our library in Ḥomṣ.

[3] Published by Chabot in 1907 after the Brit. Mus. MS. 1460 entitled *Syriac Documents*.

4) a thirty-nine page homily which was delivered at Constantinople;

5) a six-page letter by him on canons;

6) formula of the signatures of the priests of Constantinople to Theodosius;

7) his letter to the Eastern bishops;

8) another similar letter;

9) a letter of the Bishops Jacob, Eugenus and Eunomius to Theodosius;

10) a letter from the Metropolitan Theodorus to Paul II of Antioch;

11) a letter from Theodosius to the Eastern bishops;

12) a synodical letter from Paul of Antioch to Theodosius of Alexandria;

13) the reply of Theodosius to Paul;

14) a letter from the abbots to Theodosius carried by the Bishops Jacob, Conon and Eunomius;

15) a letter from Jacob to Theodosius written by Bishop Eunomius;

16-17) two letters of authorization from Theodosius to Paul of Antioch;

18) the letter of Theodosius to the (Coptic) Bishops, John, Leonidas and Joseph;

19) his letter to the Bishop Theodore, the abbots, monks and the faithful in Thebes and Arcadia;

20) his letter to priests, deacons, abbots, monks and the faithful of Alexandria;

21) copy of the *Synodikon* (Pact or Agreement) made at Alexandria and at Constantinople;

22) a ten-page synodical letter from Theodore, Patriarch of Alexandria, to Paul II of Antioch;

23) twenty-six pages reply of Paul to Theodore.

33. A table of the 153 episcopal sees of Antioch made in the middle of the sixth century with some revisions. We found an old copy of this table in Basibrina commented upon in the second half of the ninth century which we quoted.[1] A second copy of the same,

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[1] This copy corresponds with the Greek copies published by Cardinal Mai, Geisler and others.

in the library at Ḥomṣ, was completed in 1602 and is not free from distortion. There are also some differences between the two copies.[1]

Section Four: Translations of Greek Writings of Orthodox Origin Not Known to Us

We found three Greek Orthodox scholars who wrote in Greek, but we do not know whether their writings were translated into Syriac. These authors were:

1. The priest Timocles of Constantinople who was still living between 450 and 471. He and Acacius the priest (the educator of orphans) composed hymns (*oktoêchos*) through the chanting of which the orthodox congregation was exhilarated and increased in number (Zachariah the Historian, Vol. I, p. 185). Bardy in his *Greek Literature* (p. 163) and Batiffol, quoting Theodore the Anagnostes, stated that "Timocles composed Troparias,[2] but his rhymed poems are lost to us."

2. The priest John Aegeates who lived in the middle of the fifth or the beginning of the sixth century. He wrote an ecclesiastical history divided into ten books. Photius of Constantinople, who praised his adorned style, stated in extract 41 of his *Bibliotheca* that he has read the first five parts of his work beginning with the history of the Council of Ephesus and ending with the life of Peter the Fuller in 488. The year in which he ended his history is not known.[3] However, Pargoire[4] mentioned that he was contemporary of Severus I.

3. The priest Basil of Cilicia about whom Photius stated in extract 42 of his *Bibliotheca* the following: "He [Basil] wrote an ecclesiastical history in three volumes, the first covering the history of Marcian, Leo I and part of the reign of Zeno from 450 to 483.

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[1] The translation of this copy into Arabic was published by Msgr. Raḥmani with comments. He also fixed an abridged Syriac text in the margin after he deliberately mutilated its introduction. *Majallat al-Āthār al-Sharqiyya*, Nos. 6 and 9, 1926.

[2] A collection of canons or Anthems. See Brit. Mus. MSS. 14504, 14505 and 14698.

[3] Pierre, Batiffol, *La litterature grecque* (Paris, 1898), 221.

[4] J. Pargoire, *L'Église byzantine de 527 a 847* (Paris, 1905), 126.

The second volume covers the period from the death of the Pope Simplice until the end of the reign of Anstasius in 518. The third discusses the time of Justin I (518-527). Photius, however, was only able to obtain the second volume which was large because it contains many letters of the bishops. Basil also wrote a defense in sixteen parts against John of Baysan. He was, no doubt, contemporary to Theodore the Anagnostes, i.e., he was still alive in the first half of the sixth century."[1]

[1] Pargoire, p. 126, G. Bardy, p. 160, and Batiffol, p. 223.

PART TWO

BIOGRAPHIES OF SYRIAN SCHOLARS AND WRITERS

Foreword

Table of Concise Biographies of Scholars Divided Into Three Periods

Before we embark on the biographies of Syriac writers and the literature they produced, it is fit to list their names in the following periods:

The First Period: B.C. to A.D. 758

This period begins with the two philosophers, Wafā the Aramaean in the pre-Christian era and then Bar Daysan, who lived at the end of the second and the beginning of the third centuries. It ends with Elijah, bishop of Sinjar (d. 758). The writers of this period were distinguished for their originality, lucidity and style. They were also famous for the number and value of their work. Indeed, this period is considered the golden era of the Syriac language. These masterful writers crowned the Syriac language with literary gems, attaining the acme of philosophy, theology, Biblical commentaries, polemics and devotional duties, their unsurpassed excellence in jurisprudence, history, poetry, sermons, prose, biographies, as well as story writing, which reveals their ability and excellent taste.

In this period flourished Ephraim the Great, Asuna, Cyrillona, Isaac of Amid, Marutha, Rabula, Balai the bishop, Isaac of Edessa, Simon the potter and Jacob of Sarug. Philoxenus of Mabug astonished his contemporaries with his eloquence and Paul of Callinicus was well known for his precise translation of religious writings. Other famous writers of their time were Sergius of Rish ʿAyna, Severus of Antioch, the illustrious theologian, John Bar Tella, John Bar Aphtonia, Daniel of Ṣalaḥ, the commentator on the Scriptures and the two historians: Zachariah of Mitylene and John of Ephesus. Peter of Callinicus the theologian, Patriarch Paul of Tella, Paul of Edessa and Thomas of Harkel, the translator of the Scriptures and other books were all written during this period. John III of Sedros, John of Buṣra and the philosophers Severus Sabukht, Athanasius II, Jacob of Edessa, George bishop of the Arabs, John of Atharb, Phocas Bar Sergius and Elijah bishop of Sinjar and

many others who translated Greek writings, composed religious rituals and placed diacritics in the Holy Scriptures, such as the monks of the Qarqafta (the Skull) monastery.

The Second Period: 773 - 1286

This period opens with Malphono Lazarus Bar Qandasa in the year 773 and ends in the year 1286. It is a period rich in theological writings, particularly commentaries on the Holy Bible, polemics, jurisprudence, canonical laws and historical chronicles. Some of the learned men of this period were concerned with philosophy as well as morphology, grammar and vocalization of the Syriac language. Also, they enriched the church services with the composition of many hymns and supplicatory prayers. In addition, many of the authorities of this language in this period were distinguished for their mastery of the different types of poetry, in which they were thoroughly proficient. Because of their eloquence and rhetoric, the prose of the greatest of these writers was solid, well formulated, elegant and smooth. However, among the writers of this time were some who were mediocre.

Of the writers of this period we mention in particular the Abbot David Bar Paul for his prose, the Patriarch George I for his commentaries on the Gospels; the Patriarch Quryaqos for his theological writings, homilies and church canons; and Lazarus Bar Sobto for his magnificent poetry. Also worthy of mention are Nonnus of Nisibin for his polemics, Dionysius of Tell Maḥre for his famous history; Theodosius and Benjamin, bishops of Edessa, John of Dara and Moses Bar Kepha for their theological and philosophical writings and Theodosius the Patriarch for his *syntagma* and his commentaries. We also remember ninth-century Patriarchs for their laws and canons, Ezekiel of Melitene for his poetry, Athanasius of Qallisura for his prose and the anonymous writer of the book *The Cause of all Causes*. Yaḥya Ibn ʿAdi, ʿAli Ibn Zurʿa and Abu al-Ḥasan Ibn al-Khammar translated medical and philosophical books into Arabic. In addition we find John the disciple of Marun, John Bar Shushan the writer and poet, Ignatius III of Melitene, a philosopher historian and the masters of poetry, such as Bar Qiqi, Bar Ṣabuni, Timothy of Karkar and Bar Andrew. Jacob Bar Ṣalibi, was famous for his theological and polemical writings as well as his extensive commentaries on the Holy Bible.

Also well known was Bar Wahbun. Michael the Great was famous for his detailed chronicle which has never been successfully imitated; the Edessene historian was known for his precision; Jacob of Barṭelli was a philologist and theologian and Bar Maʿdani was an orator and poet.

As to Anton of Takrit, the theologian, poet and master of rhetoric, his eloquence has never been equaled. And Bar Hebraeus, the Syrian learned man par excellence, was the master of both periods however one looks at him.

The Third Period: 1290 - 1931

This period begins with Abu Naṣr of Barṭelli and ends with the present. There was little literary output and this was restricted to a few subjects. The writers of this period, whose writings vary considerably in quality, fall into two categories:

The first category consists of writers who approximated the level of the writers of the second period, as far as prose and poetry are concerned. Examples are Abu Naṣr of Barṭelli, Gabriel of Barṭelli (for his prose only), Barṣoum al-Ṣafi, Yeshuʿ Bar Kilo, Cyril of Ḥaḥ, Abu al-Wafa, Joseph Bar Gharīb, Daniel of Mardin, Isaiah of Basibrina and Barṣoum al-Maʿdani, Bahnam of Ḥidl (for the quality of his prose and poetry), David of Ḥomṣ (for his prose and some of his poetry) and Nuḥ the Lebanese (for the greater part of his poetry also may be placed among the writers of the second period), ʿAbd al-Ghani al-Manṣuri and the Maphryono Simon of Manʿim (who was reputed for his prose and poetry) and Jacob Saka (for his powerful poetry).

The writers of the second category are inferior to the first group in literary quality. In this category are Bar Wuhayb, the monk Yeshuʿ Bar Khayrun, his brother Ṣaliba Bar Khayrun, the Patriarch ʿAziz Bar Sobto, Malke Sāqo, Yeshuʿ of Basibrina and Addai of Basibrina, Masʿud of Zāz, Niʿmat Allah Nur al-Din, Jacob of Quṭrubul, and John al-Bustani.

The majority of the writers of this group were overwhelmed by their fondness of using foreign terminology. They turned away from the beautiful usage of the language to an ugly type preferring a hybrid style to the traditional noble one. However, they preserved the heritage of the Syriac language in a time which treated its people treacherously with arms and men.

CHAPTER ONE

BIOGRAPHIES OF SCHOLARS AND WRITERS OF THE FIRST PERIOD

1. Wafā the Aramaean

Wafā (or Wāfā) the Aramaean was an ancient philosopher and poet who lived well before the Christian era. He was mentioned only by Anton of Takrit who wrote, "The fifth meter of poetry is usually composed of six or seven strophics whose number sometimes increases or decreases. This meter belongs to a man named Wafā, an Aramaean philosopher. The composition of poetry by this man, whose name has been unknown for generations, is evidence that this art (poetry) is old with us." Anton also cites a line of poetry by Wafā whose meter he allowed himself to change in order to comply with the melody:

> "I, Wafā, of noble origin who dispelled his worries and drove away his sorrows;
> I who rest his heart by driving away grief and distress as well as the outbursts of anger and anxiety;
> for the men whose anxieties increase, misfortunes become their guests forever."

Anton also says that "this type of poetry is composed in the manner of the amorous songs in which the composers of war lyrics and wedding love songs were accustomed to compose."[1] This is all that is known about Wafā.

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[1] The tenth canon of the fifth treatise of the book *The Knowledge of Rhetoric*.

2. Paul Bar ʿArqa of Edessa

Paul Bar ʿArqa or ʿAnqa of Edessa was a master of the art of calligraphy. He invented the Syriac script known today as the Estrangelo script as mentioned earlier. He probably lived around the year 200. In his lexicon on the term Estrangelo, Bar Bahlul quotes Ḥannan Yeshuʿ Bar Sarushawayh (bishop of al-Ḥira in the ninth century) who states that "God has given the talent to Paul to perfect this script for the glorification of the Gospel, in order that one's intellect be delighted and all may endeavor to read the Gospel in this wide, legible and beautiful script."[1]

3. Bar Daysan (d. 222)

Bar Daysan was born a heathen at Edessa on July 1, 154 and grew up in the palace of its king, Maʿnu VIII. Together with Maʿnu's son Abgar, he received the highest level of learning and education. He embraced Christianity and was ordained a deacon and perhaps also a priest. But, because he was becoming involved in false heathen doctrines from which he had not yet been freed, he was renounced by the church. He died in 222.

Bar Daysan was an eminent and eloquent writer and philosopher. He wrote many books in Syriac of which nothing has survived except a small treatise entitled *The Laws of the Countries*, which he dictated to his disciple Philip and in which he discussed fate and predestination. Among his lost writings are his treatise on astrology mentioned by George, bishop of the Arabs and also a hundred and fifty songs written after the manner of the Psalms of David. St. Ephraim, who mentioned these songs, states that Bar Daysan incorporated in them his unorthodox doctrine and teaching and taught them to the youths of Edessa in charming tunes of his own composition. He also established a sect known as 'Daysanism' which included many educated and wealthy people. When St. Ephraim came to live in Edessa in 363, he endeavored to suppress the songs by composing songs of similar meters and melodies. Furthermore, Rabula, bishop of Edessa (d. 435), was able to convert most of his (Bar Daysan's) followers to orthodoxy. Only a few of them remained and were scattered in many countries

[1] Vol. 1, column 225-226.

particularly in Persia. A remnant of this sect survived until the tenth century.

Bar Daysan was not the father of Syriac poetry and the creator of its meters as some contemporary writers maintain. Syriac poetry existed well before the time of Bar Daysan. Bar Daysan, however, expanded and diversified its meters. It is said that he had a son named Harmonius, who surpassed his father in the art of poetry. This theory seems to have been unanimously accepted by the historians of the Middle Ages. In fact, Sozomen and Theodoret went a step further by maintaining that Harmonius was the one who composed the songs for the youths of Edessa and that he was the one who was opposed by St. Ephraim. However, the surviving poetry of St. Ephraim mentions Bar Daysan and not his son. Of these songs of Bar Daysan, only five lines survive in a book written by Theodore Bar Kuni, a seventh-century writer.[1]

Bar Daysan had several companions and disciples who translated his writings into Greek. All or some of these writings reached Eusebius of Caesaria, who praised Bar Daysan in his *Ecclesiastical History*, because of his preoccupation with preaching the Gospels at the beginning. Eusebius also ascribed to him a dialogue opposing Marcoan the heretic and a treatise on fortune which was also mentioned by Epiphanius and Jerome. However, this latter treatise may be the treatise entitled *The Laws of the Countries*, as many contemporary historians of literature maintain.[2]

3. The Psalms and Praises of Solomon

The sixty-one Psalms ascribed to Solomon and composed after the Psalms of David are attractive in their poetic style and beauty of meanings. Most of these psalms are a passionate spiritual communion with God. They praise God and deeply adhere to Him, placing ultimate confidence in Him and exclaiming His

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[1] The contemporary American orientalist Sprengling maintains that Harmonius is not a proper name but a Greek term *Harmonia*, which means the harmony of tunes.

[2] Translated into Latin and French and published by François Nau in 1907 and 1930. For the English translation of the entire text of the *Laws of the Countries*, see William Cureton's *Spicilegium Syriacum* (London, 1855). (tr.)

irrefutable might and will which administer all of His creation. They also profess the Holy Trinity, the Incarnation of Christ the Word of God, His birth from the Virgin Mary and His power and dominion.

These psalms were discovered a short time ago in 1909 by the English Orientalist Rendel Harris near the Tigris. Harris found a small Syriac book slightly imperfect at the beginning and at the end, written in the beginning of the fifteenth century in a good and clear hand. This book contains forty-two short hymns or psalms and comprises one hundred and twelve pages. Upon comparing this manuscript with an ancient manuscript in the British Museum (MS. 14538) which originally belonged to the Monastery of the Syrians in Egypt and was written in the Estrangelo script combined with the Western script around the tenth or the eleventh century, Harris found out that approximately nineteen of these psalms were attributed to Solomon. They were lengthy, one of them comprising fifty-two verses. Harris also used a peculiar collection called Pistis Sophia which contains some of the psalms of Solomon in the Coptic (Thebean) language, also translated into Latin. He copied from it the parts lacking in the Syriac copy and together with Alphonse Mingana published the entire collection with an English translation in 1916, relying on the mentioned copy. Both Harris and Mingana think that this copy needs only six pages at the beginning and at the end in order to be complete.

The majority of scholars who studied these psalms think that they were either written by Bar Daysan or by one of his disciples. They also fixed their date at the close of the second or the beginning of the third century. Others thought they were written by an agnostic prior to the era of Bar Daysan, who, it seems, had read them. Chabot thinks that (the psalms) were written at the end of the first or the beginning of the second century.

4. Theophilus of Edessa (309)

Theophilus of Edessa was a man of letters who wrote the account of the martyrdom of Guriyya, Shamuna and the deacon Ḥabib in the year 307-309.

5. Isaiah Bar Ḥadbo (327)

Isaiah Bar Ḥadbo of Arzun, one of the cavalry men of the Persian King, Shapur II, composed a splendid account of the struggle of the ten martyrs, Zebina and Lazarus and their companions in Arzun in the year 327. He was an eye witness to their deaths and his account of the martyrdom of these ten men has been published.

6. Miles, bishop of Sus (d. 341)

Miles, bishop of Sus (the city of Shushan) in the year 317, was one of the great propagators of Christianity in Sus and Elam and was also one of the best bishops of the East. He was martyred for his faith in 341. According to Yeshuʿ Ṣoba, Miles wrote many letters and various other compositions, none of which is extant.

7. Simon Bar Ṣabbaʿi (d. 343)

Mar Simon Bar Ṣabbaʿi or Sabbaghis (son of the dyers) belonged to a wealthy family from Ctesiphon or Sus. In 328, he was ordained an archdeacon and then Catholicos of Seleucia and Ctesiphon and administered his congregation in an apostolic manner. The ardent zeal he displayed for Christianity led to his martyrdom by order of the tyrant Shapur II in 343. He composed charming spiritual songs only four of which survive. They were published by Kmosko.[1] Yeshuʿ of Ṣoba has attributed some letters to him.

8. Aphrahat the Persian (d. 364)

Aphrahat, nicknamed the Persian Sage, was born a heathen in some part of Persia, was converted to Christianity and became a monk. Some writers gave him the name of Jacob and ascribed to him the office of bishop. Other writers thought that he became a bishop of the Monastery of St. Matthew. However, there is no definite proof that he was a bishop. Furthermore, relating him to a Monastery of St. Matthew is no doubt erroneous, because the said monastery was not yet founded in his time. Aphrahat was distinguished for his piety. He studied the Holy Bible thoroughly and between 337 and

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[1] See *Patrologia Syriaca* (Paris), 2: 1049-1055.

346 wrote a large book which he called *The Homilies*. This book contains twenty-three "Demonstrations" on faith, love of neighbors, fasting, prayer, wars, monks, eulogies and the resurrection of the dead. Also among subjects discussed are humility, spiritual shepherds, circumcision, the Passover, the Sabbath and a universal epistle to bishops, priests and deacons, on righteous conduct and peaceful living. These homilies also contained treatises on distinguishing foods, call of the heathen nations to Christianity, Christ being the Son of God, virginity, the dispersion of the Jews, charity toward the poor, persecution, the last days and the Cluster of Grapes.

Aphrahat's style is lucid, smooth and unpretentious; yet it becomes boring. His teaching is orthodox. However, he fixed the span of the world at six thousand years and was refuted by George, bishop of the Arabs. Of Aphrahat's *Homilies* three copies written in the fifth and sixth centuries survive, one of which was commented on in the year 512. His work was translated into Latin and published in an elegant edition by Parisot in 1907.[1] It was also translated into German.

9. St. Ephraim the Syrian (d. 373)

St. Ephraim is unquestionably the master of the Syriac language and the poet par excellence of the Syrians. He possessed the innate properties of creativeness, poetic versatility and the ability to present many meanings in few words. His style is solid, powerful, fluent and eloquent. In poetry he practiced an entirely new doctrine in which he was seldom rivaled. He distinguished himself by his abundant subject matter, fertile imagination and naturalness. Into these poems he incorporated lofty ideas and noble meanings which would inspire his readers to the highest spheres of piety and submissiveness and worship. St. Ephraim was an example of conscientiousness and religious zeal. His heart was completely dominated by the love of God. And this explains why he was described as "The Prophet of the Syrians," "The Sun of the Syrians," "The Harp of the Holy Spirit," and the "Possessor of

[1] See Vol. 1 and 2 of the *Patrologia Syriaca* in Paris.

Wisdom." Moreover, Christendom accepted his leadership while he was still alive and chanted his songs, praising God through them.

St. Ephraim was born in the early part of the fourth century into a Christian family (contrary to some accounts which maintain that he was born a heathen and was converted to Christianity in the prime of his life). His upbringing ennobled his character. In the prime of youth he deserted the world and accompanied St. Jacob, bishop of Nisibin, who was renowned for his purity and holiness. Besides righteousness Ephraim learned much of what was unique in Syriac literature. He entered a monastic order, was ordained a deacon and taught for thirty-eight years at the school of Nisibin, which was founded by his master. He also worked under his successors, the Bishops Baboy, Walgash and Abraham and composed part of his songs known as the *Songs of Nisibin.* By the year 359 he had achieved wide fame. In the year 363, he left his country as a result of the Persian invasion and moved to Edessa, settling in its Holy Mountain where he was highly welcomed by its ascetics. He expanded the school of Edessa, which, as a result of his contributions and knowledge, became widely famous. It was at this school that he opened the treasures of his knowledge and commented on the Old and the New Testaments. Furthermore, he wrote many excellent poems and masterpieces of canticles. His poetry had become the model of eloquence. Many studied under him.

He was an abstinent and ascetical person, sober, understanding, serene and original. He was a flaming fire which burned the tare of the misguided heretics, a brilliant master and a faithful soldier, keeping watch on the strongholds of orthodoxy. He died on the 9th of June, 373, at nearly seventy years of age. Over his remains a monastery, known as the Lower Monastery, was built in the neighborhood of Edessa. The church commemorates him on the first Saturday of the Lent.

Of the prose writings of St. Ephraim, the comentary on the Book of Genesis, part of the Book of Exodus[1] and fragments of the rest of the books of the scriptures, interspersed in the collection of the monk Severus (d. 861) have come down to us. In

[1] Vatican MS. 110 transcribed in the year 523; Birmingham MS. 147 and a manuscript at our library in Ḥomṣ.

these commentaries he relied on the Pshiṭto version. Of his writings also survive an Armenian translation of his commentary on the Diatessaron version of the Gospel, a commentary on the Pauline Epistles (except for a few verses which may be found in the commentary on the Gospel by Yeshuʿdad of Merv) and some discourses containing commentaries on chapters of the Holy Bible. We have read selected chapters from a book of his called *The Book of Opinions*,[1] two discourses against the heretics Hypatius and Domnus, two treatises on the love of the Most High and supplications and a letter to the monks who dwelt in the mountains.[2] He also wrote stories of the apostles. Of these, the story of St. Peter the Apostle has survived and has been published.[3]

However, the most outstanding of St. Ephraim's writings are his *memre* (metrical homilies composed in the seven-syllabic meter which is attributed to him) as well as his *madroshos* (metrical songs). All of these *memre* and *madroshos* deal with religious subjects such as the divinity of the Lord Christ, His humanity, teachings, His church, apostles, martyrs, commentaries on the Holy Bible, prayer, fasting, charity and worship. Some of these *madroshos* pertain to monks, the Resurrection, prayers for the dead, on the scarcity of rain and other subjects. He also composed songs describing virginity, the sacraments of the church and the Nativity of the Lord. The most beautiful of these is an alphabetical song which impresses its charm on hearts and its lofty theological truths on minds.[4] He also composed songs on Epiphany, Easter, the Resurrection, the call of the apostles, the attributes of the catholic

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[1] Brit. Mus. MS. 587.

[2] Wright, *Catalogue*, 766, and the Brit. Mus. MS. 781.

[3] To be found at the beginning of the first volume of the history of the anonymous Edessan chronicler copied from the manuscript at Basibrina and transcribed in the ninth century. See also the sources of the writings of St. Ephraim interspersed in the Brit. Mus. MSS. 17179, 5th-6th cent., 12160, 6th cent., 12167 dated 875, 14613, 9th-10th cent., Oxford MS. 112, 12th cent., Paris MSS. 234 and 235, 13th cent.

[4] This *memro* was translated into Arabic and French and published by Mgr. Raḥmani in *Majallat al-Āthār al-Sharqiyya*, 1: 12 and 2: 2. A copy of the same is at our library in Ḥomṣ, transcribed in the thirteenth century and containing seventeen lines of this *memro*. This copy is more correct and accurate.

(universal) church, the Virgin and other saints. He also eulogized some of his contemporary bishops and ascetics such as Abraham Qaydunoyo and Julian Sobo. He wrote on repentance, a refutation of Bar Daysan, the heretics and Julian the Apostate.

The number of his poems (some of which have been lost) is unknown. Howevever, Bar Hebraeus in his *Hudoye* (Nomocanon) mentions two hundred and fourteen poems by St. Ephraim combined with those of Mar Isaac, but his number includes only a selection of his *memre* whose reading by the clergy was made obligatory. What is known of these *memre* are fifteen *memre* on the Epiphany, one on the Palm festival, fifteen on Passover, five on the Passion of Our Lord, two on the Resurrection and the reception of the Divine Eucharist on Easter Sunday and one on Low Sunday. He also wrote two on the birth of the Blessed Virgin, St. Andrew the Apostle, the evangelization of the country of Kalkh or the Killitites, three on Job, two on Sts. Sergius and Bacchus and Dimet, twenty on the martyrs, five on the death of bishops, priests, deacons, perfect monks, children and everybody else and seven on the composition of man. Other subjects are: solitude for worship, sojournment, the next world, the end of time, humility and love of mammon. He wrote eleven on condolences and the next world, seven on supplications, wisdom, counsel, faith, knowledge and repentance, one on the saying of Isaiah: "The sinner shall be taken away, that he shall not see the glory of the Lord," ten on the blessings of meals, four on Julian the Apostate and twenty on diverse subjects. Msgr. Raḥmani published two volumes of these *memre*. The first of these contains thirty-one *memre* as well as fragments of other *memre*, such as those on the blessings of meals, the fall of the city of Nicomedia, purity of heart, penitence and God's care for us. Other topics include vigilance, repentance, injustice, ascetics, Job the Righteous, the refutation of Bar Daysan, the seige of Nisibin and Satan enticing people to sin. The second volume contained several *memre* which he composed on the scarcity of rain. He has also a magnificent five-syllabic *memro* in which he addresses himself; it begins thus: "How often I hungered." He also composed a famous metrical testament to which have been added

many interpolations which have nothing to do with the original.[1] He also composed a metrical supplication.

Following are his known *memre*: 87 *memre* on faith and against those who doubt faith, 85 on funerals, 76 on enjoinment for repentance, 15 on the earthly paradise, 51 on virginity and the mysteries of our Lord, which are most illuminating, 77 known as the *memre* of Nisibin which he composed between 350 and 363, of which 60 survived (published by Bickel). Twenty of these *memre* were composed in Nisibin and contained an account of the calamities which this city suffered in the siege of the year 350 and during the Persian War (359-363). They also contain some eulogies on the bishops of Nisibin mentioned earlier. The rest of the *memre* were composed in Edessa, five containing the record of events of the church of Edessa, four on the worship of idols in the city of Ḥarran and on its bishop Petes and some on the city of Anazete. The rest are on the Passion of our Lord, His Resurrection, and resurrection of the dead. Of these *memre* composed in Edessa, 15 are on the Nativity of our Lord, 15 on Divine Manifestation, 15 on unleavened bread, 52 on the church, 56 on refutation of heresies, 17 on Abraham Qaydunoyo, 24 on Julian Sobo, 20 on martyrs, 15 on preaching and 18 on diverse subjects.[2]

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[1] See the *memre* in the following MSS: Brit. Mus. MSS. 12166 and 14573, 6th cent.; 17164, 6th or 9th cent.; 12155 and 14536, 8th cent.; 12168, 8th-9th cent.; 17149 dated 866; and 17185, 10th-11th cent. Also Vatican MS. 117 and the Jerusalem MS. 156 (12th cent.) which contains six *memre*; eight *memre* included by the book of the *memre* of Jacob of Sarug at the church of Shmuni the martyr in Mardin; Jerusalem MS. 53, 14th cent., containing nine *memre*; and MS. 198, 15th cent., containing one *memro*. You will also find one *memro* in each one of the following: MSS. 197, 16th cent.; 117, which is an ancient manuscript; 161, 18th cent.; 18 and 88 dated 1838, 155 and 137 dated 1873. Moreover, the manuscripts at the Zaʿfaran contain parts of these *memre*.

[2] The Vatican MS. 111, written on December 21, 552, contains the most ancient *madroshos*, totaling 261 on the church, virginity, faith, refutation of the heresies and on paradise. This MS. is followed by MS. 8 dated 522, MS. 92 dated 823 and MS. 93 of the ninth century which also contain *madroshos*. See also Brit. Mus. MSS. 14520, 17141 and 17207 of the 8th-9th centuries, MS. 17109 dated 873, MS. 17130 dated 876, MS. 14515 dated 893, MS. 17190 and 14506 of the 9th-10th centuries, MSS. 14511, 14512 and 14611 of the tenth century, MS. 14506 of the eleventh century;

The most ancient choral books mention that the meters of the *madroshos* (metrical songs)[1] which he composed are five hundred. However, the largest of these choral books contained only one hundred fifty-six meters, while the majority of them contained no more than forty-five meters (which have been mixed up with other scales composed in imitation of the form and content of St. Ephraim's scales).

This doctor also composed part of the songs known as the *Shohroyos* and the *ʿEnyonos*; also, some *takhsheftos* (supplicatory hymns) and *cathismata* were attributed to him, as was formerly mentioned. Philoxenus of Mabug cited two books by him, the first of which he called *The Phanqitho (Book) of the Refutation of Jews and Heresies* (also mentioned by the writer of the *Chronicle* of Seʿert[2]). The second is *The Phanqitho (Book) of the Martyrs of Nisibin*[3] which contains a collection of some of St. Ephraim's *madroshos*, mainly the *Phanqitho* on faith, the church, unleavened bread and Nisibin (which have been cited by Anton of Takrit.[4]

To St. Ephraim was attributed a book entitled *The Cave of Treasures*, which contains the story of Adam and Eve after they had been expelled from the Garden of Eden and the genealogy of the tribes of Israel. This book was written in the sixth century. Also attributed to him was an excellent panegyric of twelve melodies on Joseph, the son of Jacob. This, in the opinion of Bar Shushan is either the composition of Isaac or Balai, bishop of Balsh and not the composition of some teachers of the school of Edessa, as some writers thought. The reader will also find in the three volumes published in Latin between 1737 and 1743 by the two monks Peter Mubarak and Stephen ʿAwwad (Assemani) about 300 *memre*, most of which were ascribed to St. Ephraim. They are, to be sure, the composition of some of his disciples or the composition of Isaac, Jacob of Sarug, Narsai or others. Between 1882 and 1902, Thomas

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Paris MS. 164 of the tenth-eleventh centuries, Oxford MS. 153, a MS. at our library in Ḥomṣ of the thirteenth century and a MS. in West New York, N.J., dated 1285, in the possession of the Palack Syrian family.

[1] In Syriac, *sebeltho*.

[2] 1: 211.

[3] See the two books of Philoxenus of Mabug on the Trinity, the Incarnation and the Redemption in Vatican MS. 26.

[4] Anton of Takrit, *Rhetorics*, canon 10, fifth treatise.

Lamy also published in Malines four volumes containing St. Ephraim's *memre* and hymns. Some of these were also published in Oxford and Leipzig. Contemporary scholars, however, are anxious to have a better and more accurate edition of St. Ephraim's works.

Fifty-one of St. Ephraim's treatises, translated from Greek into Arabic in the eleventh century, have come down to us. The Syriac original of these treatises has been lost.[1] The commentary of St. Ephraim on the Holy Bible and others of his writings were translated into Greek either in his lifetime or in the first decade after his death.[2] These translations were read by Gregory of Nyssa who eulogized him in a magnificent homily. Some of his writings were also translated into Armenian, Coptic, Ethiopian and Latin.

Some contemporary critics hold the opinion that St. Ephraim was more of a moralistic writer and preacher than a theologian. This is true, because very little of dogmatic research is found in his *memre* and songs, even those distorted by the heretics. However, his *memre* gained fame and popularity on account of his holiness. Some critics state that what fascinates the reader about St. Ephraim are his fiery mind and the allegories in his poems. These brave and artistic pictures and symbols and the broad imagination which his poetry contained are characteristic of the oriental poets—a style unknown to the Greek or Latin poets. However, these critics say that St. Ephraim's poetry has little creativeness, lofty thoughts, or enthusiasm.[3]

Another critic, who is more fair, says that what he (St. Ephraim) has written was meant to be for the people and monks and therefore did not penetrate deeply into theological theories. However, in his moralistic discourses he incorporated a spark of zeal and fiery enthusiasm which permeated the core of the heart. All that he has written, even though (topics) on which he wrote

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[1] Four ancient copies of these treatises dated 1216 are to be found in the Oriental Library in Beirut and at the Church of the Edessenes in Aleppo: MS. 77 dated 1238, Vatican MS. 169 dated 1325; Za'faran MS. 105, of the fourteenth century and a modern copy at our library in Ḥomṣ. Of these treatises forty were published in Egypt in 1892.

[2] Published in Latin in three volumes by Mubarak 'Awwad, containing many treatises attributed to St. Ephraim.

[3] Hayes, *L' Ecole d' Edesse*, 133; Chabot, *La Littérature Syriaque*, 27 and Duval, *Histoire de la Edesse*, 160.

with utmost prolixity, were in the eyes of his closest readers a symbol of superb rhetoric; for the writer is the reflection of his environment.[1]

The claim that St. Ephraim has little creativeness, lofty thoughts, or enthusiasm is unfair. It is refuted by the unanimity of those (scholars) who have sound taste. Again, he should not be blamed for his prolixity, since it was a trait of the ancient Syrian writers and others. No doubt, this method is incompatible with our modern taste. Nevertheless, the least which could be said about St. Ephraim is that the comprehension of some of his poems requires mental exertion. John of Atharb (d. 735) wrote to Jacob of Edessa, asking for the explanation of some of St. Ephraim's poems. How valuable it would have been, if some brilliant scholars who lived close to his time would have commented upon his poems and unraveled their obscurities.

10-13. The Pupils of St. Ephraim

The most famous of St. Ephraim's pupils were Aba, the deacon Zenobius, Asuna, Simon of Samosata, and Julian. However, they did not have the genius of their master.

Aba wrote a commentary on the Gospels, metrical homilies in the fifth-syllabic meter, a homily on Job the Righteous,[2] and a seven-syllabic ode.[3] Anton of Takrit cited him twice in his treatise on the Chrism.

Zenobius was a deacon at the church of Edessa. He is known as "The Jazri" either in relation to the Upper Jazira, i.e., the country of the Banu Rabi'a, or because at the beginning of his career he was a soldier; but not in relation to the Jazirat Ibn ʿUmar, which was not inhabited at that time. Zenobius wrote down the biography of his master and also wrote letters and treatises in refutation of

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[1] Tixeront, *Compendious Patrologia*, 297.

[2] Wright, *Catalogue*, 992.

[3] Mount Sinai Library MS. 67, ninth century, vol. 33; Brit. Mus. MS. 17194 dated 885. This ode was published by Nau in *Oriental Chretiene* (1913), 69-73, and was also published by Harris in extracts from the commentary of St. Ephraim.

Marcion and Pamphilius.[1] Bar Kepha cited him twice in his *Book of the Six Days*.

Simon likewise wrote down the biography of his teacher; Julian composed songs and wrote refutations of Marcion and the doubtful critics. He was erroneously named Paulonas and was accused of heresy in the Testament of his master. The entire writings of these pupils, except for a few fragments, have been lost.

14. Asuna

Although it is mentioned in some manuscripts that Asuna was the teacher of St. Ephraim, others maintain that he was St. Ephraim's pupil, which is correct. Asuna was the most intelligent of St. Ephraim's pupils and had the ability to manipulate freely in composition as well as in the types of poetry, for he composed eloquent poetry in the four-syllabic and the six-syllabic meters. Of his poetry two poems for funerals have come down to us. We have read in British Museum MS. 14520 *madroshos* of masterful poetry in the five-syllabic meter composed by a brilliant poet, which we think could not have been composed except by one of St. Ephraim's pupils or Asuna. Anton of Takrit alluded to Asuna in the tenth canon of the fifth treatise of his book *The Knowledge of Rhetoric*. Although Asuna attained the highest degree of ascetical virtues, yet he stumbled and fell into a net of fantasies, where he finally died a wretch. In this regard, Philoxenus of Mabug wrote to Patrice, the ascetic in the mountain of Edessa the following: "I think that you have been informed about Asuna who had been in Edessa and who had composed *madroshos* which (the people) chant until this our day. Because he longed for these fantasies, Satan deceived him, lured him out of his cell, made him stand on the Mountain of Estadiun and showed him the form of a chariot and horses and said to him: 'God has called you to lift you up by the chariot as he lifted up Elijah,' and when he became deceived for his foolishness and rose up to climb the chariot, the fantasies vanished and he fell down from a very high altitude and died a laughable death." This same account was mentioned by Nicine the Malkite, abbot of the

[1] Brit. Mus. MS. 17193 dated 874.

Monastery of Mar Simon (d. 1072), in the thirty-fourth treatise of his book *al-Ḥāwī al-Kabīr* (*The Great Comprehensive Book*).

15. The Priest ʿAbsmayya

The priest ʿAbsmayya (The Slave of Heaven) is the son of St. Ephraim's sister; most probably he studied under St. Ephraim. He became popular for composing songs and *memre* regarding the Huns' invasion of Mesopotamia and Syria in the year 395, (according to a second account, in the year 404). The two dates could be correct because those invaders twice attacked these countries.[1]

16. Isaac of Amid (363-418?)

According to Jacob of Edessa, Isaac was born at Amid and studied under St. Ephraim during his short stay in that city in the year 363 and later completed his study under Zenobius, a pupil of St. Ephraim. He composed excellent odes in the seven-syllabic meter. An orthodox, he became a monk at a monastery belonging to the Western (Syrians). According to the historian Zachariah, bishop of Mitylene, Isaac the Syrian lived in the time of Arcadius and Theodosius (395-450) and became publicly known after the time of St. Ephraim and his pupils. He journeyed to Rome and other countries; to Rome in the time of Arcadius in order to watch the opening of the citadel of the Capitol. He composed two poems on the secular games (celebrated at Rome) in the year 404 and on the capture of the city of Rome by Alaric in 410. Upon his return, he stayed for a short time at the city of Byzantium and was also put into jail. When he finally returned to Amid, he was ordained a priest. He left many writings full of profitable information on many topics from the Book of God (The Holy Bible).[2] We will mention later the metrical hymns ascribed to him and to his two namesakes. He is commemorated by the church.

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[1] *The History of Edessa*, the year 715 of the Greeks; and *Chronica Minora*, 159 and 208.

[2] *Chronica Minora*, 208, *Tārīkh Mukhtaṣar al-Duwal*, 144 and the *Chronicle* by the monk of the monastery of Zuqnin, 1: 193.

17. The Monk Dada of Amid

In vol. 1, p. 103 of his *Ecclesiastical History*, following his account on Isaac of Amid, the same Bishop Zachariah said: "The monk Dada who came from the village of Simqa or Simqe in the neighborhood of Amid was a brilliant man who had been delegated by the dignitaries to Caesar (to discuss) the captivity and the famine which afflicted the countries in his time. He was courteously received (by Caesar). We have found about three hundred discourses or *memre* written by him on many topics of the scriptures and the affairs of the saints. We have also found *madroshos* composed by him." All of his compositions have been lost and no trace of them can be found.

18. The Writer of the Biography of Eusebius of Samosata

St. Eusebius of Samosata, because of his piety, good conduct and protection of the orthodox truth, was gifted by God to perform miracles. He was consecrated a bishop of Samosata shortly before the year 359, fought the good fight in serving the persecuted Church of God and was exiled for the cause of its true faith.[1] He died in 379 as a confessor and martyr of his zeal (for the church). Shortly after his death, his biography was written by one of his contemporaries in an eloquent style. This biography was published by Bedjan.

19. Cyrillona

Cyrillona was a poet who had a good poetic style, splendid introductory verses and subtle and charming meanings. His style ranks with that of proficient poets and does not fall short of the poetry of his forerunners. We found no mention of him in the books of learned men. However, his name is mentioned in a single old manuscript at the British Museum,[2] which contains eloquent poems, *madroshos*, and a poem in the four-syllabic meter which he

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[1] His biography was published in vol. 6 and was translated into Arabic by the monk George Mas'ud and published in our *al-Majalla al-Batriyarkiyya* (*The Patriarchal Magazine*) in Jerusalem (1937), 206, etc.

[2] Brit. Mus. MS. 14591, sixth century.

composed on the pestilences in his time, such as the pestilence of the locusts which attacked the land of Edessa. This manuscript also contains poems on the Huns' invasion around the year 396, the Last Supper, the Crucifixion, the Apostle Thomas and a seven-syllabic poem on the grain of wheat. The rest of the poems in this manuscript include six or seven poems in five-syllabic meter and a portion of a *sughitho* on Zacchaeus the Publican, all of which were published by Bickell in 1870. Some contemporary writers claim that Cyrillona is Qayora, the principal of the school of Edessa, an incredible claim which cannot be positively verified.

20. Aḥai, Catholicos of Ctesiphon (d. 415)

Aḥai, the Catholicos of Ctesiphon, was an ascetic who spent most of his time in fasting and in extending charity to strangers. A doctor, he was consecrated a Catholicos at the end of the year 410 and died at the beginning of the year 415. He wrote a book into which he incorporated the chronicles of the martyrs of the East. Besides, he wrote down the story of Mar ʿAbda from whom he adopted the monastic life. These chronicles were fixed by Daniel Bar Mariam in his *Ecclesiastical History*.[1]

21. Maʿna, the Catholicos (d. 420)

Maʿna studied at Edessa and became well versed in both Syriac and Persian. He translated many books from Syriac into Persian, but they are either unknown or lost. After his consecration as a metropolitan of Persia, he was promoted to the Catholicate See of Ctesiphon, which he administered for a few months. He was deposed in the year 420.[2]

22. Marutha of Miyapharqin (d. 421)

This dignitary was a distinguished man of letters who knew Syriac and Greek. In addition, he was a skillful and pious physician, an

[1] The history of Seʿert, 1: 212; Bar Hebraeus, *Ecclesiastical History*, 2: 51; Mari ibn Sulayman. *The Chronicles of the Patriarchs of the See of the East*, 31, and ʿAmr Ibn Matta, p. 25.

[2] *The History of Seʿert*, 1: 216; Mari, p. 33 and ʿAmr, p. 27.

intelligent sage and a clever statesman, whose good qualities were many and whose achievements were commendable. He was consecrated a bishop of Miyapharqin in the eighth decade of the fourth century. Photius relates that, in the year 383, Marutha attended the Council of Sidon to refute the heretical worshippers. He also journeyed to Antioch and some parts of Asia Minor as well as Constantinople and participated in the case of John Chrysostom and Theophilius of Alexandria. For his excellence, he was delegated three times in the years 399, 403 and 408, by the Caesars Aracadius and Theodosius II to Yazdegerd I, the Persian King. He remained in Persia until 410 and through his efforts, the Christians in Persian territory obtained safety and were freed from their afflictions. In the year 410, with Isaac I, Catholicos of Ctesiphon, he presided over a council which they held at Selueucia, whose minutes have been incorporated in the *Collection of the Eastern Canons.* Marutha wrote the biographies of the most famous Eastern martyrs who were tortured by the tyrant Shapur II, nicknamed Dhu al-Aktaf, "He of the Shoulders," in the Forty-Years Persecution (339-379). These biographies were first translated into Latin and published by Assemani and were later published by the monk Paul Bedjan.[1] They are most eloquent and interesting biographies. The orientalists, however, doubted whether these biographies belonged *ipsissimis verbis* to Marutha. The writer of these biographies, was most probably more than one and they were written in more than one place. Perhaps some of these biographies were written at his (Marutha's) request and others were written before his time, but he had them compiled in order to translate them into Greek. ʿAbd Yeshuʿ of Ṣoba also ascribes to him the translation of the canons of the Council of Nicaea from the Greek into Syriac as well as his history and the hymns which he composed about the martyrs. He moved a great number of their noble remains to Miyapharqin, which as a result, came to be known as Martyropolis (The City of Martyrs). He is thought to have died in the year 421.

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[1] Vol. 2: 57 and subsequent pages.

23. Rabula, metropolitan of Edessa (d. 435)

Rabula was born a heathen at the city of Qenneshrin of a noble and wealthy ancestry, but his mother was a Christian. When he was still a young man, Rabula became Christian, distributed his property among the poor, deserted his wife and became a virtuous monastic at the monastery of Mar Abraham. In 411, he succeeded Diogynus as a metropolitan of Edessa, which he administered for twenty-four years. He died on the seventh of August, 435. He was ascetical in his own living and very firm and strict with his parishioners. When the Council of Ephesus convened in the year 431, he sided with the Patriarch John of Antioch, but shortly later on he leaned towards Cyril, Patriarch of Alexandria. And when he anathematized Theodore of Mopsuestia, John excommunicated him. During that time he translated some of the writings of Cyril from the Greek into Syriac, such as the book of *The True Faith* which he compiled and sent to Caesar Theodosius.[1] In the year 433, John and his party were reconciled with Cyril and Rabula. At that time Rabula had acquired the greatest and most profitable knowledge of the Syriac and Greek literatures. He also wrote in Syriac the *takhsheftos*, which are associated with his name, for the principal feasts and for the Virgin (Mary) and the saints with some on repentance and for the dead. These *takhsheftos* probably comprised as many as seven hundred lines of (poetry).[2] He also enacted for the monks, priests and ascetic women eighty-nine canons which are preserved in the books of ecclesiastical laws.[3] Furthermore, he wrote forty-six letters to bishops, priests, princes, nobles, monks, of which one letter was delivered to Andrew, the Nestorian bishop of Samosata, rebuking him for opposing the twelve anathemas of Cyril. He also wrote a letter to Gemellinus, bishop of Perrhe, rebuking some monks who misused the reception of the Divine Eucharist,[4] and two homilies, one of which

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[1] Brit. Mus. MS. 14557, seventh century, published by Bedjan in vol. 5, pp. 628-696.

[2] Also Brit. Mus. MSS. 14715 dated 1257, 14724 and 17958; Vatican MS. 94 dated 1010.

[3] Paris MS. 62, ninth century; Brit. Mus. MS. 14526 dated 641; Cambridge MS. 2023, 13th century, published by J. J. Overbeck, 210-221.

[4] Brit. Mus. MSS. 17144 and 17149, sixth century; 17201, sixth-seventh centuries; 17150, seventh-eighth centuries; 729 and 14577, seventh

he delivered at Constantinople, refuting the doctrine of Nestorius and the second on the dead.[1] In some of his lectures, Cyril described him as "The Pillar of Truth." Rabula is counted among the saints.

24. Balai, bishop of Balsh

No one in olden times happened to write down Balai's biography; even Jacob of Barṭelli and Bar Hebraeus had no precise information about him. However, some contemporary writers think he was one of St. Ephraim's pupils. More correctly, he had studied under one of St. Ephraim's pupils. What we do know about him is that he was a chorepiscopus of the church of Aleppo. He was also a companion and an associate of Acacius, its metropolitan, whose death he witnessed in the year 432 and whom he had eulogized in five eloquent *madroshos* composed in the five-syllabic meter.[2] According to Bar Shushan (d. 1072), he became a bishop of the city of Balsh (Perpalisus), today called Maskanah, which lies east of Aleppo to the south.[3] He was also mentioned as having this rank (of a bishop) and this generic name (of Balsh) in a *Beth Gazo* transcribed in the year 1716.[4] Furthermore, he was called "a bishop" in a table containing the name of our scholars, transcribed by Isaac, metropolitan of Cyprus, in 1550.[5] Most likely he died in the fifth decade of the fifth century, because his name was not mentioned in the two Synods of 449 and 451. Duval is mistaken in counting him among the scholars of the fourth century.

Balai composed many poems in the five-syllabic meter, which is ascribed to him. Most of these poems became a part of our church rituals concerning repentance, the dead and other subjects. It is quite unfortunate that no one has cared to compile his poems. In 1902, Zettersténn published in Leipzig one hundred thirty-four

century, and 17202; Vatican MSS. 107, seventh century, and 173, fourteenth century; Oxford Marsh MS. 101.

[1] Brit. Mus. MS. 14653, sixth-seventh centuries.

[2] Published by Overbeck.

[3] Zaʿfaran MS. 241 and our introduction to the *shḥimo*, 6.

[4] A manuscript at our church in Damascus.

[5] See the transcribed original of a manuscript at Sharfeh of the ninth-tenth centuries.

poems ascribed to him, sixty-five bear his name and sixty-nine are thought to be his.[1] However, it is difficult to distinguish his poems because they are mixed up with those of other poets. One of his compositions is a *memro* on the consecration of the church at Qenneshrin[2] which was published by Overbeck together with the poems formerly mentioned. What most likely belongs to him is an elegy of Uriah the Hittite which has been alluded to by Anton of Takrit in the tenth canon of the fifth treatise (of his book *The Knowledge of Rhetoric*), poems in praise of St. George, a poem on the death of Aaron,[3] and the account of Phostinus and Mytrodora in the story of Clement of Rome.[4] Mention has already been made of the select poem in praise of Joseph the Righteous which is ascribed either to him or to the Maphono Isaac.[5]

25. Deacon Jacob (451)

Jacob was a deacon and a man of letters in Edessa. He accompanied Nonnus, metropolitan of Edessa, to Antioch. He wrote the life story of Pelagia, who abandoned dissoluteness and repented through the efforts of the previously mentioned magnanimous Metropolitan (Nonnus) about the year 451.

26. The Monk Samuel (458)

Samuel became well versed in the arts of literature, entered the monastic life and kept the company of Barṣoum of Samosata, head of the anchorites; he was counted as one of his most noble disciples. Around the year 458 he wrote down the story of his master, which has already been mentioned and to which interpolations have been added. He also praised him by many splendid *memre* and *madroshos*, one of which we found composed in the melody of *Qum Phawlos*. A statement at the end of the

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[1] Brit. Mus. MSS. 14511 and 14512, tenth century, 14503, tenth-eleventh centuries; 12147 dated 1006; Paris. MS. 158 dated 1562.

[2] Brit. Mus. MS. 14591, sixth century.

[3] Vatican MS. 117 and Oxford MS. 19.

[4] Oxford MS. Or. 19.

[5] Brit. Mus. MSS. 12166, sixth century; and 14590, eighth-ninth centuries; Dayr al-Sayyida MS. 101 dated 1876.

aforementioned story says that he also wrote homilies on faith and on many other subjects. Furthermore, he wrote excellent commentaries and treatises in refutation of heresies and composed poems and hymns, all of which have been lost.

27. The Priest Samuel (467)

The priest Samuel of Edessa was a bitter enemy of Hiba (Ibas) the Nestorian metropolitan of Edessa and one of the first clergymen to complain against Hiba to the second Council of Ephesus in 449, as is evident from reading his proclamation in the acts of this Council. He also wrote Syriac treatises refuting Hiba's deviation from the truth and also refuting the heresy of Eutyches. Most likely he spent his life at Constantinople, where he was still living in the year 467. He was mentioned, about the year 496, by the Latin writer Gennadius of Marseilles in the twenty-eighth tract of his series called *Famous Men*, in which he (Gennadius) followed the book of Anba Hieronymus (Jerome), which bears the same title.

28. The Priest Cosmas (472)

The priest Cosmas was born at the village of Phanir in the province of Qallisura. He is reported to have written a letter to Simon the Stylite and on April 7, 472, he wrote down in good Syriac style a lengthy biography of Simon at the request of Simon Bar Apholon and Barhattar, son of Hadaurun.

29-30. The Two Priests Peter and Muqim

Gennadius of Marseilles mentioned that Peter, the presbyter of Edessa, was a plain and fluent orator. He composed *memre* and hymns in the seven-syllabic meter in praise of St. Ephraim. He lived about the year 490. Gennadius also mentioned in his tract one hundred and seventy-one of *Series of Famous Men* that the Presbyter Muqim of Mesopotamia refuted the heresy of Eutyches around he year 494. This is all that is known about these two presbyters.

31. Isaac of Edessa, known as Isaac of Antioch (491?)

None of the ancient historians wrote a biography of Isaac the Edessan (by birth) and the Antiochian (by domicile). However, the first one to write about him, quoting the learned authorities of his time, was Jacob of Edessa. In his letter to John the Stylite of Atharib, Jacob said, "This Isaac was an Edessan presbyter as well as a poet and an orthodox teacher. He became highly favored in the time of the Caesar Zeno. He journeyed to Antioch in the time of the Patriarch Peter II (470-488), known as "Peter the Fuller"[1] during the Nestorian's controversy (mainly against the *Trisagion*). At Antioch he saw a man from the East carrying a parrot which repeated the *Trisagion*, as the owner taught it, to check the obstinacy of those who opposed this formula. He liked the spectacle and composed a Syriac poem about it."[2] This poem was ascribed to him as Isaac of Antioch because he resided in this city. He was also mentioned by this generic name (of Antioch) in a manuscript written in the seventh century, entitled *Selected Tracts of the Fathers*.[3] However, in his history entitled *al-'Unwān*, Agapius the Malkite Greek bishop of Mabug, who was living about the year 940 said, "One of the scholars of this time (about the year 422) was Mar Isaac, the pupil of St. Ephraim (sic), who had his residence in Antioch. He has many *memre* on feasts, martyrs, wars and the invasions which took place at that time. Concerning his origin, he was from the people of Edessa" (sic).[4]

In the year 431, Isaac witnessed the Council of Ephesus as is mentioned in the *Series of the Councils*.[5] Therefore, Isaac of Antioch

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[1] *Chronica Minora*, 217.

[2] You will find the poems repeated by this parrot and other poems concerning the Resurrection of Christ and the dispraise of greed in the Brit. Mus. MS. 14592, sixth-seventh centuries.

[3] Birmingham MS. 69.

[4] The Beirut edition, 309. Agapius is mistaken in making him the pupil of St. Ephraim.

[5] A manuscript at our patriarchal library in Ḥomṣ. [On the life of Agapius ibn Maḥbūb ibn Constantine, bishop of Mabug see, Georg Graf, *Geschichte Der Christlishen Arabischen Literature*, 2 (Citta dei Vaticano, 1960). (tr.)]

is this Isaac[1] and not Isaac of Amid as was erroneously thought by the Orientalists. He is also the one who composed the poem on the earthquake which destroyed Antioch in the year 459 and the two poems on the invasion of Beth Ḥur about the year 491. Furthermore, he did not die in the year 460 as the Orientalists claim. It is evident that Isaac of Amid did not live until this time because it has been established that he was associated with St. Ephraim for a period in the year 363 while he was, at the least, close to twenty. His birth, therefore, must have occurred about the year 343. Moreover, if he had lived to be one hundred and seventeen years old, he or someone else would have mentioned this fact. Surely, the most learned Jacob of Edessa is the best informed of all the historians about Isaac's affairs.

32. Isaac the Second of Edessa (522)

Mar Jacob (of Edessa) himself related that this Isaac was also an orthodox clergyman at the church of Edessa. Michael the Great and Bar Hebraeus state that he was an abbot of a monastery and lived at the beginning of the sixth century in the time of Paul, metropolitan of Edessa. He composed his poems according to the orthodox doctrine. But when Paul was deposed and was replaced by the Malkite Bishop Asclepius who began to propagate his own doctrine, Isaac joined forces with him against Paul and proceeded to compose poetry in support of his new doctrine.

The three Isaacs, namely, Isaac of Antioch and the two Isaacs of Edessa, were poets who composed masterpieces of poetry in the seven syllabic meter. However, because they lived about the same time and because their poetical talents were very much alike, their poems were confused among the transcribers so that any distinction, except very rarely, became difficult. About two hundred poems ascribed to them[2] have come down to us, sixty-

[1] Gennadius mentioned him in his 66th tract. William Wright makes him a native of Edessa and a pupil of Zenobius, the disciple of St. Ephraim. Wright, *Syriac Literature*, 52. See also Wright, *Catalogue of Syriac MSS.*, 2: 603. (tr.)

[2] Brit. Mus. MSS. 14591, 12166, 6th cent.; 17164, 17158, sixth-seventh centuries; 14666, 14602, seventh-eighth centuries; 14561 dated 850, 14535, 18817, ninth century; Vatican MS. 93, ninth century; Berlin

seven poems covering 837 pages were published by Bedjan. They were composed by Isaac of Amid and a few of them were composed by Isaac the Antiochian of Edessa. This published anthology by Bedjan requires extensive investigation and elaborate critical examination in order to distinguish the exquisite poems which have been ascribed, in the Urmia copy, to Isaac of Nineveh the Nestorian.

Following is a list of the published poems: poems on the love of learning and the humility of the brethren monks; eight poems on rebuke, one of which scolds the blasphemers and another on compunction; a poem on the dead; a poem on the anchorite ascetics; a poem on the hereafter; four poems on repentance; a poem on monks; a poem on Lazarus and the rich man; a poem on renouncing worldly things and on true freedom; a poem on those who complain against each other during the time of prayer; a poem on Lent; a poem on Constantine the King; three poems on *boʿuthos* [petitions]; a poem on the perfection of the brethren monks; a hortatory poem on giving alms; a poem on the sign which appeared in the firmament and one against fortune tellers; a poem on fasting, alms and monastic perfection; a poem against falsehood; a poem on the natural discernment of the natural mind; a poem on the verse from Isaiah "All flesh is grass;"[1] a poem on how Satan overcomes man in the time of ordeal; eight poems on Solitaries; a poem on the perfection of monks and their renunciation of the world; two poems on the invasion of the town or village of Beth Ḥur in the province of Edessa (within the Roman-Byzatine territory which was invaded and destroyed by the Arabians in the year 457). He also mentioned that the Persians inculcated the people of this village with sun worship and implanted worship of idols in the Arabians. And when the Arabians invaded it, they inculcated its inhabitants with the worship of Venus and Uzi. The inhabitants of Beth Ḥur had an idol called *Jizlath*. They also worshipped the sun and the moon. There were also Christians in Beth Ḥur, but they perverted Christianity. He also said that the

(Sachau) MS. 177 dated 1579. Most of these *memre* (metrical hymns) are not included by the collection of Bar Shushan. Another copy of the *memre* of Mar Isaac is in the possession of some family in the village of Qaraqosh. It contains sixty *memre* and is dated 1574.

[1] The Book of Isaiah 40:6. (tr.)

Arabian Bedouin invaders were barefooted, corrupt and dissolute. Moreover, they slaughtered their sons and daughters as a sacrifice to the planet Venus. However, after the invasion they were murdered by the swords of the Persians and the rest of them were annihilated by the plague. Then the Huns came and invaded the Persians (sic). He composed these two poems in the year 491.

Of his published poems are also a poem on the blasphemers; on the changeableness of creation and of the mind; on the giving of alms; two poems on faith; a poem on stating everything that God does is meant to be for the benefit of man, be it captivity, war, famine or death; a poem on the saying of the poet: "Who would dismantle my body then rebuild me and restore me as a new virgin in my creation;" a poem on faith and on the refutation of Nestorius and Eutyches; a poem on the suffering of the Word of God who was incarnate and on his non-suffering; a poem on the bird which shouted the *Trisagion*; a poem on faith and on the Body of our Lord; a poem on faith in refutation of the heresies of Nestorius and Eutyches; a poem on our Lord and on faith; a poem on the incarnation of our Lord; a poem on the chariot; a poem on the worldly vigil which took place in Antioch and which he opposed by the recitation of the verse from the Psalms: "It is good to thank the Lord;" and two poems against those who resort to soothsayers.

There are also seven *memre* at the library of St. Mark's Monastery in Jerusalem on the Nativity, the Virgin, Baptism, and the Divine Eucharist.[1] There are also several *memre* at the Zaʿfaran library.[2] Patriarch John Bar Shushan had proceeded to collect the poems of St. Ephraim and Mar Isaac, but death prevented the completion of his effort. At the Vatican library there is a manuscript containing sixty *memre*, copied from Bar Shushan's copy.[3] A second copy of the same manuscript contains forty *memre*.[4]

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[1] Zaʿfaran's library MS. 53.

[2] Zaʿfaran's library MS. 100 dated 1469.

[3] Vatican MS. 119 dated 1210.

[4] Vatican MS. 120, seventh century. Baumstark, p. 64, quoting the priest ʿAbd Allah ibn Faḍl of Antioch (middle of the fourteenth century) mentions that the deacon ʿAbd Allah ibn Faʿl of Antioch the Malkite has translated more than forty *memre* into Arabic (Sic).

We also have *sughithos*[1] composed by Isaac the first and Isaac the second, of which one is on the reality of the divinity and the humanity of Christ against contentious heretics. It begins thus: "The voice of the church ran in my ear." We have translated the text of this *sughitho* and published it in Arabic.[2] Furthermore, we have daily supplications[3] as well as sixteen *madroshos* on the Eucharist and three *madroshos* on the coming of our Lord.[4] There are poems fraught with theological, literary, philological, ritualistic and social benefits. All of them are clear evidence that their composers were masterful and natural poets of the first class.

33. Chorepiscopus Polycarp (508)

Polycarp, the chorepiscopus of the diocese of Mabug, was a skillful translator, well versed in the literatures of both the Syriac and Greek languages. He achieved fame in the period between 500 and 508 by translating the Holy Bible from Greek into Syriac at the request of Philoxenus, metropolitan of Mabug. He called this translation by the name of Philoxenus and hence it came to be known as the Philoxenian translation.[5] The first part of the Holy Bible which he translated were the Pauline Epistles, then the New Testament, i.e., the Gospels. He then followed by translating the Psalms. If we may believe a comment mentioned in one of the manuscripts, Polycarp is also thought to have translated some Books of the Old Testament because some verses from the Book of Isaiah translated according to the style of Lucian the martyr were found in Polycarp's translation.[6]

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[1] Brit. Mus. MS. 17141, eighth-ninth centuries.

[2] *Al-Majalla al-Baṭriyarkiyya* (*The Patriarchal Magazine*) (1939), 283-246.

[3] Brit. Mus. MS. 14691, sixth century.

[4] A MS. at the same library (Brit. Mus.). Baumstark mentions on p. 65 that he has found in the Brit. Mus. MSS. 14650, sixth-seventh centuries; 14615, tenth-eleventh centuries, and in Paris, MS. 13 and in Oxford, MS. 711, seventeenth century, some *memre*, including some jesting ascribed to Isaac or Ephraim. These *memre* are perhaps the work of Isaac of Antioch.

[5] Joseph Lebon, *Church History*, 12: 416-436.

[6] Ambrosiana MS. 133 C. These scanty fragments are to be found in the Brit. Mus. MS. 17106, folios 74-78.

He, Polycarp, may have been the first to translate the Epistles of St. Paul into Syriac, if we take into consideration the statement of Moses Bar Kepha that these Epistles were translated into Syriac four hundred and thirty-six years after the martyrdom of the Apostle, that is, in 503. Baumstark is of the opinion that the oldest Syriac translations of the Book of Revelation also date back to that time. This opinion may be true regarding the Paris *Polyglot* manuscript and the four minor Epistles.[1] The Orientalists, however, are not unanimous in attributing one of these two translations to Polycarp.

This Philoxenian translation has become rare because it was overshadowed by the Harklean translation. The copies of the Gospel in the libraries of Florence,[2] Rome,[3] and New York[4] are thought to contain this translation. A copy of the Acts of the Apostles is to be found at the Cambridge Library.

The translation of the Epistles of St. Paul was made by the effort and care of Philoxenus in the year 508. Thomas of Harkel later revised this translation in the year 616. The Orientalist Lebon thinks that a copy of the Polycarp or Philoxenian's translation has not been found yet.

34. Stephen Bar Sudayli (510)

Stephen was born in Edessa in the second half of the fifth century. He entered a monastic order and led a good life at the beginning of his career. While still young he journeyed to Egypt and adhered to

[1] Crawford Manuscripts, 2nd Century; Manchester library and the Brit. Mus. MS. 17193 dated 879. The four Epistles as well as their Arabic translation are to be found at the Mount Sinai library, Arabic manuscripts No. 154. As to the two different translations of the Book of Revelation they are to be found in the following manuscripts: Brit. Mus. MSS. 14623 dated 823; 14473, eleventh century; Crawford MS. 2; Paris MS. twelfth century; Cambridge MSS. 1-2, twelfth century; Brit. Mus. Rich. MS. 7162, fourteenth century; Oxford MSS. 35 and 119, sixteenth century; Brit. Mus. MS. 14474, twelfth century and Amsterdam MS. 148 dated 1470.

[2] Florence MS. 3 dated 757.

[3] Angelica Library in Rome MS. 18, eleventh-twelfth centuries.

[4] New York MS. of the eighth century which includes a treatise entitled: *A Copy of the Gospel Transcribed According to the Former Heraclean Version* and published in Philadelphia in 1884.

a man named John who indoctrinated him with pantheism, which purports that the One God is the whole of created things. He publicized this doctrine in Edessa and because of it was expelled from that city. He went to Jerusalem, where he found Origenian monks of his persuasion. He proceeded to correspond with his disciples in Edessa. In those days, about the year 510, Mar Philoxenus of Mabug wrote to Abraham and Orestes, presbyters of Edessa, concerning him. In his letters to these presbyters, Philoxenus mentioned that Stephen made mystical commentaries on the Torah and the Psalms and that after declaring perpetual punishment in Hell as false, he forsook this belief to adopt sheer pantheism, declaring that every nature is co-substantial with the Divine Person and Divine Essence. He continued that the errors of this pantheist and his platitudes found no approval with anybody and that he was excommunicated by the church. In his reply to the fifth question of the deacon Yeshuʿ al-Tirminazi, Patriarch Quryaqos wrote that "the book ascribed to Hierothios,[1] the teacher of Dionysius the Areopagite, is not his (Stephen's). Some think that it was written by Bar Sudayli the heretic." However, Chabot and other Orientalists do not hold this opinion.[2]

35. Deacon Simon the Potter (d. 514)

Simon was a magnificent church poet. He was born at the village of Kishir in the province of Antioch. He took on the making of pottery as a craft and hence became well known as "the Potter" or *Quqoyo* in Syriac. While working on his wheel, Simon composed eloquent and elegant religious poetry sung in a beautiful melody which he called *Quqoyo.* His poetry covered many subjects, such as the Nativity of our Lord, His Resurrection and His miracles; Christ on the Cross, prophets, the Virgin Mary, the saints, the dead and

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[1] Brit. Mus. MS. Rich. 7189 dated 1268. Other manuscripts are at Edessa, Zaʿfaran and at our patriarchal library in Ḥomṣ.

[2] For the ideas of Stephen Bar Sudayli the Syrian mystic regarding pantheism, the book of Hierothios and its connection with the writings of pseudo-Dionysius together with the Syriac and the English translations of the letters of Philoxenus of Mabug to Abraham and Orestes the presbyters of Edessa, see A. L. Forthingham, Jr., *Stephen Bar Sudaili, The Syrian Mystic and the Book of Hierothios* (Leiden, 1886). (tr.)

repentance. Around the year 510, Mar Jacob [of Sarug] heard of him while on some of his journeys and went to see him. He heard him singing these fine songs in his shop. He praised him and encouraged him to continue composing. He also took copies of these songs; it is said that in 514 he showed these poems to Patriarch Severus after he translated parts of them into Greek, which made the Patriarch urge the poet to compose more poems of this nature.

Simon also composed songs on the Nativity of the Lord in other melodies, of which twenty-eight lines only came down to us.[1] Simon had pious, learned and well-mannered companions of his type who shared with him the composition of songs. These companions were called the *quqoye*,[2] whose poems have entered the church's rituals and choral books. Jacob of Edessa, from whom we copied most of this biography, said, "the shop of Simon and his wheel are still known in the village of Kishir until this day" (that is from 700 to 708).

36. John Rufus the Antiochian, bishop of Mayoma (515?)

John Rufus from the Rufina family was born at ʿAsqalān. He studied jurisprudence at the school of Beirut. He corresponded with the Patriarch Peter the Fuller, who ordained him a priest. He was known as the "Antiochian." He kept the company of Peter the Iberian, entered a monastic order and succeeded Peter to the bishopric of Mayoma in Palestine. Around 515, he wrote chronicles and narratives in the Greek language, eighty in number, which he called *Plephoriae*[3] in refutation of the Council of Chalcedon. These chronicles, however, contain a great deal of unsubstantiated information which does not withstand criticism. They were translated in a firm style, abridged and incorporated by Michael the Great in his *Chronicle*. They were also translated into French and

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[1] Brit. Mus. MS. Rich. 7189.

[2] The *Ethikon*.

[3] For these chronicles titled *Plerophoriae (Testimonies and Revelations Given by God to the Saints), concerning the Heresy of the Diophysites and the Transgression of Chalcedon*, see W. Wright. *Catalogue of the Syriac Manuscripts in the Brit. Mus.* 3: 1104, para 11. (tr.)

published by Nau in 1911.[1] John is also thought to be the author of the biography of his predecessor, Peter the Iberian. The style is interesting and contains profitable historical and geographical information. It was translated into German and published by Raabe.

37. The History Ascribed to the Priest Joshua the Stylite (515?)

In about 515, a brilliant Edessene writer thought to be an instructor at a School in Edessa[2] wrote a history, in eighty-three pages, containing the calamities and events which took place in Edessa, Amid and Mesopotamia. He opened this history by a reply in seven pages addressed to Sergius the abbot who suggested that he write this history. Also, he wrote an elaborate introductory chapter in ten and a half pages, in which he mentioned the reasons for wars between the Persian and the Roman states from 363 to 498. He also wrote about the events from 495 to the end of 506, most important of which is the fierce war between Qabadh the Persian king and the Caesar (emperor) Anastasius (502-506), dwelling, of course, on the happenings and events in his time.[3] This history is the most complete and trustworthy historical document of those events. The author also mentioned that he found some of the information which he compiled in ancient books, whereas he copied the rest from the ambassadors of the Persian and Roman sovereigns. This history has a unique copy in the Vatican (MS. 162, dated 932), which, because it is anonymous, has been ascribed by Assemani, who published its abridgement,[4] and the majority of the Orientalists, to the presbyter Joshua the Stylite, a monk of the Monastery of Zuqnin,[5] in Amid, on the grounds that the name of this author was mentioned at the end of the letter by Elishah, a

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[1] Translated from the Brit. Mus. MSS. 14650 of 875, 14631, tenth century, and from Paris MS. 284.

[2] Chabot's copy, p. 260.

[3] See above, pp. 52-54.

[4] See Assemani, *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, 1: 260-283. (tr.)

[5] According to Nau he is the author of the history ascribed to Dionysius of Tell Mahre, written in the eighth century. See Nau's article in 1898 on the unedited parts of the mentioned history.

monk from the said monastery.[1] The opinions of writers differ regarding this history. Some writers ascribed it without evidence to Joshua the Stylite, while others ascribed it to an anonymous Edessene teacher or monk, as is probably the case. Writers also disagree on the belief of the author, who was most likely, a moderate orthodox.[2] Although he had praised Flavian II of Antioch, he likewise praised Caesar (emperor) Anastasius, Philoxenus of Mabug, Jacob of Sarug, and others.[3] The text of this history was first translated into French and published by Paul Martin in 1876. It was then translated into English and published by William Wright in 1882 followed by Chabot who translated it into Latin and published it in 1927 (the first volume, pp. 235-317, of the history erroneously ascribed to Dionysius).

38. Mar Jacob of Sarug, the Malphono (d. 521)

Jacob of Sarug is a proficient and natural poet of great genius who is unrivaled and unequaled. An unrestrained writer and one of the princes of language, Jacob wrote with eloquence and creativeness. He was more of a poet than a writer. His poems attained wide popularity and spread everywhere. His poetry finds its way directly to the heart and amuses those who listen to it. One never reads any of his poems without becoming infatuated by it. Jacob's poetry contains masterpieces and beauties which astound the mind and arrest the heart. It is also characterized by immaculate style and perspicuity, exquisite themes, masterful expression and firm and clear form. Jacob was a prolific poet who composed lengthy poems, some of which contain two thousand, three thousand, or more lines of poetry. Besides his composing introductory verses and magnificent endings, he is at home with poetry. The more he penetrates his poetical theme, the more he enriches it with eloquence and beauty and the more he creates new terms, delicate expressions and brilliant techniques, which drive away boredom and alert the reader that he is opposite a mighty ocean full of literary pearls and uncommon objects.

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[1] P. 241.

[2] He was not a Malkite as has been thought and as we have already mentioned.

[3] Pp. 257, 280, 304, 310 and 316.

Read his *memre* on exhortation and renunciation of world pleasures and repentance; you will find that before you have finished reading that your heart has renounced earthly things and that it has become filled with the love of piety and devotion. No matter how far you are from righteousness, his *memre* will incline your heart to knock at God's door and to adhere to God. How excellent he was in fathoming the diseases of the soul and in their proper treatment and how smooth is his style if it met attentive hearts and meek souls. Thus, his tongue was a spring of wisdom and he himself was one of the chosen of God and the most famous of the saints of his time, the age of faith, heroism and orthodox religious principles. May God bless an age which produced distinguished men like Philoxenus of Mabug, Paul of Callinicus, John of Tella, Zacharaiah of Mitylene, John Bar Aphtonia, Severus of Antioch and their like—unequaled authorities who are seldom found in any age. Therefore, the church has done an excellent thing by naming him the "doctor" par excellence as well as the "*Qithoro* of the Holy Spirit," the "Harp of the Orthodox Church," and the "Crown of the doctors, their ornament and their pride."

Mar Jacob was born at the village of Qawartum on the Euphrates, but he is also said to have been born at Ḥawrā in the district of the city of Sarug in 551. He graduated from the School of Edessa, where he had acquired a great share of the sciences of philology, philosophy and theology. He became a monk and an ascetic. When he was twenty years old he extemporized his famous ode, *The Chariot of Ezekiel*, in the presence of five bishops who had suggested it to him at the church of Baṭnan-Sarug (according to another weak source, at the church of Nisibin).[1] The bishops admired his poetical talent and licensed him, trusting that God has distinguished him with His favor.

He was ordained a presbyter and then granted the rank of a periodeutes for the city of Ḥawrā, after which he journeyed through the lands of the Euphrates and inner Syria, carrying out his task properly. He was well received, loved and trusted by hundreds,

[1] It is related in the Brit. Mus. MS. 825 that they met in the church of St. Quryaqos the martyr where on Wednesday the fourteenth of August, he recited to them his ode on the death and funeral of the Virgin Mary. It begins thus, "O Son of God who descended from high into earth by his love."

nay, thousands of monks for his piety, honesty and knowledge. At the end of his life he was made a bishop of the diocese of Baṭnan-Sarug in 519 and administered his diocese most appropriately for one year and eleven months. He died on November 29, 521, being seventy years of age. He is commemorated by the church. A long time later, some of his remains were removed to a private shrine in the city of Diyarbakir.

Certain men studied under Malphono Jacob and benefited from him. Of these is his secretary Ḥabib of Edessa and an ascetic named Daniel. According to Bar Hebraeus seventy copyists were assigned to write down his poems, which had been collected and totaled seven hundred seventy poems, first of which was *The Chariot of Ezekiel* and the last, *Golgotha*, left unfinished because of his death. All of these poems are composed in the dodecasyllabic meter which he invented and which came to be known in his name as the Sarugite meter. These *memre* (poems) covered commentaries on the most important subjects of the Old and New Testaments. They also treated subjects such as faith, virtue, penance, resurrection, graces for meals, the dead, praise of the Virgin, the prophets, the apostles, and the martyrs. He made specific mention of the Saints Peter, Paul, Thomas, Thaddeus, John the Baptist, Guriyya, Shamuna and Ḥabib, Sergius and Bacchus, the people of the cave, George, the martyrs of Sebaste, Ephraim and Simon the Stylite. In the mornings and evenings, the Syrian church chants a group of his choicest *memre* in praise of the Lord of the Universe, thus perpetuating the memory of their author.

Our libraries at the Zaʿfaran, Jerusalem (St. Mark), Mardin as well as the libraries of the Vatican and London, British Museum, contain more than four hundred of these *memre* most of which are written on parchment.[1] And if you realize that the monk Paul Bedjan published two hundred *memre* in five thick volumes, you would estimate that their total number comprises nineteen

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[1] Zaʿfaran MS. 206 contains 214 *memre* dated 1154. MS. 6 of this library contains 78 *memre*, covering 956 pages dated about 1725 with other two similar volumes and a third one containing *memre* for the whole year dated about 1509. Also Jerusalem MS. 156, the MS. at the church of Mort Shmuni, the woman martyr in Mardin, containing seventy-five *memre* translated in the twelfth century; the Vatican MSS. 114, 115, 116, 117, 118; and the Brit. Mus. MS. 825.

volumes. Seventy-seven of these *memre* had been selected and added to the collection of the homilies for the whole year in a manuscript which I found at Basibrina, which is different from familiar collections. We have also read *madroshos* by him in the meter "God who asscended on Mount Sinai," (of which the first is on the saints) and two *sughithos* on penitence.[1] Some copies[2] ascribed to him a philosophical, alphabetically arranged *sughitho* of twenty-two lines in the melody of "Lord make me drink from thy spring," which, according to Mingana, belonged to Jacob of Edessa.[3] He also composed songs on the pestilences of locusts which befell the country in the spring of 500.[4]

His prose writings consist of letters of the utmost beauty and elegance. They are written in a masterful and exquisite style. A selected collection in 316 pages containing forty-three of these letters has survived. They were published in 1937 after three British Museum MSS. of which the oldest and the largest was finished in 603.[5] These letters are:

1) A letter to Stephen Bar Sudayli the heretic (before adopting heresy) refuting his delusions and advising him to improve his conduct by resorting to piety. (This letter followed an earlier one which he wrote to him guiding and calling him to the right path; later, he excommunicated him in a synod which comprised of some bishops);[6]

2) a letter on faith;

3) a letter to the priest Thomas on faith;

4) a letter to Antonius, bishop of Aleppo;

5) a letter to the priest John;

6) a letter to the monks at Arzun, the citadel of the Persians;

7) a letter to the monks of Mount Sinai;

8) to Mar Ḥabib, a letter of peace on the resurrection;

9) a letter to Julian the Archdeacon;

10) a letter to Stephen the Notary on the salvation works of Christ;

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[1] Brit. Mus. MS. 771.

[2] B. Nationale, Paris, MS. 153; and Berlin (Sachau) MS. 81.

[3] Birmingham MS. 342.

[4] The *Chronicle* ascribed to Joshua the Stylite, p. 281.

[5] Brit. Mus. MSS. 14726, 837 and 838.

[6] See the discourse of the bishop Severus on the councils.

11) a letter to the Ascetic Paul;

12) an (imperfect) letter;

13) a letter to the monks of the monastery of Mar Basus on the works of Christ;

14) an entreating letter to the monks of the Monastery of Mar Basus;

15) a letter from the monks of Mar Basus to him;

16) his reply to them;

17) a third letter to them which is unique as well as decisive evidence of his adherence to the orthodox faith;[1]

18) a letter to the Ḥimyarite confessors in Najran;

19) a letter on faith to Samuel, abbot of the Monastery of St. Isaac at Gabula;

20) a letter to the citizens of Edessa, reminding them of the promise of Christ to King Abgar;

21) a letter to the abbots Antiochus, Samuel, John, Sergius and Ignatius on the Nativity of the Lord;

22) a letter to Jacob the abbot of the Monastery of Nawāwīs;

23) a thirty-six page letter to Marun in reply to six Biblical problems which Marun submitted to him in a language other than Syriac;

24) a letter on the saying of Our Lord "And whosoever speaketh a word against the Son of man, it shall be forgiven him, but whosoever speaketh against the Holy Ghost it shall not be forgiven him,"[2]

25) a letter to some of his friends;

26) a consolatory letter to Mara, bishop of Amid;

27) a letter to the ascetic Daniel concerning his unwillingness to serve as a priest;

28) a letter on the contrition of the Soul;

29-30) [letters] to some of his friends;

31) a letter to a friend on the Great Saturday;

32) a letter to Paul, bishop of Edessa, on the verse: "Love thine enemies;"[3]

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[1] [This letter is also] a silencing evidence against those [writers] like Assemani and others, who confusedly attempted to associate him with the opponents of orthodoxy.

[2] The Gospel according to St. Matthew 12:32. (tr.)

[3] *Ibid.*, 5:44. (tr.)

33) a letter to Eutychianus, bishop of Dara, on faith;

34) a letter to Simi consoling him for the death of his son;

35) a letter to Basaconte (prince) of Edessa;

36) a letter to the Comes (Count) Cyrus, the chief physician, on the interpretation of the true Faith;

37) a letter to the two harlots Leontia and Maria who repented and became recluses;

38) a letter to a solitary who used to see specters and visions of demons openly;

39) a letter to Daniel the Solitary;

40) a letter to some ascetics;

41) a letter to his friend Simon;

42) a letter on virtuous life to a poor man seeking the salvation of his soul; and

43) a letter to one of his friends.

We have also read a letter by him, not mentioned in his anthology, to some of his friends beginning thus: "Had not the disturbances of this wicked world troubled thee." We also read some discourses by him.[1]

The author of the chronicle ascribed to Joshua the Stylite related on page 280 that "During the panic which seized the people as a result of the Persian-Byzantine War in 503, the inhabitants of the countries lying to the east of the Euphrates began a mass migration." Jacob wrote, advising them to remain in their homeland and encouraging them with the hope that they would find safety by Providence. None of these letters survived except the twentieth letter, which he delivered to the people of Edessa.

We have also found eleven festal homilies written by him for the Nativity of Our Lord, the Epiphany, the Presentation of Our Lord in the Temple, Lent, for the Thursday preceding Palm Sunday, for Palm Sunday, for Good Friday, for the Sunday of Unleavened Bread, for Easter Sunday and for Low Sunday. The latter begins thus: "An intense joy full of understanding urges me today." Another discourse on repentance begins thus: "We should not grieve because the thread of our life has reached its end and that from day to day it is about to be cut off."[2] Also he wrote

[1] Monastery of St. Matthew MS. 5; Birmingham MS. 410.

[2] [Preserved] at the churches of Mosul, Mar Sargis in Qaraqosh, Basibrina and Monastery of St. Matthew as well as in the Vatican MS. 109

consolatory discourses and two liturgies: the first in 519, beginning thus: "O God creator of everything visible and invisible," in 24 pages,[1] and the second beginning thus: "O blessed and compassionate God, whose name is from time of old."[2] A twenty-one page copy is in our library, beginning thus: "O God the Father, thou art the peace which has no limit." He also composed the prayer of peace which is recited during the celebration of the Eucharist on Christmas festival and some prose hymns (*shubohos*)[3] for receiving the Divine Eucharist, an order for Baptism[4] and the biographies of the two ascetics Daniel of Jalsh and Ḥannina.

Bar Hebraeus stated that, "He also has commentaries, letters, *madroshos* and *sughithos*,[5] and that he wrote a commentary on the six hundred Aphorisms of Euagrius, at the request of his disciple, Mar George, bishop of the Arabs." As this George died in 725, the commentary, therefore, either belongs to Jacob of Edessa, or the statement of Bar Hebraeus was added by some scribe. However, this book has been lost. In 1095, the most learned man of his time, Saʿid Bar Ṣabuni, metropolitan of Melitene, composed a unique ode in praise of the qualities and writings of this eminent Malphono.[6]

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dated 692; Brit. Mus. MSS. 779 and 14577; and Birmingham MS. 546. The homily on the Resurrection was translated into Arabic by the monk George Masʿud and published in our *Patriarchal Magazine* at Jerusalem, 1937, p. 173.

[1] At our library.

[2] The Jerusalem library.

[3] Brit. Mus. MS. 17134 of the year 675 and Sharfeh MS. of the eleventh-twelfth centuries.

[4] Luigi Guiseppe Assemani Yusuf Louis, *Codex Liturgicus Ecclesia universae* (Rome, 1749-1766), 2 and 3. This work which comprises thirteen volumes was reprinted in Paris, 1902.

[5] Bar Hebraeus, *Ecclesiastical History*, 1: 190. [More correctly p. 191. (tr.)]

[6] During and after the fifteenth century, some parasitical literary men translated a part of the metrical homilies of Jacob of Sarug into colloquial Arabic. A certain volume containing fifty-nine *memre* was translated into poor and ungrammatical language. This volume was published by a Coptic committee in Egypt in 1903.

39. Ḥabib of Edessa

Deacon Ḥabib of Edessa was an associate of Jacob of Sarug under whom he studied, served as a scribe and from whom he learned the art of composing poetry.[1] But no established poem has been ascribed to him. However, a poem beginning thus was ascribed to Jacob of Sarug: "O Jesus the light whose brightness riseth in all of the countries,"[2] which was erroneously attributed by later writers to George his disciple. Moreover, it has not been mentioned in an authenticated manuscript.[3] We have read a more precise text of this ode beginning thus: "O Jesus the light whose appearance has delighted all the countries," which is either anonymous or was composed by some aliens.[4] The Jerusalem copy contains a marginal note by the monk Sergius of Ḥaḥ in 1483, stating that it is the composition of John Bar Shushan. He may be right, because some of its lines contain what would deny its attribution to Ḥabib, especially his saying: "Lift up your mind, O man, to those first as to those in the middle."

Critics disagree about this Sergius. Some believe him to be George, bishop of Sarug while others think he was bishop of Ḥawrā who was consecrated in 698 and to whom Jacob of Edessa addressed his famous letter on Syriac orthography.

40. Mar Philoxenus of Mabug (d. 523)

Philoxenus was a master of eloquence and a distinguished philologist. An outstanding person in intelligence, knowledge and deeds, he was also abstinent and God-fearing. His style was stately and lucid. He masterfully portrayed good manners and sublime Christian virtues, producing a book on the perfect life which contains much benefits and is written in an infinitely beautiful style.

Philoxenus thoroughly studied the origin of religion. Read his book on *The Trinity and the Incarnation* and you will find this master

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[1] See the *Calendar* of the monk Ṣaliba Khagran, p. 156, as well as the twelve calendars published by Nau, p. 111.

[2] Jerusalem MS. 156, twelfth century, metrical homily No. 194.

[3] Vatican MS. 117.

[4] B. Nationale, Paris MS. 177 dated 1521; the church of Morth Shmuni in Mardin MS. of the twelfth century and Birmingham MS. 71.

well versed in theological matters and fathoming their depths. Read his letters and you will know what an ambitious soul and magnanimous heart he had. He was an indefatigable contestant whose challengers, always defeated and retaliated by dispraising him. Moreover, he was patient in enduring ordeals and hardships for the cause of the orthodox faith until he won the crown preserved for those who struggle for the faith and the wreath of confessors.

Philoxenus was born at Taḥl in Beth Garmai (in Iraq) shortly before the middle of the fifth century. His Syriac name, Akhsnoyo (Stranger) was changed upon his consecration as a bishop, into the Greek name Philoxenus (Lover of Strangers). While young, his parents took him to Tur ʿAbdin, where he entered the Monastery of Qarṭmin with his brother Addai to study Syriac and Greek literatures and the science of religion. Later, he transferred to the School of Edessa and finished his philosophical and theological studies. But it was at the great Monastery of Talʿada in the province of Antioch that he finished his studies of Greek and Syriac. Then he became a monk and was ordained a priest. In 485, he was consecrated a chorepiscopus by the Patriarch of Antioch, Peter II and then bishop of Mabug. Philoxenus did his best to defend the true belief of the Orthodox Church. He participated in the doctrinal disputes of his time and ardently opposed the Nestorians and the Chalcedonians, who were angered by his intensive defense. This situation caused their extremists to antagonize him, while some of them even vilified him with slanderous remarks, showing that they were full of spite, foolish talk and erroneous views. But he refuted all of them.[1]

In 499, he went to Constantinople to complain to the emperor against Flavian II of Antioch who was wavering in his faith, but the Persian Wars with the Byzantines prevented the investigation of the case. When peace was established, he revisited the capital and was able to have Flavian deposed and Severus of Antioch installed

[1] Leontius the Byzantine wrongly nicknamed him "the unbaptized runaway slave." He was later copied by malicious writers like Theodore the Anagnostes and even Tillemont the French and some contemporary writers without discretion or investigation did the same. Philoxenus was also vilified by Nestorian writers, who were angered by his vehement opposition to them.

in his place in 512. However, Justin, who succeeded Anastasius, exiled the orthodox bishops in the Fall of 518. Philoxenus was then banished to Philippopolis in Thrace and later to Gangara in Paphlagonia. At Gangara, he was jailed in a house with its openings blocked and a fire burning inside. He died suffocating from smoke, as a martyr for his faith, on December 10, 523, in the eighth decade of his life after he had been a bishop for thirty-eight years. He is commemorated by the church.

The writings of this most learned church dignitary include commentaries on theological, polemical, literary, ascetic and ritualistic subjects. They also contain letters and discourses.

1. It is stated in his lengthy biography that he wrote an elaborate commentary on both Testaments, which was quoted by Bar Ṣalibi. An old British Museum MS., transcribed at Mabug in 511 during the author's lifetime, contains portions of the commentary on the Gospels according to St. Matthew, St. Luke and St. John.[1] Other copies, however, contain selections from the gospels, a commentary on the parable of the ten talents and a discourse on faith, a commentary on the words of Peter that "Jesus of Nazareth is a man from God."[2] His commentary on the Gospel of St. Matthew was cited as a testimony by John of Dara in part five of his book *Paradise* and by Moses Bar Kepha in his book *On the Creation of Angels.* Also, he has a discourse based on the words which the Apostle Paul quoted from the books of philosophers and an anonymous writing as well.

2. In theology he has two works, the first of which comprises three discourses on the Trinity and the Incarnation. It was translated into Latin and published by Vaschalde in 1908. The second is on "the incarnation and suffering of one Person of the Trinity," in which he cited the Greek writings of some church scholars before they were translated into Syriac. This translation testifies to his knowledge of Greek, contrary to the opinion of some Orientalists. He also wrote ten discourses, two of which were translated into Latin and published in 1920. There are two old

[1] Brit. Mus. MS. 17196. See J. W. Watt, *Philoxenus of Mabbug: Fragments of the Commentary on Matthew and Luke* (Louvain, 1978). (tr.)

[2] Brit. Mus. MSS. 14534, sixth century, 14649, ninth century, 17267 and 14727, thirteenth century. For the Biblical citation see Acts 2: 22. (tr.)

copies of these two works written on vellum.[1] Furthermore, he wrote four Confessions of Faith, one of which begins thus, "We believe in the Trinity of one eternal nature,"[2] ten chapters against the decision of the Council of Chalcedon,[3] seven chapters against those who advocate the necessity of condemning only the invalid part of the teachings of heretics while not condemning them completely or their writings in their entirety.[4] He also wrote a discourse on the unity of the two natures of Christ and one on the man who violates excommunication by the priests of his own will. A third discourse, in two pages, is entitled "If a man is asked how he believes, he should answer thus," and a fourth discourse is on the unity of the body of Christ.

3. The polemical writings. Philoxenus'[5] biographer states that he wrote six treatises against the Nestorians and thirteen more against the Chalcedonians. Of the first, only two treatises remain, the first in twenty chapters and the second in five chapters: a disputation with one of the Nestorian writers and a discourse declaring the Nestorians' teaching as well as that of the Eutychians as false. Of the second there remain two treatises, one in twelve chapters and the other in ten chapters and another discourse in seven chapters being against both the Nestorians and the Eutychians. He also wrote a treatise containing his belief and a refutation of heresies and another treatise in which he distinguished between the heresies of Mani, Marcion, Eutyches, Deodorus and Nestorius. In addition, he wrote three chapters in refutation of heresies. Seven of these treatises, in forty-one pages, were published by Budge.[6] He has also a treatise against Ḥabib al-ʿAṭṭar (the druggist).

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[1] Vatican MSS. 137 dated 564; 138 dated 581; Brit. Mus. MSS. 12164, sixth century, and 14663, sixth-seventh centuries.

[2] Brit. Mus. MS. 17201, sixth-seventh century.

[3] Brit. Mus. MS. 14529, seventh-eighth century.

[4] Brit. Mus. MS. 14604, seventh century.

[5] Brit. Mus. MSS. 14529, seventh-eighth centuries; 14597 dated 569; 14604, seventh century; and 14628, sixth-seventh centuries.

[6] Budge depended on 17 Brit. Mus. MSS. transcribed between the sixth and the thirteenth centuries. They are MSS: 14598, 17153, 12163, 14595, 14596, 14625, 14601, 14621, 14611, 12170, 14612, 14577, 17185, 14582, 14522, 14614 and 14728.

4. His valuable book on the perfection of Christian life in thirteen treatises, covering five hundred pages in one volume is considered the best of his writings. He wrote it shortly after becoming a bishop and adorned it with the eloquence and precious counsels. In this work, he discussed the method of becoming a disciple of Christ. Its contents include the following: faith, simplicity, humility, (voluntary) poverty, asceticism, worship of God and resistance of some vices, such as gluttony, lusts of the body and debauchery. This book was translated into English and published by Budge in two elegant volumes in 1894.[1]

He also wrote discourses on monastic regulations, the fear of God, on humility, on repentance, on prayer, on how to remedy the whims of the soul, on virginity, on tonsure, on a discussion with the brethren monks, on tranquility of worship, on the monastery, organization and on aphorism.[2]

5. As to rites, he wrote two liturgies, the first in twenty pages beginning thus: "O Lord, God Almighty, who is beyond perception and the Compassionate whom the minds cannot comprehend." The second begins: "O Lord, God Almighty and Holy, whose peace is beyond the comprehension of all minds." Furthermore, a third liturgy is ascribed to him.[3] He has also drawn an extremely short order for the baptism of dying infants,[4] a *maʿnitho* on the Nativity of Our Lord and supplicatory prayers among which are a prayer to be recited on rising from bed and another one beginning, "O Lord, thou art true God and Lord," a supplication to be recited privately by the person. He also wrote a prayer for the seven canonical hours and prayers for the morning, the third hour and vespers as well as two prayers to be recited before and after the reception of Communion and a prayer on contrition.

6. Philoxenus wrote splendid and elaborate letters containing many profitable lessons in theology, history and asceticism. According to his biographer, these letters fall into twenty-two

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[1] Brit. Mus. MSS. 14533, eighth-ninth centuries; 17191, ninth-tenth centuries, 17214, seventh century; 17262, twelfth century; 14577, ninth century; 14582 and 17153, seventh century, 14613 and 17215.

[2] Brit. Mus. MSS. 14690 dated 1182, 17229 dated 1218.

[3] Brit. Mus. MS. 14499, tenth-eleventh centuries.

[4] Brit. Mus. MSS. 14499, 14621 dated 802; 17262, twelfth century; 14583, eleventh century, and 17221.

parts. However, only twenty-one of these letters survive in European libraries. To these we added other letters which we found in the libraries of the East. These letters are:

1) A thirty-six page letter to Patricius, the ascetic, of Edessa on the keeping of the commandments of God and resisting the whims of the soul;[1]

2) a letter to the Emperor Zeno on the Incarnation of God, the Word and His becoming a man (in which he declared the excommunication of Nestorius and Eutyches);[2]

3) a letter to the Christians of Arzun on the Mystery of the Incarnation;

4) a letter to a monk who had recently renounced the world;[3]

5) a letter to Abraham and Orestes, the presbyters of Edessa, concerning Stephen Bar Sudayli the heretic ascetic;[4]

6-7) two letters to the monks of the Monastery of Gugel (the Mountain of Bagugel in Tur ʿAbdin) on the Passion of the Lord Christ. (The first, covering ten pages, begins thus: "Christ has manifested the light of Salvation;" the second, covering thirty-five pages, begins thus: "To the noble monasteries," in which he praised the monks' replies and told them that they were well-received by the Emperor Anastasius);[5]

8) a letter to the monks on heretics;

9) a fifty-four page letter to one of his friends (who was an ascetic in the wilderness) on the beginning of man's asceticism in this world, his obedience in the monastery,[6] his residence in a cell and his practice of tranquility. In this letter, he divided the ways of asceticism into four stages;

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[1] Brit. Mus. MSS. 14621 dated 802; 14623 dated 823; 14580 dated 866; and 12167 dated 875. Also the MS. at Anḥil dated 1208.

[2] Vatican MS. 135, seventh-eighth centuries.

[3] Brit. Mus. MS. 14649, ninth century.

[4] Vatican MS. 107, seventh century. For the Syriac text and English translation of this letter see A. L. Forthingham, Jr. *Stephen Bar Sudaili: The Syrian Mystic*, 28-48. (tr.)

[5] Vatican MS. 135 dated 718 and 136; sixth century. Also the MS. at Basibrina.

[6] Brit. Mus. MS. 17282, twelfth century; Berlin MS. 1999 dated 1573; Zaʿfaran MS. 15; the Inhil's MS. and Dayr al-Sayyida MS. 115 dated 1840.

10) a letter entitled "To the Monasteries of Amid,"[1] addressed to these monks on zeal for faith;

11-12) two letters to the monks of Talʿada, the first of which he wrote in his exile. In the second, he refuted the allegations of his opponents as well as the opponents of truth, praising Acacius the presbyter and abbot of the Monastery of Talʿada for his good fight;[2]

13) a letter to the monks of the Monastery of Senun in Edessa concerning the Incarnation of the only Word of God, in which he included an account of Nestorius. He wrote this letter during his exile at Philippopolis;[3]

14) an elaborate letter in thirty-three large-size pages which he wrote at Philippopolis addressed to the monks and abbots of the East, in which he described his calamity as well as the courses the church followed in bygone time to establish peace;[4]

15-16) two letters to Simon, the abbot of the great Monastery of Talʿada, the first on church policy and the second in fourteen pages written at Philippopolis against those who falsely claim that the church lost the gift of the Holy Spirit after the Council of Chalcedon. This letter (in fourteen pages) begins thus, "I have a desire and plea;"[5]

17) an exhortatory letter to a convert from Judaism who attained the highest degree of perfection;[6]

18) a letter to Marun the lector of ʿAyn Zarba;[7]

19) letters to the inhabitants of Ghurzān and the faithful in Persia;

20) a letter to John, metropolitan of Amid, reminding him of their friendship when they were students at the Monastery of Qarṭmin;[8]

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[1] Vatican MS. 126 dated 1293; Paris MS. 62, ninth century; Brit. Mus. MS. 17193 dated 874; Cambridge MS. 2023, of the thirteenth century; and a MS. at Basibrina.

[2] Vatican MS. 136; Dayr al-Sayyida MS. 96.

[3] Brit. Mus. MS. 14597 dated 569; Vatican MS. 136.

[4] Brit. Mus. MS. 14601, ninth century.

[5] Brit. Mus. MS. 14533, eighth-ninth century.

[6] Brit. Mus. MS. 14726, tenth century.

[7] Brit. Mus. MS. 14726, tenth century.

[8] Mentioned in his biography.

21) a letter to a disciple of his;[1]

22) a letter on the beginning of asceticism in the world;[2]

23) a letter to a lawyer who practiced asceticism and was tempted by Satan;[3]

24) a letter to the Ḥimyarite Christians during the adversity inflicted upon them by Masrūq the Jewish king because of their Christianity;

25) a letter to Count Thales, who asked him about the theory of the Tree of Life. This letter was much quoted by John of Dara in part five of the book of *Paradise*[4] and also by Moses Bar Kepha;

26) a letter of thanks which he wrote at Gangara to the monk Bar Nīqīnā, the doer of miracles, of the Monastery of Mar Ḥananya. This letter was mentioned by the historian Zachariah;[5]

27) a letter to Abu Ḥafar (or ʿAfar),[6] the military governor of Ḥirat al-Nuʿman, on the history of heresies, particularly Nestorianism, beginning from Sabelius and up to Nestorius and Eutyches. I found portions of this letter in three British Museum MSS.,[7] and another portion at our patriarchal library in Ḥomṣ. To this letter has been connected an account of the Christian Turks written by an anonymous author who has quoted the narrative of Lazarus, the Armenian bishop of Heart and of two Armenians, a priest and a merchant who had come to Antioch and related this news;[8]

28) a letter to those ascetics who confined themselves to worship;[9]

29) a letter in reply to John II of Alexandria.[10]

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[1] Brit. Mus. MSS. 12167 dated 876 and 18816, twelfth century.

[2] Brit. Mus. MSS. 14729 and 17262, twelfth century.

[3] Brit. Mus. MS. 12167.

[4] Zaʿfaran MS. 223, tenth-eleventh centuries.

[5] Vol. 2, p. 81.

[6] According to the Brit. Mus. MS. Add. 14529, the name of this military governor appears to be Abu Nayfir, which William Wright read as Abu Nafir. See William Wright, *Catalogue of the Syriac MSS. in the British Museum*, 2: 920. (tr.)

[7] Brit. Mus. MSS. 14529, seventh-eighth centuries, and 17134.

[8] At our library in Ḥomṣ; Birmingham MS. 71.

[9] Brit. Mus. MS. 14617, seventh-eighth centuries; and 14577, ninth century.

[10] Brit. Mus. MS. 14670.

7. His homilies. His biography mentions that he composed homilies in five volumes for principal feasts and on the acts of Our Lord. According to Bar Hebraeus, "he also wrote homilies for festivals and other diverse homilies,"[1] most of which were lost. However, those homilies known to us are: two homilies on the Annunciation of the Virgin and on the Nativity of Our Lord[2]; a homily on the Son of Life, which was cited by Moses Bar Kepha in his treatise on the Soul; a homily on a person who asked him whether the Holy Spirit departs from a man when he sins and returns to him when he repents;[3] a homily on the death of a brother[4] and a paraenetic discourse.[5]

41. The Ascetic Barlaha

The priest ascetic Barlaha was a recluse in the cell of Elishaʿ the Ascetic called the Monastery of the Chariot. He was known for being one of the translators of the Syro-Hexapla made in the sixth century and of large portions which survived. It is related that upon his request, Abbot Simon (who will be discussed below) translated the Psalms from Greek into Syriac.

42. Simon, abbot of the Monastery of Beth Liqin

Simon was abbot of the Monastery of the Virgin known as Beth Licinius in the Black Mountain. He was well versed in Greek and Syriac. It is evident from his reply to Barlaha that he proceeded to translate the Psalms with much effort. This translation turned out to be different from the translations familiar to the Syrians, particularly those which correspond with the commentary of Basilius the Great on the first Psalm. He also mentioned the book of Eusebius in the contents of each psalm.[6] Moreover, he

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[1] Bar Hebraeus, *Ecclesiastical History*, 1: 183.

[2] Brit. Mus. MS. 14727.

[3] Brit. Mus. MS. 17193 dated 874.

[4] Brit. Mus. MS. 14520, eighth-ninth centuries.

[5] Brit. Mus. MS. 17206, eleventh-twelfth centuries.

[6] According to Anton Baumstark, this Simon has, in fact, translated a collection of manuscripts which contained the discourse of Basilius on the First Psalm and the treatise of Eusebius on every single psalm. Baumstark,

incorporated into his translation chapters on the Psalms written by Didymus, Origen, and Athanasius. This is the collection of Psalms which the Syriac translation of the Syro-Hexapla contains. You will find the letter of Barlaha and the reply of Simon in the Vatican MS. 135. It is also said that he wrote a short commentary on some of the psalms. Both Barlaha and Simon were still living in the first quarter of the sixth century.[1]

43. Paul, bishop of al-Raqqa (528)

Paul was an eminent scholar who acquired great knowledge of both Syriac and Greek literatures. He became a bishop of al-Raqqa in the first decade of the sixth century. But in 519, he was affected by the Caesarian persecution because his beliefs, as a result of which he moved to Edessa. He labored in translating into Syriac the writings of Severus of Antioch, which are Severus correspondence with Julian of Halicarnassus the Phantasiast on the incorruptibility of the body of Christ,[2] a discourse against him and against his addition (Appendices)[3] as well as a refutation of Julian's protest,[4] preceded by an introduction in which he indicated that he had translated it with much difficulty. He also translated Severus' treatise against the Manicheans and his book entitled *Philalethes* (Lover of Truth). Evidently, he also translated the one hundred twenty-fifth homily of Severus, which he delivered from the pulpit,[5] his correspondence with Sergius Grammaticus and his treatise against John Grammaticus, in two volumes, which he finished in April, 528.[6]

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164. This statement contradicts that of the author who, like Baumstark used Vatican MS. 135 as his source, but does not state that Simon had translated the treatise of Eusebius or the treatise of Basilius on the First Psalm. (tr.)

[1] Barlaha and Simon were not mentioned by any historian of literature except Baumstark.

[2] For this correspondence between Severus and Julian see Brit. Mus. Add. 17200. W. Wright, *Catalogue*, 2: 554. (tr.)

[3] See Brit. Mus. Add. 12158. Wright, *Catalogue*, 2: 556. (tr.)

[4] Brit. Mus. Add. 12158. (tr.)

[5] This is Severus' *Homilai Cathedrales*. See Brit. Mus. Add. 14599. (tr.)

[6] See the biography of Severus of Antioch, no. 47.

Mar Paul rendered great services to the Syrian church and its literature by translating these magnificent works, for which he won the sobriquet of "The Translator of Books." He also composed a *ma'nitho* for the consecration of Chrism. We do not know the year of his death.

44. Mara, metropolitan of Amid (d. 529)

A descendant of a noble family and the son of governor Constant, he was born at Amid and raised in the best manner in the bosom of prosperity. His education was in both Greek as well as in his own tongue, Syriac. Later he became a monk in the Monastery of St. Thomas in Seleucia, where the news of his virtuous life and fasting spread widely. He became the steward of the church. During the persecution,[1] and while the Patriarch of Antioch was in exile, Mara was consecrated a bishop by the laying of the hands of the Bishops of Miyapharqin, Agel, and Samosata around 520. He was congratulated by Jacob of Sarug for his elevation to the bishopric. After a short time, he was banished for his orthodox faith, by the Emperor Justin, to Petra, the ancient capital of the Nabateans. With him was also banished Isidore, bishop of Qenneshrin. He was accompanied in his exile by his virtuous sisters Shmuni and Martha, who had brought him up in the way of virtue and who encouraged him to endure this ordeal. He was also accompanied by his secretaries, the deacon Stephen, a man of eloquence, Thomas the ascetic, the deacon Zota and Sergius. Later, he was transferred to Alexandria through the effort of the Princess Theodora, around 524, where he lived in commendable patience while utilizing his time by reading and study. Furthermore, he established a library which contained many valuable books and profitable sources of information for diligent lovers of knowledge. After spending eight years in exile, he died around 529 and his remains were carried by his two sisters and disciples to his homeland and buried in the church of Mar Shīlā, which he had built. They also carried his library to the church of Amid. His biography was written by John of Ephesus.[2]

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[1] This persecution was waged against the Syrian Orthodox Church by the Emperor Justin I (518-527). (tr.)

[2] John of Ephesus, 1: 187.

Mara wrote many books in Greek. Zachariah, bishop of Mitylene, quoted part of his commentary on chapter eight of the Gospel of St. John which has not yet been translated into Syriac. He also quoted a chapter from his commentary on the Gospels and another one from the acts of Christ.[1]

45. Sergius of Rish ʿAyna (d. 536)

Sergius of Rish ʿAyna was a philosopher and a man of profound knowledge. He was also an efficient writer who had great command of language. He was a priest from a Syrian stock and the chief physician of Rish ʿAyna (Theodosiopolis) in the Jazira where he was probably born. He became famous for his eloquence. He studied sciences at Alexandria and both the Greek and Syriac sciences. His noble writings testify that he studied the philosophical and medical sciences extensively. Although he was orthodox, he avoided the theological disputes of his time and sometimes vacillated in his religious doctrine. To Theodore the Nestorian bishop of Maru, he dedicated two of his works. In 535, he journeyed to Antioch to lodge a complaint before the Patriarch Ephraim of Amid against Asylus, bishop of Rish ʿAyna. Ephraim delegated him to go to Rome to invite Agapetus of Rome to come to Constantinople. He went and brought Agapetus back with him. Agapetus and Ephraim collaborated against Anthimus of Constantinople and Severus of Antioch. During this time Sergius died at the capital in the spring of 536, followed by Agapetus who died a few days later.[2] Most of our historians dispraise Sergius for his life and conduct.

His known works are a discourse on faith which he wrote about 485-488, but is now lost; fundamental treatises on logic in seven sections; a treatise on negation and affirmation; a treatise on the

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[1] See the history ascribed to Zacharias 2: 79-80.

[2] Ephraim the Malkite (a partisan of the emperor) apparently connived with Agapetus through Sergius to depose the legitimate Patriarch of Antioch, Severus, who was living in exile at Constantinople under the protection of the empress Theodora. The historian John of Ephesus and Zacharias Rhetor ascribed the synchronous death of Sergius and Agapetus to the judgment of heaven. See, Land, *Anac. Syr.* 2: 19 and 3: 290 cited by W. Wright. *A Short History of Syriac Literature*, 89. (tr.)

causes of the universe, according to the principles of Aristotle; a treatise on genus, species and individuality, which is imperfect; a book on *De Simplicium Medicamentorum* and a treatise on the purpose of the writings of Aristotle, both of which he dedicated to Theodore. This treatise, which covers two hundred ninety-four pages, was transcribed by the deacon Zeno, son of the priest Sulayman of the family of the priest Abu Sālim in 1187, for the deacon and chief physician, Abu al-Ḥasan.[1] However, the most conspicuous of the works of Sergius are his translations from the Greek into Syriac, the most well-known of which are the *Isagoge* of Porphyry; the *Categories* of Aristotle; the being of the world and a treatise on the soul in five sections,[2] as well as a portion of the works of Galen comprising three books on the treatise entitled *De Simplicum Medicamentorum Temperanentis ae Facultatibus.*[3] It is, however, doubtful whether the translation of the treatises on *Geoponica* or agriculture ascribed to Galen belongs to him.[4]

These works contain a great deal of useful philological and geographical information as well as many botanical terms. Furthermore, the translation of the famous philosophical and theological book ascribed to pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite on the divine names, the celestial hierarchy and the priesthood, which he prefaced with an eloquent introduction, indicate the influence of his (Dionysius) mystical teaching on him.

46. John of Tella (d. 538)

John of Tella was one of the best church dignitaries regarding asceticism and worship, one of the greatest militants for the

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[1] Seʿert MS. 21 dated 1186; Paris MS. 354 and the Brit. Mus. MS. 14658, seventh-eighth centuries in one hundred twenty-two pages but imperfect.

[2] Brit. Mus. MS. 1618 contains an extract of the *Isagoge*; Vatican MS. 158 and Paris MS. 161 contain the *Categories* of Aristotle.

[3] Brit. Mus. MSS. 14661, sixth-seventh centuries, and 17156, eighth-ninth centuries.

[4] See W. Wright, *A Short History of Syriac Literature*, 93, footnote 7. For more on Sergius of Rish ʿAyna see Nina Pigoulevskaya, *Thaqafat al-Syrian fi al-Usur al-Wusta*, translated from Russian by Dr. Khalaf Muhammad al-Jarad (Dar al-Hisad: Damascus, 1990), 219-243. (tr.)

orthodox faith and an authority on religious sciences and proofs. Born in 483 at al-Raqqa of a rich family and brought up in the best manner, he received an education in both Syriac and Greek literatures. Then he joined the army for a short period, but he became fond of asceticism which led him to enter the monastic life in 506 at the Monastery of Mar Zakka outside al-Raqqa, where he studied theology and religious science. He was ordained a priest and in 519 was elevated to the episcopate of Tella.[1] Two years later he was exiled by the Caesar Justin for his adherence to orthodoxy and found refuge in a place in the lands of the Jazira, but finally settled in Sinjar.[2] From every direction believers journeyed to Sinjar to hear the decisive truth from him, while he offered them his personal opinion and counsel. Because of the persecution and exile of bishops, John ordained several thousands of clergymen for the visiting believers.[3] He remained thus for sixteen years, while maintaining the most austere ascetic life. He visited Persia three times and also journeyed to the capital, Constantinople, in 532-533 to defend the doctrine. Later he returned to his solitude, until his opponents were finally able to arrest him through the Persian Magi, governor of Nisibin. In 537, Ephraim, the Malkite Patriarch of Amid held a council at Rish ʿAyna in an attempt to induce him to accept his doctrine, but he failed. Therefore, he detained him through the cruel authority of the state in a monastery near the gate of Antioch and ill-treated him, but he endured his ordeal with patience until he died in February, 538, at the age of fifty-five. He was considered a true confessor of the faith and was commemorated by the church.[4] His lengthy biography was written by his disciple and companion, the monk Elijah and was abridged by John of Asia. Both the original and the abridged biographies have been published.

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[1] Tella or Tell Mawzalt (Constantina), a town situated between Mardin and Edessa. (tr.)

[2] At present, a town in northern Iraq and a center of a *qada* (county). (tr.)

[3] According to a note at the end of the Brit. Mus. Add. 17213, Vol. 97, the number of those who received ordination from John, bishop of Tella, was 17,070 which is undoubtedly an exaggerated figure. See Wright, *Catalogue*, 3: 1200. (tr.)

[4] The Syrian Church commemorates him on the sixth of February. (tr.)

Among the writings of John of Tella are forty-eight canons, in five pages, compiled for the monks of his monastery. Some of these canons he incorporated into the book of *Ecclesiastical Laws*. A copy of these canons is preserved in the collection of old laws.[1] He also wrote twenty-seven canons, in ten pages, containing commandments and exhortations for the clergy. In some copies, these canons are entitled thus, *Canons by John of Tella to be Observed by the Clergy, Especially the Priests of Villages*;[2] forty-two questions in ten pages, suggested to him by his disciple, the priest Sergius and which he answered;[3] a letter in fifteen pages containing the confession of faith which he delivered to the monasteries, priests, deacons and monks of his diocese in the name of the abbots of the monasteries. It begins thus, "The Apostle Paul has laid down for us a spiritual foundation which the waves of heresy cannot shake;"[4] a commentary on the *Trisagion* in two pages[5] and many other letters which the monk Elijah alluded to in his biography.

47. St. Severus of Antioch (d. 538)

Severus was a great church dignitary, the luminary of scholars, the Crown of the Syrians, the pride of the Patriarchs of Antioch, an outstanding authority and uniquely erudite in his generation. He was also a great theologian, a profound and prolific writer and an eloquent orator who had a great control of the pulpit.

To him flocked eminent jurists and men of good conscience seeking solution to problems and interpretation of complex matters. What a man he was, a man who built up and upheld the edifice of religion and supported and explained the authority of the

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[1] [This collection is to be found] at Basibrina only.

[2] Zaʿfaran MS. 244, tenth century; Paris MS. 62; and MSS. at our library [in Ḥomṣ] dated 1203 and 1938; Brit. Mus. MS. 14577 published by C. Kuberezyk in Leipzig in 1901.

[3] Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, MS. 62, ninth century; Brit. Mus. MS. 14631; our library [at Ḥomṣ] MS. dated 1203; Ḥbob MS. published by Lamy in 1859.

[4] Brit. Mus. MSS. 14549 and 17193.

[5] Oxford Bodlein MS. 101 and Vatican MS. 159.

orthodox faith. He was pure in heart, soul and character, a possessor of the keys of wisdom and decisions.[1]

Severus was born at Sozopolis in the province of Pisidia around the year 459. His grandfather (on his father's side) was one of the bishops who attended the Ecumenical Council of Ephesus (431). At Alexandria, he studied grammar and rhetoric in both Greek and Latin and jurisprudence and philosophy at the school of Roman jurisprudence in Beirut. He was baptized at the church of Tripoli in 488.[2] Later he chose the way of asceticism and became monk in the Monastery of St. Romanus in the city of Mayoma in Palestine and was ordained a priest by Bishop Epiphanius. Then, he built a monastery and remained there for twenty-four years, worshipping God and practicing the virtues of asceticism and studying the Holy Bible and the writings of theologians. He began to write to support the orthodox doctrine and his fame spread.

In 508, he journeyed with two hundred monks to Constantinople to defend the doctrine and remained there about three years until 511. A year and a few more months later, Flavian II, Patriarch of Antioch, was deposed and Severus was elected by the Holy Spirit to succeed him to the Apostolic See. He was consecrated a Patriarch in Antioch on the 6th of November, 512, after which he opened the treasures of his knowledge in preaching and explaining the realities of faith and morals. During his leadership as a Patriarch he never deviated from the path of his asceticism and abstinence. So, he removed luxurious living from the Patriarchal palace, while devoting his energy to reform and the dispensation of church affairs by visiting the neighboring dioceses and monasteries in person or by letter. When Justin I, the Chalcedonian, succeeded Anastasius in 518, he banished a group of our orthodox bishops, antagonizing Severus who left for Egypt on the 25th of September and remained there for twenty-four years. In Egypt, Severus administered the church through his deputies or his letters. With indefatigable energy, he wrote book after book against

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[1] Our purpose of writing the biographies of those who wrote in Greek like Severus and others is because their works were translated into our language.

[2] In the early centuries some of the Christians delayed their baptism until the age of youth and even later than that age. Severus followed this custom of his country.

heresies and deceivers, answered letters and gave personal opinions on legal matters. When he faced a difficult problem, he searched for light in the Holy Bible or turned to the resolutions of councils for assistance. In 535, he went to Constantinople in answer to the invitation of Justinian I, in pursuit of unity. At the capital, he won Anthimus, Patriarch of Constantinople, to his side, but the gap between the two parties remained wide. Then he returned to Egypt where he died at the city of Sakhā on the 8th of February, 538. He was crowned by the church as the great doctor of the catholic church. The church also commemorates him on the day of his death. His life was written by four eloquent writers who are Zachariah Rhetor, John, abbot of the Monastery of Bar Aphtonia, Athanasius I, Patriarch of Antioch and an anonymous author.

The writings of Severus cover polemics, rituals, commentaries, homilies and letters. They enjoy the highest respect. All of these writings are in Greek and have been translated into Syriac by Syrian scholars.

Of the first, the polemical are:

1-2) Two treatises in refutation of Niphalius, the Alexandrian monk;[1]

3) the book of *Philalethes* which he wrote in defense of the writing of Cyril of Alexandria and other writers, in which he showed that the opponents of orthodoxy falsified the opinions of the doctors of the church in three hundred and thirty places in the writings of these doctors;

4) a defense of the correctness of his book *Philalethes*;[2]

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[1] The Chaldean Patriarchate in Mosul MS. 56 (122), a vellum written in a fine Estrangelo script, the first part of which dates back to the tenth century; the second part was transcribed in the ninth century. It comes in two hundred thirty-eight pages, imperfect at the beginning and at the end and comprises two treatises against Nephalius and two treatises against John Grammaticus.

[2] Vatican MS. 139, eighth century in 114 pages, translated into Latin and published by Sanda in 1929. This translation of A. Sanda was published by Typographia Catholica PP. Soc. Jesu., 1928. It was translated from the Syriac into French by Robert Hespel and published, Louvain, 1952. (tr.)

5) a book in three volumes against the Malkite Bishop John Grammaticus of Caesarea, which he started writing at Antioch and finished in Egypt;[1]

6-7) two books in refutation of Julian the Phantasiast, bishop of Halicarnassus;[2]

8) a treatise against Sergius Grammaticus the Eutychian;[3]

9) a treatise against the Malkite priest John of Scythopolis;

10) a treatise against Philixismus in two parts;[4]

11) a treatise against the Manicheans;[5]

12) a treatise against the covenant of Lamphytius, containing the heresy of the worshippers;[6]

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[1] Vatican MS. 140, eighth century; Brit. Mus. MSS. 12157, eighth century; 17210, ninth century; 17211, of which one volume was published by Joseph Lebon in 1929.

[2] Vatican MSS. 140 and 255 dated 932; Brit. Mus. MSS. 17200, seventh century; 12158 dated 588, of which the first volume was translated into Latin and published by Sanda in 1931.

[3] Brit. Mus. MS. 17154, seventh century.

[4] Cited by Peter of Callinicus in his book and by Bar Kepha in *The Book of Paradise.*

[5] Vatican MS. 140.

[6] The heresy of the worshipers appeared in some monasteries around Edessa in the fourth century. It was initiated by the monks Simon, Hermes, Dado and Saba or Eusebius. These monks believed that by continuous and fervent prayer [hence the name worshipers], one could attain the highest degree of spiritual life and even the Holy Spirit would appear and communicate with him. Moreover, those who prayed continuously would in the end accept for the second time the Holy Spirit whom they had already accepted through baptism. By accepting the revelation, they would be free from sin. They also believed that upon accepting the Holy Spirit, there was no need for fasting, abstinence, mortification of the body, good deeds or even getting engaged in any labor. As a result most of them spent their time idle, waiting for the revelation to descend upon them. They also believed that dreams emanate from the Holy Spirit, that receiving Communion is useless and that in reality there is no sin, since Christ has appeared on this earth. The worshipers wandered through towns and villages, living on charity or begging. Some of them behaved immorally. Their heresy spread in the Syrian Eastern Church in the middle of the sixth century, with Sinjar in north Mesopotamia as their center. It also spread into other parts at the beginning of the seventh century. (tr.)

13) a treatise against Alexander, part of which was published by Brooks at the end of volume four of the letters of Severus;[1]

14) a letter to the patricians Paul and Aphiun against the heresy of Eutyches and also a dialogue for Anstas.

Of the second (ritual writings) there is a magnificent book containing the *maʿnithos*, splendid anthems or hymns which he composed. The *maʿnithos* begin with a verse from the Holy Bible and continue with an elegant style which inspires awe and the love of God. These *maʿnithos* number two hundred and ninety-five and are as follows:

Twenty homilies; fourteen hymns on the Nativity of Our Lord and on martyrs; thirteen hymns on the Epiphany, on the miracles of Our Lord and for Holy Sunday; nine hymns on lent and on the baptized; eight hymns on the dead; seven hymns on the Palm festival, Pentecost, pestilences and compline; six hymns on the Mother of God and on earthquakes; five hymns on the Passion of Our Lord, the Resurrection and the Forty martyrs; four hymns for the funerals of the clergy and monks and for children. There are also three hymns on each one of the following: Judas, the Passion of Our Lord, the Holy Cross, John the Baptist, chanting after the reading of the Gospel, the death of rain and the Persian War. In addition, there are two hymns to be recited before the reading of the gospel on Sunday night and the other days of the week, on the entrance into the baptistery, the children of Bethlehem (Massacre of the Innocents), on the martyrs Stephen, Romanus, Babylas, Sergius and Bacchus, the Maccabees, Drasis and on the Saints Basil, Gregory, Ignatius and Chrysostom, on the church, on the invasion of the Huns, on condemning lewd spectacles and dancing, eulogizing his scribe Peter and on the funeral of children. Also, he wrote a hymn on the Chrism, the wife of Pilate, the good thief, Mid-Pentecost, the twelve apostles, the Apostle Paul, the Evangelists Mark and John, the Apostle Thomas, the prophets Zachariah and Job and the martyrs Leontius, Sergius, Mina, Simon the Stylite, Anba Antonius, the Coptic martyrs, the Persian martyrs Juventinus, Longinus and Maximus (who became martyrs under Julian the Apostate).[2] Other hymns were also devoted to the

[1] Vol. 2, p. 281.

[2] Known as the Gentile martyrs who belonged to some military battalions. It is mentioned in a homily by Chrysostom, vol. 4, 280. But

Ḥimyarite martyrs, the martyrs Thecla, Euphimea and Pelagia and all of the bishops as well as Ignatius, Peter of Alexandria, Gregory Thaumaturgus, Athanasius the Great, Basil, Gregory and Porphyry of Antioch, Cyril of Alexandria, the Emperor Theodosius the Lesser, the Caesars (emperors) Constantine, Honorius, Gratian and Theodosius the Great and the one hundred and fifty church fathers. Besides these, there is one hymn apiece on the graves of strangers, on Easter Sunday, chanted before the reception of the Divine Eucharist, on Ascension and Pentecost, on martyrs, a hymn to be chanted during the reception of the Communion, on the Nativity of Our Lord, on the baptized, on the Ascension, on the Virgin Mary, on the martyrs and on the commemoration of the bishops, on Sundays after the celebration of the Eucharist and before the bishops leave for the diocesan home. Finally, he wrote a hymn each for after the Epiphany; on giving thanks after the falling of rain; on the Brumalia; concerning the monks when he (Severus) returned from visiting the monasteries; on the ninetieth Psalm; on the funerals of priests, nuns, chaste widows and on the dead; and on a woman who was converted from the Arian heresy. Brooks, relying on two British Museum MSS., translated and published these hymns in 1909.[1]

Severus also drew up a liturgy beginning with "O God, Creator of all things, especially man;" an order for the Benediction of the Chalice, i.e., the pre-blessed Eucharist; an order for Baptism and the Benediction of water at the Epiphany, together with some supplications.

Of the third type of his writings, namely commentaries, are a commentary on the Gospel of St. Luke,[2] a commentary on the apocalypse of Ezekiel,[3] as well as Biblical topics and verses which may be found in his homilies and letters referred to by Bar Ṣalibi in his commentary on the Gospels and by Bar Hebraeus in his book *The Storehouse of Secrets.*

Theodoret in his *Ecclesiastical History*, 3: 14, maintains that there were only two martyrs named Juventinus and Maximinus.

[1] Brit. Mus. MSS. 17134 and 18816. See also Vatican MS. 94, twelfth century; and Jerusalem MS. 60 dated 1210.

[2] J. Pargoire. *L'Église Byzantine*, p. 125.

[3] Zaʿfaran MS. 216.

Of the fourth type (his homilies) are one hundred and twenty-five homilies called "Homiliae Cathedrales," preserved in three large volumes at the Vatican and at the British Museum.[1] Three homilies are at the library of the Za'faran monastery and at our (patriarchate) library. Fifty-one of these homilies were translated into French and published in three volumes.[2] The following are the most famous of these homilies:

Six homilies on the Nativity of Our Lord; five homilies on the Epiphany; four homilies on Lent; four homilies on Basil and Gregory the Theologian (Nazianzen); three homilies on the Incarnation, delivered at Cyrus; two homilies on the preparation for entering into the Baptistery (one of which covers 22 pages) and on the Ascension, Repentance and the New Year; the Mother of God; on answering questions propounded to him; on the Synodical letter addressed to Timothy III of Alexandria and on the martyr Drosis. He composed one homily on each of the following subjects: on John the Baptist, on the Palm festival, on the Saturday following Pentecost, on Golden Friday, on the wedding at Cana of Galilee, on the man who was born blind, on the children of Bethlehem (Massacre of the Innocent), on the Wednesday of the Passion Week, on the *Encaenia* of the cross, on the commemoration of the dead, on the poor and on strangers and on the fact that there is no disagreement between the Evangelists regarding the Resurrection of Christ. Also we find one homily apiece on Athanasius of Alexandria, the Confessor; on Antonius, the founder of monasticism in Egypt; on the Maccabees; on the protomartyr Thecla; on the martyrs Leontius, Domitius, Sergius, Bacchus and Julian (who was martyred under Diocletian), Tarachus, Probus, Andronicus, Procopius, Phocas, Barlaha and Thallelaeus; on the commemoration of the saints in the week following Easter and on the anniversary of his (Severus') consecration. There is also one homily on each of the following: on his arrival at Qenneshrin and his reception by the townspeople, a valedictory homily delivered upon his intention to visit the villages

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1 Vatican MSS. 142 dated 576; and 143 dated 563; Brit. Mus. MSS. 14599 dated 569; and 14601 dated ninth century.

2 The two homilies 119 and 125 were published by Msgr. Raḥmani in his *Studia Syriaca*, 2: 5-89. Also published by him in the same work were extracts from the homilies 125, 84, 74, 92, 2: 35-40.

and monasteries; an admonitory homily addressed to those who, after prayers, resort to the theatre; on the calamities reported to have befallen the city of Alexandria and on the number of sinners. He also wrote homilies expounding Biblical verses, such as that based on the saying of the Lord to the Scribes and Pharisees, "But ye say whosoever shall say to his father or to his mother 'it is a gift;'[1] a homily on "And Simon's wife's mother was taken with a great fever;"[2] a homily on "Who is the greatest in the kingdom of heaven;"[3] a homily on "A certain man went down from Jerusalem to Jericho;"[4] a homily on the period which Our Lord remained in the grave; a homily on the Lord's saying, "All sins shall be forgiven unto the sons of men and blasphemers wherewith so ever they shall blaspheme;"[5] a homily on the verse, "Blessed are the poor in spirit;[6] a homily on the Lord's saying, "Whom do men say that I the Son of man am?";[7] a homily on the Apostle Paul's advice to Timothy, "And exercise thyself rather unto godliness;"[8] a homily on the Lord's saying to Mary Magdalene, "Touch me not for I am not yet ascended to my Father;"[9] and homilies on expounding orthodox doctrines, one of which is on the *Trisagion*.

Of the fifth type of his writings are his innumerable letters, estimated at three thousand and eight hundred, a number no other church father is known to have written. These letters were collected in olden times in thirty-two volumes, of which four were written before his elevation to the patriarchate, ten during his patriarchate (512-518) and nine during his exile (518-538). Of these, only two large volumes survived, one of which is entitled *The Sixth Book of the Selected Letters of Mar Severus of Antioch*, translated by the priest Athanasius of Nisibin in 669. Between 1904 and 1915 Brooks translated into English and published 230 letters in four

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[1] The Gospel according to St. Matthew 15:5. (tr.)
[2] The Gospel according to St. Luke 4:39. (tr.)
[3] The Gospel according to St. Matthew 18:1. (tr.)
[4] The Gospel according to St. Luke 10:30. (tr.)
[5] The Gospel according to St. Mark 3:28-29. (tr.)
[6] The Gospel according to St. Matthew 5:3. (tr.)
[7] *Ibid.*, 16:13. (tr.)
[8] The First Epistle of St. Paul to Timothy 4:7. (tr.)
[9] The Gospel according to St. John 20:17. (tr.)

volumes, some of which have been abridged from the original.[1] All of these letters are splendid and full of abundant theological, legal, historical and administrative information, which reflect the light of that great and noble soul. These letters number two hundred thirty, most of which are of medium length. One of these letters covers sixty-one pages; a second one covers thirty pages; a third covers twenty-nine; the fourth twenty-six; the fifth fourteen; and the sixth ten pages. The first two volumes contain one hundred twenty-three letters; the third and the fourth, one hundred seven letters compiled from twenty-six old copies (of which twenty are in the British Museum and the rest are in Paris, Rome and Berlin), which date back to the period between the sixth and the thirteenth centuries.[2] Of some of these letters only a few lines survived. Following is a list of these letters:

Letters 1, 205 and 206 were addressed to Constantine, bishop of Laodicea; Letters 2, 3, 4, 19, 23, 26, 41 and 211 addressed to Solon, bishop of Selencia in Isauria; Letter 5 to Peter, bishop of Apamea; Letters 6 and 82 to Bishop Nicias; Letter 7 to Castor, bishop of Perga; Letter 8 to the Duke Timostratus; Letter 9 to Stephen, bishop of Tripolis; Letter 10 to Bishop Eucharius; Letter 11 to the abbot of the monastery of Basus; Letter 12 to the priests Cosmas, Polyeuctus and Zeno; Letters 13, 18 and 136 to Eutrechius, bishop of ʿAyn Zarba; Letters 14, 15, 16 and 151 to Antonius, bishop of Aleppo; Letters 17 and 123 to the chamberlain Michael; Letter 20 to the bishops of the province of ʿAyn Zarba in the name of a Synod; Letter 21 to the chief chamberlain; Letters 22, 42 and 112 to the fathers; Letters 24 and 84 to the presbyter Theotecnus the archiater; Letters 25, 33, 74, 85 and 87 to Dionysius, metropolitan of Tarsus; Letter 27 to Musonius and Alexander, Vindices of ʿAyn Zarba; Letter 28 to Philoxene, bishop of Doliche; Letters 29 and 199 to the monks of the monastery of Mar Isaac in Gabul; Letters 30 and 39 to the clergy and magistracy of Apamea; Letter 31 to the bishops of Phoenicia; Letter 32 to John, bishop of Alexandria the Lesser;[3] Letter 34 to the bishops of the diocese of Apamea; Letter 35 to the priest Eustathius; Letter 36 to Eusebius the deacon of

[1] Brit. Mus. MSS. 12181 and 14600, eighth century.

[2] The oldest of which are in the Brit. Mus. MSS. 17149, 14612, 14531, 12157, 12155, 14533, 12154, 17193, 14601, 17191, 14538 and 14493.

[3] This must be Alexandretta or Iskandarun. (tr.)

Apamea; Letters 37 and 38 to Simon, bishop of Qenneshrin; Letter 40 to General Hypatius; Letter 43 to Simon, abbot of the monastery of St. Simon; Letter 44 to Eutychianus, magistrate of Apamea; Letter 45 to Conon, "the chaser of thieves" (the chief officer of the police), Letter 46 to the clergy of Antaracus; Letters 47 and 108 to Cassianus, bishop of Buṣra; Letter 48 to Philoxenus, bishop of Mabug; Letters 49, 50, 52, 65, 91, 92, 149 and 150 to the presbyters and abbots John and John—the last two letters were addressed to them as well as to the abbot Theodore; Letters 51 and 171 to the priest Philip; Letter 53 to the Syrian bishops residing at Alexandria;[1] Letter 55 to Theodore, abbot of the monastery of Romanus; Letter 56 to Bishop Proclus; Letters 57 and 58 to Bishop Didymus; letter 59 to Julian, abbot of the monastery of Mar Basus; letter 60 to Photius and Andrew, priests and abbots of the monasteries of Caria;[2] Letters 63 and 69 to the deacon Miṣa'el; Letter 64 to the patricians; Letter 66 to the orthodox laity of Ḥomṣ; Letter 148 to the clergy of Ḥomṣ and the magistracy; Letter 67 to the Count Anstasius, the son of Sergius; Letter 68 to Ammanius and Epagathus; Letters 70, 80, 121, 172, 175, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219 and 230 to the patrician lady Caesaria;[3] Letter 71

[1] Letter 54 is missing in the original text.

[2] Letters 61 and 62 are missing.

[3] Know that the patrician lady Caesarea who wrote to Mar Severus, inquiring about religious questions, which he answered, was a noble lady, a native of Samosata and from a royal stock. Her piety led her to abandon life around 540 and become a recluse at Alexandria, where she built a convent of which she became the abbess and which bore her name. Later, she relinquished her duty as abbess to another nun and intensified the austerity of her ascetic life, adorning herself with virtues. She also built a monastery for men. She died in 556 and was commemorated on January 5th. See the calendar of the monastery of Qenneshrin, pp. 30 and 69. John of Ephesus wrote her life, No. 54, 2: 185. Her steward John and his wife Susyana followed her ascetic path (See John of Ephesus. *Lives of Saints*, No. 55 and 56). Her convent was mentioned around 585 at Samosata in the province of Comagina, a small state which had been established in the time of Augustus Caesar. Among the sovereigns of this state were Antiochus II, Epiphanus, Antiochus III and Antiochus IV (A.D. 37-68). It was overcome by Vespasian after having survived for nearly 90 years. See *Ancient Syria* by Jean Yanoski, Paris, 1862, pp. 63-67. Therefore, Caesaria is either a scion of the rulers of this state, which is hard to

to Zachariah of Pelusium; Letters 72 and 195 to Ammonius, presbyter of Alexandria; Letters 73 and 169 to Dioscorus, Patriarch of Alexandria; Letter 75 to Cosmas, abbot of the Monastery of Mar Cyrus; Letter 76 to the Count John of Antaradus; Letter 77 to the abbot John Canopites; Letters 78 and 88 to the orthodox laity of Antioch; Letters 79 and 111 to the lector and notary Andrew; Letter 81 to John the magistrate; Letter 83 to the monastery in Tagais; Letter 86, a noble letter in 30 pages, against those who claim that it is necessary to baptize or anoint afresh those who have renounced the doctrine of the two natures in Christ and re-adhered to the doctrine of one nature in Christ; Letters 89 and 100 to Simon, abbot of the Monastery of Talʿada; Letter 90 to Simon, abbot of the Monastery of Isaac; Letter 93 to Bishops Proclus and Eusebius; Letter 94 to Bishops John, Philoxenus and Thomas who lived on the mountain of Mardin; Letters 95 and 203 to Sergius, bishop of Cyrus and Marion, bishop of Sura; Letters 96, 133 and 135 to Bishop Eleusinius; Letters 97, 208 and 209 to the lector Aschelaus of Tyre; letter 98 to the deaconess and abbess Valeriana; Letter 101 to Nonnus, bishop of Seleucia; Letter 102 to Victor, bishop of Philadelphia; Letter 103 to Stephen, bishop of Apamea; Letter 104 to the wife of Calliopius the patrician; Letter 105 to the youthful monk Eustathius; Letter 106 to Isidora; Letter 107 to the lector Stephen; Letters 109 and 197 to the advocate Aurelius; Letters 110 and 196 to the advocate John of Buṣra in answer to two legal questions; Letter 113 to Theodore, bishop of Olbe; Letter 114 to the Countess Thecla; Letter 115 to Alypius; Letter 116 to a lady which he wrote on behalf of an abbot for the solution of a legal question;[1] Letter 117 to Theodore the magistrate; Letter 118 to Conon the Silentiary; Letter 119 to Theodore, a Byzantine monk; Letters 120 and 161 to the monks of the Monastery of Mar Basus; Letters 122 and 191 to Georgia, the daughter of the governess Anstastia; Letters 124, 125, 126 and 181 to the Count Oecumenius; Letters 127 and 224 to Simius the librarian; Letter 128 to the advocate Eusebius; Letters 129, 130, 131 and 132 to Marun, the lector of ʿAyn Zarba; Letters 137 and 139, a protest to Thomas his secretary; Letter 131 to the wandering monks; Letters

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believe, or she is related to one of the relatives of the emperors of Constantinople.

[1] He wrote this letter before he became a Patriarch.

142, 144, 180 and 210 to the Count Isidor; Letter 146 to the presbyters and abbots Jonathan, Samuel and John the Stylite and the rest of the orthodox laity in the churches of al-'Anbar and Ḥirat al-Nuʿman; Letter 147 to John the Byzantine on the meaning of the three immersions at Baptism and on the Chrism; Letter 152, 189 and 190 to the priest Victor; Letter 153 to the advocate and physician Sergius; Letter 154 to the orthodox brethren at Tyre; Letter 155 to the priest and abbot Neon; Letter 156 to the priest and abbot Elisha; Letter 157, a universal Letter to the monks of the East; Letter 158 to Isaac the advocate; Letter 159 to the monk Charisius; Letter 159 to the priests Peter, Ammonius and Olympidorus concerning the naming of Peter, bishop Alexandria;[1] Letter 160 to the presbyters of Alexandria; Letter 162 to Musonius, bishop of Miloe in Isauria; Letter 163 to the advocate Theophane; Letter 164 to Urbane Grammaticus; Letter 165 to Sateric, bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia; Letters 166, 167 and 168 to the advocate Eupraxius; Letter 170 to Eumnituis the Chamberlain; Letter 171 to the priest monk Philip; Letter 176 to Zenobius; Letter 177 to the priest Andrew; Letter 178 to John, abbot of the Monastery of Mar Ḥananya; Letter 179 to the nunneries; Letters 182, 183 and 184 to the Chamberlain Euphraxius; Letter 185 to Phocas and Euphraxius the Chamberlain; Letters 186, 187 and 188 to the deaconess Anastasia on the question of the true faith; Letter 188 to the County Dorotheus; Letter 191 to the Patricia Georgia and her daughter; Letter 192 to Bishop Philoxenus; Letter 194 to the general Probus; Letter 198 to John; Letters 200 and 201 to the Count Sergius the chief physician; Letter 202 to the priest Leontius; Letter 204 to the advocate Ammonius of Buṣra; Letter 207 to Proclus; Letters 220 and 221 to Thomas, bishop of Marʿash (Germanicia); Letter 222 to Theotecnus; Letter 223 to the deaconess and abbess Jannia; Letter 225 to Euraneus; Letter 226 to Zachariah; Letter 227 to Metraeus and Letter 228 to Heracliana. In addition to these are a Letter which he wrote to some citizens of Antioch upon his departure for Egypt because of the persecution of the 25th of September, 518;[2] two Synodical letters to John II of

[1] The number has been erroneously repeated. (tr.)

[2] The *Lives of Saints* in the Zaʿfaran's library as well as at our patriarchal library in Ḥomṣ.

Alexandria[1] and Theodosius of Alexandria in 513;[2] two letters to Anthimus of Constantinople and to Theodosius;[3] three letters to Julian, bishop of Halicarnassus;[4] three letters to Sergius Grammaticus; a letter to the Emperor Justinian;[5] a letter to the priests and monks upon his departure from the capital;[6] a letter on the state of souls and spirits before and after the Resurrection and in the last Judgment, beginning thus, "Our beloved in the Lord, you may know that the souls and spirits";[7] a letter to the monk Peter who claimed the corruptibility of the soul;[8] and four letters mentioned by the ascetic monk Sergius of the Monastery of Micaea—one to the advocate Theophane, one to the orthodox laity of Tyre concerning Epiphianus, their bishop, one to the magistrate of Tyre and one to Marina, bishop of Beirut.[9]

Having learnt about the works of this great dignitary and his comprehension of the principles and branches of sciences which testify that he was not only unique in his generation, but also unequaled among the Patriarchs of Antioch who preceded or succeeded him, let the judicious reader fairly judge his (Severus') prejudiced opponents who underestimated his excellence and even forced Justinian to burn his writings and severely punish those who copied or possessed them. As a result, his Greek writings were lost, but their Syriac translations survived, thanks to the effort of our scholars. Whenever published, these writings brought forth a new evidence of the excellence of their author and the cogency of his decisive proofs. Also, they turned the attention of the scholars from the traditional disparagement of him to admiration and respect. Gustave Bardy stated in summary the following: "In his

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[1] Basibrina.

[2] *Syriac Documents*, 12.

[3] *The History of Zachariah*, 2: 147 and 155, also *Michael the Great*, 1: 287 and 292.

[4] *The History of Zachariah*, 2: 103 and 106. *The Refutation of Julian*, 18 in 47 pages.

[5] *Ibid.*, 2: 123 in 8 pages.

[6] *Ibid.*, 2: 138.

[7] An old collection in the library of Basibrina of the fourteenth century.

[8] Moses Bar Kepha, *A Treatise on the Soul*, chapter 35.

[9] *Syriac Documents*, pp. 240, 260 and 262.

activity and far-reaching endeavor, Severus resembles Athanasius the 'Apostolic Father' in many aspects. He was opposed by many intellectual writers of all parties, but he refuted them. His writings which have been published to this date (1928) have proved that he was one of the men who possessed the highest abilities and true determination in an age marred by a great deal of degeneration and abasement."[1]

48. John Bar Aphtonia (d. 538)

John Bar Aphtonia is unquestionably one of the eminent, eloquent and noble monks and abbots of Edessa. Generous and chivalrous, he was born the fifth child among his brothers, shortly after the death of his father. Thus he was raised by his virtuous mother. After receiving some learning, she had him enter the Monastery of St. Thomas in Seleucia while he was still very young, motivated by piety and true faith. At the monastery he was trained in the monastic life and studied religious and logical sciences. The magnanimous and commendable character as well as the beautiful virtues he showed after assuming the monastic habit and after his consecration as a priest, turned attention to him; and as a result, he was chosen to head his brethren the monks. Despite the afflictions which befell the monastery because of the tyranny of Justin I in 521, he administered the monastery with utmost patience and wisdom. Later, he moved with his monks to the Jazira on the left bank of the Euphrates opposite Europos (Jarabulus), where he founded in 530 a monastery on the site known as the Monastery of Qenneshrin or the Monastery of Bar Aphtonia. This monastery became a very famous institution for monasticism and for the sciences of philology, philosophy and theology. From it graduated the most illustrious Syrian scholars. In the year 533-534, Bar Aphtonia journeyed to Constantinople, where he served as a secretary to an ecclesiastical council held in that city. He died at his monastery on the 8th of November, 538, at the age of fifty-five. He is commemorated by the church.

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[1] Gustave Bardy, *Litterature Grecque Chretienne*, 172, which is the best work of its kind.

Anba John was well versed in Syriac and in Greek. In Greek he wrote a commentary on the book *Song of Songs*[1] and a treatise on the doctrine which the Orthodox submitted to the Emperor Justinian. He also composed five eloquent *maʿnithos* on the miracles of Christ the Lord; a hymn on the mystical Washing of the Feet; a hymn on the Ḥimyarite martyrs; nine hymns on the Nativity of Our Lord and on the Resurrection; three hymns eulogizing Severus of Antioch and a hymn for burying the dead. He is also thought to have composed three antiphons for the reception of the Divine Eucharist.[2] His writings were translated into Syriac. To him was also ascribed the lengthy biography of Severus which, in fact, does not belong to him.

49. Simon of Beth Arsham[3] (d. 540)

One of the most eminent church dignitaries who fought for the orthodox faith, his fame spread at the beginning of the sixth century. His life story was written by John of Ephesus, who conversed with him for a long time and had this to say about him:[4] "He (Simon) was a priest well versed in the science of religion and a habitual reader. He was also a zealous, fluent and keen disputant, who devoted his life to support the orthodox truth. He opposed the Nestorians and refuted them by his proofs. Also, he disputed with the Manicheans, the Marcionists and the Daysanites in Persia and the Eutychians. In fact, he was called 'The Persian Disputant.' He preached Christianity in Ḥirat al-Nuʿman, where many Arabs responded to his call and a church was built by their notables. He also converted to Christianity three chiefs of the Magians and baptized them, but they were martyred. He journeyed to the land

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[1] A fragment of this commentary has survived in the Brit. Mus. MS. 12168.

[2] These antiphons were published with the hymns of Severus of Antioch. See Brit. Mus. Add. 17134, Wright, *Catalogue*, 1: 330-338. (tr.)

[3] Arsham is a Babylonian proper name meaning *valiant* or *hero*. It was also used by the ancient Persian and Elamite languages. See G. R. Driver, *Aramaic Documents of the Fifth Century B.C.* (Oxford, 1957), 42. Beth Arsham is an extinct ancient Persian town which was probably situated near Ctesiphon, south of Baghdad. (tr.)

[4] John of Ephesus, *Lives of the Eastern Martyrs*, 1: 137-158.

beyond Persia and brought the faith to heathens and Magians. For his efforts, the bishops of the East rewarded him by investing him shortly before 503 with the episcopate of the town of Beth Arsham situated on the Tigris near Seleucia. He fought the good fight for the cause of religion and in support of the orthodox believers, but was detained in Nisibin for seven years, an adversity which he endured with patience. After his release, he journeyed for seven more years to many countries and visited Constantinople three times. He was chosen by the Emperor Anastasius to be a delegate to the Persian King, to discuss with him the removal of affliction from the believers. The purpose of his third journey to Constantinople was to see the Empress Theodora, but he died, an old man, at the capital around 540."

Mar Simon wrote many books and treatises in refutation of heretics. He also wrote many letters on the Faith, addressed to the believers in all countries. Of these we have two lengthy and magnificent letters. In the first one, he incorporated the detailed conditions of Barṣoum of Nisibin and the rise of the heresy of Nestorius and its spread into Persia and the closing down of the School of Edessa. Written in 511, this letter is considered the oldest document about these two events. In the second letter, addressed to Simon, abbot of the Gabbul monastery in 524, he related that he had accompanied the envoy of Emperor Justin I to al-Mundhir, King of the Lakhmid Arabs of al-Ḥira.[1] He and the envoy met the King at Ramlah. They learned from him that he had received a letter from Masruq, the Jewish King of the Ḥimyarites, stating in detail the torture which he inflicted upon the Christians of Najran, capital of al-Yaman and his slaughter of them. Upon his return to al-Ḥira, Simon learned the details of the martyrdom of the nobles of Najran, the chief and noblest of whom was al-Ḥarith Ibn Kab. Simon urged the bishop to contact the emperor in order to lift the affliction from the Christians in al-Yaman and Tiberias. The historians Zachariah, Dionysius and Michael the Great quoted this letter.[2] Simon also composed a liturgy which has been ascribed by some scribes to Philoxenus.

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[1] He is al-Mundhir III, ibn Mā' al-Samā'.

[2] Assemani published these two letters in the *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, [vol. 1,] pp. 364 and 436. The first letter was also published by Michaelis and the second by Cardinal Mai, Lands, Guidi and Bedjan. It was also

50. The Translators of the Canons and Laws of Kings

The Emperors Constantine, Theodosius the Great and Leo I issued canons and laws which some Syrian scholars translated into their language, deriving from them commands used in the civil code of the church. We do not know exactly in what age the translation of these laws was made. However, Wright thinks that this translation was made in the first half of the sixth century, while Bruns holds that it was made by a monk from Mabug around 475 or 477.

These canons have already been published in two copies.[1] We have also found in the code of Basibrina, the laws enacted by the Christian kings for the purchase of lands and slaves, for the regulation of dowries, for the division of inheritance among brothers and for wills of the deceased. These laws cover thirteen large pages which, we think, were probably translated in this same century.[2]

51. Samuel of Rish ʿAyna

Samuel was a layman who lived at Constantinople in the first half of the sixth century. According to Bar Hebraeus, he knew all the Greek sciences. He wrote a sixty-four page treatise against the Dyophysites (a sect of the Syrian church), who believe in two natures in Christ (still distinct after the Incarnation).[3]

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translated into Portuguese by Esteves Pereira and published in Lisbon in 1899.

[1] Brit. Mus. MS. 14528 and Paris MS. 46.

[2] The previous Paris MS. contains a Nestorian translation of the original which is thought to have been made in Baghdad in the ninth or tenth centuries. In 1887, Wright published an incomplete copy found in the Cambridge Library. Of this MS. there are Arabic, Armenian, and Iberian copies. Of the Arabic we have a copy in our library at Ḥomṣ which we believe was transcribed in the ninth century and another copy in Europe transcribed in 1352. The Armenian copy was translated in 1328. It seems, however, that the Iberian copy at the library of Petersburg is a part of the Armenian copy.

[3] Brit. Mus. MS. 701 dated 815.

52. Count Oecumenius

Living in the first half of the sixth century, this noble man was a strong adherent of orthodoxy, as is testified by the four letters which Mar Severus wrote to him. He wrote a commentary on the Apocalypse of John in six sections.[1]

53. Thomas, bishop of Germanicia (d. 542)

Thomas was consecrated a bishop of Marʿash (Germanicia) at the beginning of the sixth century. In 519, he was banished from his See because of his belief in one nature of Christ. After 520, he wrote, by order of the Patriarch Severus, a letter to the priests Paul and Elijah, heads of the ascetics on the mountain of Mardin and another letter to the priest John, abbot of the Monastery of Eusebius in Kafr Barta near Apamea.[2] After spending twenty-three years in exile, he died at Samosata and was buried in the monastery of Qenneshrin in 542.

54. Zachariah the Rhetor

Zachariah, better known as "Rhetor" or "Scholasticus," was a school mate and a close friend of St. Severus. He was born at Gazza and studied with Severus the sciences of grammar and rhetoric at the School of Alexandria between 485-487 and then jurisprudence and philosophy at the famous law school of Beirut. Around 516 he began writing his (Severus') biography from his birth to his elevation to the See of Antioch. Possessing an eloquent and thorough style, he made the introduction of this biography a form of dialogue in which he refuted the accusations of his (Severus') opponents. This biography was translated into Syriac as well as French and was published by Kugener. It is full of useful information. For a time, he (Zachariah) practiced law in Constantinople and after 527, he became the bishop of the island of Mitylene also known as Lesbos (Midylene), whose name was distorted by some scribes from Mitylene to Milytene and even

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[1] Brit. Mus. MS. 855 of the *Catenae Patrum.*

[2] Brit. Mus. MS. 14538 includes also a letter from Constantine, bishop of Laodicea and Antonin, bishop of Aleppo, to this Thomas.

Melitene (Malatia); thus, Zachariah was erroneously attributed to Melitene.

From his noble pen we have a detailed profane history as well as an ecclesiastical history from 450 to 491, which he wrote in Greek at the request of Eupraxius, a member of the Court. It comprises four books, containing the events of the church and the *Henoticon* of Zeno. Book one consists of thirteen chapters, part two, of twelve chapters; part three, of twelve chapters; and part four, of seven chapters—all of which cover one hundred and ten pages (slightly abridged by the Syrian translator). Its style is pleasant and smooth. This history, whose original Greek form was lost, was incorporated by a historian into his collection, which shall be referred to later.[1] Beside this history, Zachariah also wrote the biographies of Isaiah the Ascetic, Peter, bishop of Mayuma and Theodore, bishop of Ausana. The latter biography has been lost. He died after the year 536.

Duval and Kugener hold that the author of this history is Zachariah Rhetor and that the biographer of Severus is Zachariah the lawyer, bishop of Mitylene. The old Greek writers, however, have confused these two persons and the Orientalists are not in agreement regarding this problem.

55. Daniel of Ṣalaḥ (542)

Daniel of Ṣalaḥ was known to have lived in the first half of the sixth century. Some contemporary writers, however, thought erroneously that he was born at Ṣalaḥ, a village in Tur ʿAbdin.[2] There was more than one town of the name of Ṣalaḥ, one of which was al-Ṣalaḥiyya in the south of the upper Jazira, which dates back to Roman times and whose ruins could be seen near the village of Abu Kamāl. Archaeological discoveries are being found in it today.

At the beginning of his career, Daniel was an abbot of the Monastery of Ṣalaḥ to which his generic name, i.e., Ṣalaḥ, is more correctly attributed. It was during that period that he wrote a letter

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[1] Vatican MS. 145, eleventh century; Brit. Mus. MSS. 17202 dated about 600; 7190, twelfth century and 12154 dated about 800.

[2] W. Wright in his *Short History of Syriac Literature*, 159, calls him Daniel of Salaḥ, while in his *Catalogue of Syriac MSS. at the Brit. Mus.*, 2: 605 and 909 makes him Daniel of Ṣalach. (tr.)

to the monks of the Monastery of Mar Basus in which he mentioned twelve kinds of what was called "corruption," as a result of the disputation which flared up at that time.[1] According to the Patriarch Bahnam of Ḥidl and the monk David of Ḥomṣ and others, he was consecrated a bishop of Tell Mawzalt shortly after the year 542. It is even mentioned in his commentary on the Psalms that he is a native of the city of Tella.

Daniel was one of the best church dignitaries of his time in learning and in knowledge of the Holy Bible. Before he became bishop in 542, he wrote a detailed commentary on the Psalms in three volumes, each one containing fifty psalms, in answer to the request of the monk-priest John, abbot of the Monastery of Eusebius at Kafr Barta near Apamea. His commentary is purely spiritualistic and theological and he seldom quotes the fathers of the church. His style is smooth and powerful. There was a complete copy of his commentary in Ḥbob which has been lost; two intact copies are in each of our patriarchate libraries and in Constantinople.[2] Three more copies are at the British Museum, containing the first and the second volumes of this commentary and another imperfect copy is in Beirut, containing most of the first volume.[3] This commentary was abridged by David of Ḥomṣ in 1461, not in the tenth century, as J. B. Chabot erroneously assumed. Of this abridgement there are copies at Barṭelli, the Zaʿfaran's monastery, St. Matthew's monastery, Boston and Birmingham.[4] The lengthy form of this commentary was translated into imperfect Arabic in the middle of the eighteenth century.[5] Daniel also wrote a commentary on the book of the Ecclesiastes. This commentary was quoted by the monk Severus in his collection. We read one verse of this commentary in the *Book of the*

[1] Michael the Great, *Chronicle*, 1: 326.

[2] One of these copies is dated 1870 and the other one 1724. They belong to Bishop Paul.

[3] Brit. Mus. MSS. 17187 and 14679, tenth-eleventh centuries. Also, the Manuscript of Msgr. Raḥmani dates from about the thirteenth century.

[4] Barṭelli MS. dated 1713; Zaʿfaran MS. 120 dated 1461; Monastery of St. Matthew MS. 44 dated 1468; Boston [Houghton Library at Harvard University] MS. 4003 dated 1755; and Birmingham MS. 147 dated 1899.

[5] Jerusalem MS. 46.

Didascalia. He also wrote treatises on the plagues inflicted by God on the Egyptians. We have no idea of the year of his death.

56. The Writer of the History of the Ḥimyarite Martyrs

An anonymous Syrian historian (most likely in the middle of the sixth century) wrote in solid Syriac style the chronicles of the orthodox Ḥimyarite Arab martyrs of Najran (520-524). In his book, he included the names of 472 male and female valiant martyrs who suffered under Masruq, the tyrant Jewish king. This chronicle is considered unique and interesting, for it contains the history of Christianity among the Arabs. It seems that copies of this chronicle were so rare that no later historian knew of it until it reached, by chance, to the hand of Axel Moberg, a Swedish scholar. He found a copy of it by accident, for its pages were glued and used as a cover of another book. In recognizing the chronicle, he was able to salvage about sixty pages (about half of the book). These salvaged pages also contain an index of the forty-nine chapters of the chronicle transcribed by the priest Stephen, the son of Matthew the Syrian, who finished it at the church of St. Thomas in al-Qaryatayn[1] on April 10, 932.[2] He translated it into English and had it published in 1924, thus rendering a commendable favor to our Syriac literature.

57. John II, abbot of the Monastery of Qenneshrin (544)

The Anba John II succeeded Father Alexanderus as abbot of the Monastery of Qenneshrin. He was a man of letters, well versed in Greek and Syriac. In 544, he wrote a detailed biography of Severus of Antioch in Greek in fifty-seven pages, thus immortalizing his name. This biography was translated into Syriac shortly after it was written down.

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[1] Al-Qaryatayn (the two villages) is a small town near Ḥomṣ, Syria. (tr.)

[2] The original copy is in the possession of Mr. and Mrs. E. G. Wirn of Stocksund in Sweden.

58. The Anonymous Writer of the Monastery of Qenneshrin

One of the first literary fruits of the Monastery of Qenneshrin was an eloquent Syriac eulogy delivered by one of the monks in the fifth decade of the sixth century, on behalf of John Bar Aphtonia, the abbot and founder of the Monastery of Qenneshrin. In this eulogy, the monk incorporated the life and good deeds of Bar Aphtonia in a vivacious and pleasant style. It was published by Nau in 1902 and translated into Arabic and published by this author.[1]

59. The Monk Elijah

The monk-priest Elijah was a companion of John Bar Cursus, bishop of Tell Mawzalt (519-538). After the death of this confessor, Elijah wrote a detailed biography of Bar Cursus at the request of two noblemen, Sergius and Paul. This biography was published by Brooks.[2]

60. Moses of Agel (550)

The monk Moses of Agel derived his generic name from the town of Agel north of Diyarbakir. He became known around 525. He was another of the distinguished scholars in the knowledge of Greek and Syriac. He made a Syriac version of the book of Cyril of Alexandria entitled *Glaphyra* (Mysteries), at the request of the monk Paphnotius. Moses' answer and portions of the book *Glaphyra* have reached us.[3] He also translated into Syriac the apocryphal story of Joseph the Righteous and his wife Asyath or Asnith, a piece of sheer eloquence. He is thought to have lived until the year 550.[4]

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[1] See *al-Majalla al-Baṭriyarkiyya* (*The Patriarchal Magazine*) 5 (Jerusalem, 1938), 9.

[2] *The Lives of Saints* at the Zaʿfaran Library MS. of the twelfth century.

[3] Vatican MS. 107 and Brit. Mus. MS. 14555.

[4] We do not know Chabot's source in ascribing the episcopate to him [Moses].

61. The Syrian Monk Thought to be the Writer of the History Ascribed to Zachariah

This monk was an orthodox writer who was still living in 569. He compiled in Syriac a significant historical collection in twelve books, comprising two volumes and covering 462 pages. This collection contains the stories of Joseph the Righteous, his wife, the sleeping youths of Ephesus (*Ahl al-Kahf*), Sylvester, the Pope of Rome and his conversion of Caesar Constantine to Christianity. It also contains the entire history of Zachariah Rhetor, formerly mentioned, the revelation of the repository of the bones of the proto-martyr, Nicodemus, Gamaliel and his son Ḥabib and the chronicles of the Ḥimyarite martyrs. Also included are the *Henoticon* of the Emperor Zeno, the Byzantine-Persian Wars, the insurrection of the Isaurians, the heresy of Julian the phantasiast (Julian of Halicarnassus) and the letter which he exchanged with Severus of Antioch. Also in the collection are an account of the insurrection of the inhabitants of Constantinople, the invitation of the orthodox bishops to the capital in the hope of achieving unity, the letter of Severus to the emperor, the conquest of Africa, the captivity of Rome and the coming of Agapetus to Constantinople. Besides these, we find the letter of Severus to the priests and monks of the East; the journey of Ephraim of Amid to the East and his persecution of its citizens as well as their persecution by Abraham, metropolitan of Amid; the church which Ephraim built in Antioch and his journey to Palestine and Egypt; the letter of Rabula of Edessa to Gemellinus of Perrhe; the destruction of Rome by the barbarians and the description of the buildings of Rome; the delineation of the habitable world by Ptolemy; the spread of Christianity beyond the Caspian Sea; the introduction of writing into the language of the Huns, etc. and the texts of the letters exchanged between the Patriarchs Severus, Theodosius and Anthimus.[1] This anonymous author is perhaps the same one who translated the history of Zachariah into Syriac. This book was published by Land and then translated into Latin by Brooks and published in two volumes between 1919 and 1921.

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[1] For further information on these topics see the history of Zachariah the Rhetor. See Brit. Mus. MS. Add. 17202. Wright, *Catalogue*, 3: 1046-1061. (tr.)

62. Mar Aḥudemeh (d. 575)

Aḥudemeh is the pride of the Eastern Church and one of its noblest dignitaries because of his intelligence, knowledge, piety and support of orthodoxy. Born at Balad,[1] he was consecrated a bishop for the diocese of Baʿarbāya, situated between Nisibin and Sinjar. In 559, he was elevated by Mar Jacob Baradaeus to the office of the metropolitan of the lands of the East and set to work briskly in calling the nomad Arabs who dwelt in that region and in the abodes of Rabiʿa to Christianity. He converted a great number of them to Christianity and built two monasteries and some churches for them. He was also honored by God by miracles to support his preaching even to the Magians. Among these Magians was a prince from the royal family, whose conversion angered the King Khosrau I Anushirwan; he imprisoned this saint, who finally received martyrdom on the August 2nd, 575. His body was carried to Qronta opposite to Takrit. He was counted as the first metropolitan of the See of the East after it had been usurped by the Nestorians.[2]

Mar Aḥudemeh was a philosopher and a theologian. He wrote a book of definitions on logical matters and treatises on religious free will, on the soul, on man as a microcosm and on man as consisting of soul and body. This latter treatise was published together with his lengthy biography.[3] He is also mentioned by later authorities as a writer of grammar based on the Greek method.

63. Sergius the Ascetic Monk (577)

Sergius the monk was a recluse in a monastery of Nicaea and a disciple of the priest John of Rish ʿAyna, a distinguished aged ascetic. He received a satisfactory background in the study of theology and ecclesiastical history. Around the year 577, he supported the case of Paul II, Patriarch of Antioch, by writing a

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[1] A town on the Tigris, about seven miles from Mosul in northern Iraq, called Aski Mosul (Old Mosul) today. (tr.)

[2] Brit. Mus. MS. 14645 dated 936; *The History of John of Ephesus*, book 4, chapter 2, and Bar Hebraeus, *Ecclesiastical History*, 2: 99.

[3] Brit. Mus. MS. 14620, 9th century. Also see the *History of Aḥudemeh and Marutha* published by F. Nau in 1905, 101-115.

seventy-four page Syriac treatise of nine chapters in which he refuted the allegations of his opponent John the Lame,[1] who had left the Monastery of Basus. He also reproduced in this treatise the article of his opponent, who was opposing the previously mentioned Patriarch after he had been dethroned by the Syrian Church.[2]

64. Mar Jacob Baradaeus (d. 578)

One of the most famous church fathers for his godliness and piety. The greatest Apostolic fighter in support of the true faith, he attained the summit of religious and austere asceticism. He was born at Tell Mawzalt, the son of a priest named Theophilus Bar Maʿnu. While still young he became a monk at the Monastery of Fsilta in the neighborhood of his homeland. At this monastery he mastered the Syriac and Greek languages and penetrated deeply into religious books and theological science as well as asceticism. In 528, he journeyed to Constantinople, where he was consecrated a metropolitan for Edessa, Syria and Asia, by the laying of the hands of Theodosius, Patriarch of Alexandria in 543 (or as has also been related, in 544), at the request of the Arab king al-Ḥarith Ibn Jabalah al-Ghassani and the Empress Theodora. Then he went to Alexandria and with the assistance of some of the bishops, consecrated two bishops. From Alexandria, he traveled incognito into Syria, Armenia, Cappadocia, Cilicia, Isauria, Pamphilia, Lycaonia, Lycia, Phrygia, Cana, Asia Minor and the islands of Cyprus, Rhodes, Chios, and Mitylene and also into Mesopotamia, Persia, and Alexandria, instructing and encouraging the orthodox believers. Authorized by the Patriarch, he consecrated twenty-seven bishops and ordained a few thousand deacons and priests, not forgetting to return quite a few times to his monastery. He continued this work for thirty-five years, indefatigably fighting the good fight for the Church of God, which he supported in the time of adversity until he died at the Monastery of Romanus or the

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[1] For the replies of Sergius the Recluse of the convent of Nicea to the priest John the Aged of Rish ʿAyna regarding Patriarch Paul, see Brit. Mus MS. Add. 14602, folio 85 in W. Wright, *Catalogue of the Syriac MSS. at the Brit. Mus.*, 3: 714. (tr.)

[2] *Syriac Documents*, pp. 225-298.

Monastery of Cassian on July 30, 578 and was commemorated by the church.[1]

Jacob drew up a liturgy in fifteen pages beginning with "O Lord, the most holy Father of peace," and several letters, four of which were published in the Syriac Documents[2]—three addressed to John of Ephesus and others,[3] and a general letter to the bishops and priests which is mentioned in his lengthy biography.

65. Quryaqos of Tella

From the pen of Quryaqos, metropolitan of Tella, we have compact and graceful supplications alphabetically arranged in no more than two, three, or four lines. These supplications were recited between the *marmithos*, i.e. a number of psalms which the Syrians divide into fifteen *marmithos*. These *marmithos*, which cover three pages, are found in the British Museum MS. 14525, transcribed in the tenth century.[4] In the same method, he also wrote other supplications to be recited between the *marmithos* at the festivals of the Nativity of Our Lord, Epiphany, Lent, Palm Sunday, the Resurrection and for any time. Some of these *marmithos* survive in three pages of a second manuscript, although because of the age of the manuscript, these *marmithos* are quite wanting.[5] One of these *marmithos* is recited privately by the priest at the beginning of the celebration of the Divine Eucharist. It begins thus, "Make us worthy O Lord God to appear before thy holy altar with knowledge, awe and good order." We also found two supplications in some choral books, one for the morning prayer and the other for the dead. Their composition resembles the style of Quryaqos

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[1] According to a short account by Quryaqos, bishop of Mardin, the remains of Jacob Baradaeus were kept at the Monastery of Cassian on the confines of Egypt until A. Gr. 933/A.D. 622, when they were translated to his monastery of Fsilta, near Tell Mawzalt or Constantina. See W. Wright, *Catalogue*, 3: 1131. (tr.)

[2] Pp. 144, 165, 185 and 187.

[3] John of Ephesus, *Ecclesiastical History*, book 4, section 15.

[4] Brit. Mus. MS. 14525.

[5] Brit. Mus. MS. 14494, ninth-tenth centuries. See also Brit. Mus. MS. 14517, tenth-eleventh centuries.

and his eloquence.[1] We have forgotten to put this author along with the authors of church services where he belongs. However, judging from the nature of his composition, he must have lived in the second half of the sixth century. He may have succeeded Daniel of Ṣalaḥ to the See of Tella, either as the predecessor or the successor of Metropolitan John III, who died on the 5th of May, 591.

66. Sergius Bar Karya (580)

Sergius Bar Karya (the Short) is also known as the "one with joined eyebrows"). He studied sciences at the Monastery of Bar Aphtonia where he became a monk, then a priest and finally an abbot.

In 544, or 545, he was consecrated a bishop of Ḥarran by Mar Jacob Baradaeus. Beside his knowledge of Greek and logic, he possessed an elegant Syriac style and was considered one of the proficient writers of his time. While an abbot, he translated into Syriac the Greek biography of Severus of Antioch by his predecessor John of Tella. This biography, which covers fifty-seven pages, was translated into French and published by Kugener. Bar Karya also wrote a treatise on the Holy Chrism[2] and issued ten canons regarding excommunicated clergy.[3] He was still living in the year 580, but died shortly after.[4]

67. Paul II, Patriarch of Antioch (d. 581)

Paul was a native of Alexandria, of Coptic origin, from the family of Ukama. He became a monk at the Outer Monastery of Gubba Baraya and was educated in the literatures of both the Greek and the Syriac languages. He was trained in the path of worship and later became a secretary to the Patriarch Theodosius. Also, he became the abbot of a monastery at Alexandria. About 550, he was consecrated a Patriarch of Antioch, but was deposed around 575

[1] MS. at our library of the sixteenth century. The priests of Sadad in Syria still recite the last supplication at the end of the Ninth Hour prayer.

[2] Brit. Mus. MS. 17193 dated 874.

[3] The *Canons* of Basibrina, Zaʿfaran MS. 244 and our library. The Brit. Mus. MS. 17193 mentions only four of these canons.

[4] John of Ephesus, *History*, book 4, section 41.

for his participation with the Malkites in the hope of achieving unity between them and Antioch. But when he was disappointed in his hope, he returned to his former life. His death is thought to have occurred in the year 581.

Paul wrote two Synodical letters to Theodosius and Theodore, Patriarchs of Alexandria;[1] a letter to the Metropolitans Jacob and Theodorus;[2] a letter to John, abbot of the Monastery of Bar Aphtonia in November, 576, which had been mentioned by Sergius, the ascetic monk[3] and a letter to Mar Jacob.[4] He also wrote a treatise containing the disputation between him and John of Sermin during his detention at the Monastery of Abraham,[5] which might have been the protest mentioned by the monk Sergius.

68. The Priest Cyrus of Baṭnan (582)

The priest Cyrus of Baṭnan near Sarug wrote at Edessa a profane and an ecclesiastical history in fourteen treatises. These cover the events which took place during the rule of the Emperors Justin II and Tiberius until the year of the author's death, that is, from 565 to 582. This history was mentioned by Dionysius of Tell Maḥre in the introduction to his history, which in turn was quoted by Michael the Great. Michael admitted that he had copied from Cyrus' history some events which agree with reality.[6] He also mentioned the writer, whose history was lost and indicated that he died around that time (i.e., 582). We know no more than this about his affairs.

[1] *Syriac Documents*, p. 98 (16 pages) and p. 308 (26 pages).
[2] *Ibid.*, 177.
[3] *Ibid.*, 241
[4] *Ibid.*, 293.
[5] *The History of John of Ephesus*, book 3, chapter 2.
[6] Michael the Great, *Chronicle*, 2: 337-387.

69. John of Ephesus (d. 587)

One of the famous dignitaries of his time and the author of interesting historical writings, he was an indefatigable and industrious man and above all, an active missionary of Christianity.[1]

John was most likely born at Agel in the province of Amid around the year 507. He came close to death when he was two years old, but was healed by the prayer of Mar Marun, the stylite ascetic in the Monastery of Arʿa Rabtha (The Great Land) at Agel. When he was four years old, his family sent him to Marun's monastery in compliance with the ascetic's order. He remained at the monastery until he became fifteen years old. At this time, the ascetic (Marun) died and John joined the monks at the Monastery of John the Iberian north of Amid, which was founded at the end of the fourth century. This monastery gained popularity and was comprised of many monks. At this monastery, John studied the Holy Scriptures, practiced the spiritual life and learned the two languages popular at that time. In 529, he was ordained a deacon by John, metropolitan of Tella and then became a monk. When the monks were persecuted and dispersed, he departed with them but, in 530, they were allowed to return to their monastery. John, however, went about visiting the monasteries and the monks' cells, conversing with the most virtuous ascetics, learning from them and recording their chronicles. In 532, he journeyed to Antioch, then in 534, to Egypt and to Constantinople in 535. In the following years, he shared the fate of monks who were severely persecuted and tortured by Ephraim of Amid and the tyrant Abraham Bar Kili. In 540 and 541, he traveled to Constantinople and Mesopotamia and then returned to the capital. In 542, he was chosen by Justinian, who had great confidence in him because of his zeal and ambition, to preach to the heathens in Asia Minor, Caria, Phrygia, and Lydia and call them to Christianity.[2] Around the year 558, he was consecrated by Jacob Baradaeus—as a metropolitan of the orthodox community in Ephesus, from which he took his generic name. He took another generic name from Asia Minor. For nearly twenty-nine years he carried out his mission and achieved great

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[1] In 1908, Diakonov published a whole book consisting of 402 pages on the biography of John and his writings.

[2] See *The History of John of Ephesus*, book 3, section 36.

success by converting eighty thousand heathens to Christianity and founded, according to one narrative, ninety-two churches and ten monasteries and according to another one, ninety-nine churches and twelve monasteries.[1] In these efforts, he was assisted by Deutrius, whom he consecrated a bishop of Caria. After the death of Theodosius in 566, John became the head of the orthodox community at Constantinople and the rest of the Byzantine country.[2] However, in 571, Justin II as well as the Malkite bishops of the capital severely tortured the orthodox citizenry, among whom was John. He was detained in an exhausting prison and then banished to an island for forty months and nine days. He was also placed under surveillance for more than three years.[3] He was arrested for a second time, released and then arrested for a third time under Tiberius. He was banished from the capital with his companions on Christmas Day of 578.[4] He died around 586 or 587 and was styled as "The Converter of Heathens," the "Idol Breaker," and the "Ecclesiastical Historian."

Mar John wrote an ecclesiastical history in three parts, each comprising six books. The first and the second parts begin from the time of Julius Caesar and extend until 571; the third part contains the chronicles of the church from 571 to 585, in 418 pages. The first part has been lost; the second was entirely incorporated into the history written by the monk of Zuqnin in 775, of which portions have been separately published. The third part, which he wrote while at the prison of Chalcedon, has come down to us with several chapters missing. This part has a unique copy transcribed in the seventh century.[5] It was first published by Cureton in 1853 and then translated into English by Payne Smith in 1860 and into German by Schönfelder in 1862. It was republished by Brooks and also translated into Latin. The author, however, admitted that this part is misarranged because he wrote it in a time of adversity and suffering. He intended to re-organize it if circumstances changed for the better. The significance of his history stems from the fact that it contained events not found in

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[1] *Ibid.*, book 2, section 44.
[2] *Ibid.*, book 5, section 1.
[3] *Ibid.*, book 2, sections 7 and 41.
[4] *Ibid.*, book 3, section 15.
[5] Brit. Mus. MS. 14640.

any other history. These events relate to the Ghassanid Kings, the countries of the Slavs and the Armenians, the Christianization of the land of the Nuba as well as some of the Ethiopian tribes and the farm provinces of Asia Minor. It also contains an account of the pestilences which swept over most of the countries at that time. As an historian, John was a truthful and diligent investigator who judged the facts from the orthodox point of view, but with impartiality. He is to blame only for his awkward and involved style, which also abounds with unnecessary Greek phrases.

Between 566 and 568, John wrote another history, no less momentous and useful than the first one, in which he incorporated the biographies of the Eastern saints. This history is in two parts, comprising six hundred and nineteen pages and containing fifty-eight biographies of church dignitaries, ascetics, monks and pious men—most of whom were his contemporaries. In this history, he followed the method of the histories of Palladius and Theodoret, but surpassed them in providing exact dates. He also added an interesting chapter on the history from 389 to 567, of the Monastery of Mar John the Iberian, from which he graduated. Beside the biographies of some church dignitaries, he incorporates much useful information about monastic life and customs and the administration of monasteries at that time. One of the merits of this history is that the author did not write down anything except what he witnessed, heard and verified or what was related to him by authorities with no redundancy or superfluity. Furthermore, his style is much better than that of his predecessors. Following is the table of these biographies:

1) The biography of Mar Ḥabib;
2) the biography of Mar Zʿura;
3) the biography of John the Nazirite of the Monastery of Zuqnin;
4) the biography of the two stylite brothers Abraham and Marun;
5) the biography of the two ascetics Simon and Sergius;
6) the biography of the Solitary Paul;
7) the biography of Abraham, the lay recluse;
8) the biography of Addai, the Chorepiscopus of Anazete;
9) the history of the cleric Mara of Anazete;
10) the history of the Bishop Simon, the Persian dialectician;
11) the history of Ḥarphaṭ, Chorepiscopus of Anazete;

12) the history of the two sisters Mary and Euphemia, daughters of Ghazala (Dorcus);

13) the history of Thomas, Stephen and Zoṭa, the notaries and syncelli of Mara, metropolitan of Amid;

14) the history of Abi the Nazirite;

15) history of the two brothers, one of whom was named Jacob from the Edessene monastery at Amid;

16) the history of Simon, the solitary of the Ṭur;

17) the history of a man who was not willing to have his name mentioned;

18) the history of a monk who quitted his monastery without being absolved;

19) the history of Zachariah the Aged;

20) the history of a monk from the Monastery of Zachariah;

21) the history of Thomas of Armenia who became an ascetic monastic with his wife and children;

22) the history of the two brothers, Addai and Abraham;

23) the history of Simon the solitary;

24) the history of John, bishop of Tell Mawzalt (Constantina);

25) the history of John of Gazza, Coptic bishop of Hephaestus, the second contender for the orthodox faith;

26) the history of Thomas the Confessor, bishop of Damascus (the origin is wanting);

27) the history of Susanna the virgin;

28) the history of Mary the solitary;

29) the history of Malke, the foreign ascetic;

30) the history of Elijah in the city of Dara;

31) the history of the two merchant brothers, Elijah and Theodore;

32) the history of a monk who stole and afterwards repented;

33) the history of Ḥāla the Zealous, of the monastery of the Edessenes in Amid;

34) the history of the scribe Simon the Aged of Amid;

35) the history of the monks who were persecuted and expelled from the monasteries of Amid from 521 to 567;

36) the history of Mara the solitary and all the ascetics who were buried at the cemetery of the strangers;

37) (wanting in the original);

38) the history of the priest Aaron and the rest of the priests and deacons;

39) the history of the priest Leontis;

40) the history of the priests Abraham and his son Zota and the history of his nephew deacon Daniel;

41) the history of Basianus the solitary, Romanus the priest and periodeutes of the Monastery of Talʿada and of the abbot Simon,

42) the history of the abbots Mari, Sergius and Daniel;

43) the history of the deacons Abraham, Quryaqos, Bar Ḥadhbshabba and Sergius, who assisted the author in preaching to the heathens and in building churches and monasteries;

44) the history of a pious Tribunus and Count;

45) the history of Isaac the prefect of Dara;

46) the history of Paul of Antioch;

47) the history of the group of monks assembled by the Empress Theodora at the palace of Hormizda in Constantinople;

48) the history of the five exiled Patriarchs during the persecution;

49) the history of Mar Jacob, a militant metropolitan;

50) the history of the two militant Metropolitans Jacob and Theodore;

51) the history of Qashish, bishop of the island of Chios;

52) the history of the ascetics Theophilus and Maria of Antioch;

53) the history of Priscos the Ascetic;

54) the history of the ascetic patrician lady Caesaria;

55) the history of John and Susiana, chamberlains of the patrician lady Caesaria;

56) the history of Peter the imperial chancellor and his brother Photius the Chastularius;[1]

57) the history of Theodore, the imperial chamberlain and quaestor;

58) the history of the monastery of John the Iberian in twenty-one pages.

These histories of saints have a unique Estrangelo copy at the British Museum MS. Add. 14647 transcribed in 688[2] which was

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[1] Or the secretary in charge of the imperial seal.

[2] In the same library [British Museum] there are five copies whose dates range between the ninth and the twelfth centuries. They contain a group of these histories. These are the MSS. 14650, 12174, 7190, 14651 and 14735. There is also a copy in Paris which is Paris MS. 234, thirteenth century. We have also found the histories of Simon of Beth Arsham the

published by Land in 1868, who also in collaboration with Van Douwen published it in Latin in Amsterdam in 1889. It was also published in English by Brooks in 1924.

John also wrote another book on the persecution provoked by the Malkites against the church in 537, which he mentioned in his *Ecclesiastical History* and in the beginning of the thirty-fifth biography. This book has been lost. He also wrote the story of the pestilence around the year 541-542 and incorporated it into the first book of his history, which is lost except for what was quoted by Michael the Great. However, the protest which he delivered to the Eastern Council concerning unity in 571[1] is thought to have taken place before the year 575. He also wrote sundry letters to categories of the faithful whom he mentioned in his history,[2] into which he incorporated the adversity which had befallen him. Furthermore, he wrote more than ten letters to Mar Jacob[3] and to the Patriarch Paul and his partisans after his disagreement with them;[4] he also composed a reply to the abbots of the monasteries of the East regarding the consecration of Peter III of Callinicus around the year 581.[5]

70. Peter III of al-Raqqa (d. 591)

Peter was born at al-Raqqa (Callinicus). His father Paul was a believing and truthful orator. Peter was raised in the best fashion, mastering Greek and Syriac and obtaining a fair knowledge of philosophy and theology. Because of his erudition and excellent character, he was chosen a Patriarch of Antioch and was

Persian and Abraham and Marun in the book of the *Lives of Saints* in a manuscript at our church in Diyarbakir of the twelfth century and the histories of Mary the recluse, Harpat, Zachariah the Ascetic and the ascetic who was unwilling to have his name known, in the *Ecclesiastical Treatises* at the Monastery of St. Matthew, MS. 16; the histories of Zota, Stephen and Thomas at the library of al-Ṭāhira church in Mosul and the histories of Abraham and Marun in the book of the *Lives of Saints* at Bartulli of the year 1478.

[1] *Ecclesiastical History*, book 3, section 2, chapter 6.

[2] *Ibid.*, book 3, sections 6 and 7.

[3] *Ibid*, book 4, section 46.

[4] *Ibid.*, section 48.

[5] *Ibid.*, book 4, section 45.

consecrated at the Monastery of Mar Ḥananya in the year 581. Then he traveled to Alexandria and the Arab province of Ḥawran to promote the religious ties between the two Sees of Antioch and Alexandria. He became popular for his dialogue with Damianus the Syrian, Patriarch of Alexandria, who was confused in the exposition of the doctrine of the Trinity while attempting to refute the heresy of Tritheism, not because of adherence to heresy, but because of his shortsightedness in knowledge. When he refused to obey the counsel of Peter and attempted, obstinately, to evade discussion or defense of the matter, Peter refuted him in a book which he wrote in Greek, comprising four treatises in one hundred chapters and supported with testimonies from the authorities of the church. According to Mar Michael the Great this book contained three treatises only. Judging from the Syriac MS. preserved in London[1] which comprises twenty-five chapters, i.e., the second book (second treatise), it is most likely that the book was abridged in fifty chapters by some of the writers who lived soon after his time. A copy of this book at the Vatican contains the second volume or the last book in fifty chapters covering four hundred pages.[2] Peter also wrote a short treatise against the Tritheists, which is perhaps a part of his above-mentioned lengthy book and a treatise against the doctrine of the abbot John of Barbour as well as against Probus, in which he established that the difference of the definition between the two natures of Christ after the unity is maintained. He also wrote letters, of which two were abridged and incorporated by Michael the Great in his *Chronicle* and a liturgy beginning thus, "O God the Father and the eternal Almighty." He died at the Outer Monastery of Gubba on the 22nd of April, 591, or perhaps 590.

71. Julian II (d. 595)

Julian entered the monastic order at the Monastery of Qenneshrin, from which he was also graduated after acquiring the knowledge of logic. He was a virtuous ascetic, a disciple and secretary of Peter

[1] Brit. Mus. Add. 14603, vellum, seventh-eighth centuries.

[2] Vatican MS. 108 dated 728. You also find in the *History of the Patriarchs of Alexandria* by Severus al-Muqaffa, bishop of Ashmunin, a foolish and irrational attack on this dignitary [Peter (tr.)].

III, Patriarch of Antioch. He was chosen the successor of Peter III and was consecrated a Patriarch of Antioch in 591 and administered the Church of God four years and two months. He died on the ninth of July, 595. According to Bar Hebraeus, who quoted old historians, Julian wrote a commentary on the above-mentioned work of his predecessor, explaining its problems and dispelling the misgivings of Sergius the Armenian, metropolitan of Edessa and his brother John, regarding it. In our Jerusalem library, you will find a sixteen-page booklet of his commentary which is deficient at the beginning and the end.[1]

72. Abraham of Amid (d. 598)

Abraham of Amid was a man of letters, well versed in Greek and Syriac. In 598, he translated the liturgy of Severus, bishop of Samosata according to a marginal note on the *Book of Liturgies* which we read at the Monastery of Mar Lazarus near Ḥabsnas in Tur ʿAbdin.

73. John the Chanter (d. 600)

Anba John the Chanter, abbot of Qenneshrin at the close of the sixth century, is the third of this name among the abbots of this monastery. Nicknamed "the Calligrapher," John was an adroit man of letters. He studied sciences at his monastery where he became a monk and was ordained a priest. He was known for his piety. His death is thought to have occurred around the year 600. According to the calendar of his monastery, he was commemorated on the thirteenth of January of the same year. He composed eloquent *maʿnithos*, in one of which he made known the traits of John Bar Aphtonia. In another two *maʿnithos*, he praised the Patriarchs Peter III and Julian II.[2]

[1] Jerusalem MS. 124, vellum, ninth-tenth centuries, 91-105.

[2] These *maʿnithos* were published together with the hymns of Severus of Antioch, pp. 246-248.

74. Rufina, the Silver Merchant

Trained in logic, Rufina was an orthodox layman who was a silver merchant. He wrote a treatise in Greek, refuting the allegations of Leontius (485-543), a resident of Jerusalem, who was born in Byzantium and died there; Leontius leaned towards Nestorianism but then returned to his Malkite doctrine. Leontius was a bitter opponent of the Syrians and attacked the writings of Severus of Antioch. Rufina, in his treatise, which comprises seventeen chapters in sixty-nine pages, reproduced the verbatim text of the opponent and refuted it, while defending the rectitude of the orthodox faith. He titled his treatise *The Destruction of the Spider's Web Woven by Leontius of Jerusalem.* Of this treatise we found a unique copy at the Zaʿfaran's library written in a neat hand.[1] It seems that Rufina lived in the middle of the sixth century and that he was a contemporary of his opponent; more probably, however, he lived until the end of the century. His treatise was translated into Syriac in a refined style. He may have been a native of Antioch from the family of Rufina.

75. The Priest Simon

Simon was the *nosocomus* (administrator) of the great hospital of Edessa. Of his writings are the commentary on the third, sixth and eighth chapters of Genesis,[2] a treatise on the return of the people (i.e., Jews) of the captivity from Babylon and another treatise on the weeks of the Prophet Daniel.[3] From the nature of his writing, we may infer that he lived either in the middle or at the end of the sixth century.

76. Sergius the Stylite

Sergius is also thought to have lived at the end of the sixth century. He was a stylite monk in the village of Josya of the province of Ḥomṣ. He wrote a treatise in seventy-five pages addressed to a Jew in which he refuted his claim that "God had no son and that He

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[1] Zaʿfaran MS. 131, fifteenth century.

[2] Brit. Mus. MS. 17189, sixth century.

[3] Brit. Mus. MS. 12172, ninth century.

had not begotten a Son."[1] He especially quoted Flavius Josephus. This treatise is preserved in a unique MS. in London British Museum,[2] in the handwriting of the Abbot Romanus in the eighth century. It deserves great consideration because it is the only surviving disputation between the Christians and the Jews from ancient times.

77. Paul, metropolitan of Tella (617)

Paul was one of the great scholars of his time, well versed in Syriac and Greek. We are not informed of his home or the monastery from which he graduated. He was consecrated a bishop of Tella between the years 610 and 615, as a successor of the Metropolitan Samuel. It is most likely that he remained only a few years in his diocese, for it was mentioned in the ancient history written by a monk from Qarṭmin that "Daniel the Uzi was consecrated a bishop of Tella, Dara and Tur ʿAbdin in 615,[3] and that in 622, Zakka was the metropolitan of Tella."[4] The most that we know about this church dignitary is that he collaborated with the Patriarch Athanasius I in achieving reconciliation with the church of Alexandria and that he also signed the general proclamation in 616. Unfortunately, time has not been fair to this scholar or to his counterpart, Thomas of Harkel, in that no account of their lives was ever written. However, time has recorded the excellence of Paul in his translation of the Hexapla into Syriac according to the most correct versions of the hexaplar texts of Origen, a momentous task. Paul undertook this translation by the order and at the urging of the Patriarch Athanasius I either at Alexandria or at the Monastery of St. Antony near the Enaton (the Ninth-Mile Village) during his flight to Egypt because of the Persian War of 615-617. With great precision, he appended to the text the

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[1] Because the Jew did not want to know except physical birth. God is too spiritual to be subject to such natural phenomena.

[2] Brit. Mus. MS. 17199.

[3] Unfortunately, the author quite often refers to valuable manuscripts of Tur ʿAbdin such as this one, without providing the reader any information about the location of the manuscript, nor does he give a description of it. (tr.)

[4] John of Ephesus, *The Lives of Eastern Saints*, 2: 269.

additions and the differences marked by asterisks and obeli and other signs, together with the marginal notes connected with Greek texts other than the text of the Hexapla. He was assisted in his work by many scribes, most famous of whom was the deacon Thomas, the secretary of the Patriarch. He completed the translation of the four Books of Kings (two according to the familiar version) on the 14th of February, 616, at a time when the Syrian Church was in dire need for this exact translation during the theological disputations. It appears from old manuscripts that this version was used in the church service books.

Of this noble translation, there was a complete copy at the Monastery of St. Matthew, mentioned by the Nestorian Catholicos Timothy I at the beginning of the ninth century. A similar copy was found in the middle of the sixteenth century in the possession of the ancient Orientalist Andreas Masius. Transcribed in the ninth century, what may have been brought to Masius by the Syrian metropolitan, Moses al-Ṣawri, for publication. However, after the death of Andrew in 1573, the first volume which contained the five books of Joshua, Judges, Kings, Ezra, Nehemiah, Judith and Tobit, disappeared. The second volume survives at the library of Milan.[1] It contains the books of Psalms, Job, Ecclesiastes, and the Books of Wisdom and the Prophets. Parts of this translation also survive at the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris and the British Museum to which Baumstark alluded in pp. 186-187, footnotes 12 and 13.[2]

Between 1787 and 1892, some Orientalists published the surviving Books of Jeremiah, Daniel, Ezekiel, the Psalms, Kings IV, Isaiah, the Minor Prophets, Proverbs, Job, the Song of Songs,

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[1] *Bibliotheca Ambrosiana* MS. C. 313.

[2] Some parts of these Books are at the Brit. Mus. MS. 49 which contains the Book of Exodus according to the Hexapla version. The Hebrew copy was collated with the Samaritan copy and revised by Eusebius Pamphilus of Caesaria. It was transcribed by Lazarus, who finished it in February, 697. Further, the Brit. Mus. MS. 51 contains the Book of Joshua Bar Nun according to the Hexapla and was collated with the quadri copy of the Hexapla of the library of Caesaria in Palestine. This version was translated from the Greek into Syriac at the Monastery of the Antonine in Alexandria in February, 616. It was given as a gift by the family of Thomas of al-Raqqa, the Takritians, to the Monastery of the Syrians in memory of Zakka in 703.

Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, Judges, Ruth and parts of Genesis, Exodus, Numbers, Joshua and Kings.

To Peter is also attributed the translation of the story of the Adulterous Woman, contained by John 8:3-10, preceded by verse 53 of chapter 7,[1] from a copy he found at Alexandria. But those scholars who ascribe this translation to Mara of Amid hold that the original copy was the property of Mara. However, before undertaking the translation of the Holy Bible, Paul made a new translation of the order of Baptism by Severus of Antioch[2] He also wrote an order of Baptism and a liturgy. Most probably, Paul spent the rest of his life in Egypt and was distinguished for being pious. The church commemorates him on the fifteenth of February.[3]

78. Deacon Thomas (617)

Thomas was a deacon, a learned man and secretary [*syncellus*][4] of Athanasius I, Patriarch of Antioch. He was a man of learning, who assisted Paul of Tella in translating the book of Daniel from the Greek into Syriac as has been formerly mentioned.[5] He is probably the author of the chapter which contains the Syriac names and diacritical points and who was mentioned by Jacob of Edessa.

79. Paul, metropolitan of Edessa (619)

An established scholar, distinguished translator and a man who acquired knowledge of the literatures (Greek and Syriac), Paul II was consecrated metropolitan of Edessa around 594 or 595 as a successor of Sergius.[6] He was given the title "The Translator of Books" because during the Persian expedition against the Jazira

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1 Brit. Mus. MS. 14470.

2 Brit. Mus. MSS. 144950 and 14499, tenth century.

3 The Calendar of Amid. The Calendar of Qenneshrin fixes the twenty-fifth (of February) as his commemoration day. See F. Nau, *Le martyrologe et 12 ménologes Syr.*, 38.

4 *Syncellus*, a Greek word meaning the companion who remains with the church dignitary in his vicarage. Later it was loosely used as a secretary. (tr.)

5 See above, p. 104.

6 Michael the Great, 2: 387. Also, *The History of Jacob of Edessa*, 324.

and Syria, he took refuge on the island of Cyprus in 609, where in 619, he made a fairly free translation of hymns composed by Severus of Antioch and others. This translation was later revised by Jacob of Edessa in 675. He also translated the *Gloria in Exclesis Deo* according to the traditions of Qenneshrin. In 616,[1] he was among the bishops who accompanied Athanasius I to Egypt. His commemoration day is fixed on the twenty-third of August.[2]

80. Quryaqos, metropolitan of Amid (d. 623)

Quryaqos was a competent doctor of the church, popular for his virtues, learning and position. He became a monk and studied at the Monastery of Zakka near al-Raqqa. Then he became the disciple of the Patriarch Peter III, who consecrated him a metropolitan of Amid around 582 or 583. He administered his diocese wisely and during his long tenure, contributed commendable services to the church. In 609, he was replaced for political reasons by the metropolitan Samuel but was later restored to his See and his position was enhanced in the eyes of the people.

Athanasius I wrote a splendid letter to him on the achievement of unity with the Church of Alexandria in which he praised his efforts. He made six canons and wrote replies to thirteen questions submitted to him.[3] The book of *Hudoye* by Bar Hebraeus contains some of his canons. He died in 623.

81. Anba Paul (624)

Paul the Abbot was a proficient translator. In 609, he took refuge in Cyprus, where he later translated the theological works of Gregory the Theologian into Syriac in 624.[4] These translations were revised by Athanasius II of Balad. Some writers have confused him with Paul, metropolitan of Edessa.

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[1] Michael the Great. *Chronicle*, 2: 399.

[2] *The Calendars*, 44.

[3] Basibrina.

[4] Assemani, *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, 1: 171, 3:1-23. Wright, *Catalogue*, 423-435, and also the letters of Timothy, 135 and 271.

82. Thomas of Harkel (627)

Thomas was one of the most distinguished and profound learned men, a thorough and prolific writer who attained the peak of the art of literature and became the master of both subject and form. He belongs to Harkel, a village in Palestine. He studied at the Monastery of Qenneshrin and mastered the Syriac and Greek languages. He became a monk at the Monastery of Tarʿīl and was consecrated a metropolitan of Mabug[1] in the last decade of the sixth century. He was persecuted by Domitian, the Malkite bishop of Melitene, supported by the authority of his brother-in-law King (Emperor) Maurice and escaped to Egypt in 599, but later returned to his diocese. He went to Egypt for the second time during the Persian expedition against Syria and Palestine and resided at a monastery at the Enaton (or the Ninth-Mile Village) in the neighborhood of Alexandria. At this monastery, he undertook the revision of the Syriac version of the New Testament of Philoxenus-Polycarp which he collated with four accurate Greek copies, thus producing in 616 a Biblical version known as the Harklean version, which overshadowed other versions and whose quality has been unanimously recognized by scholars.

Thomas exerted great efforts in order to produce this Biblical version which immortalized his name. This version spread through the libraries in the East and in the West,[2] and was also used in the church services. In the Book of Psalms at the Oxford library,[3] we read a note that these psalms were first translated in the time of the Apostle Addai, translated again by Philoxenus of Mabug and later by Bishop Thomas of Harkel at Alexandria. Thomas also assisted Athanasius I in holding the unity agreement with the Church of Alexandria and visited the Emperor Heraclius with him at Mabug in 627. He also drew up an alphabetically arranged liturgy in ten pages beginning with "Eternal and compassionate Lord," and translated into Syriac the liturgies of Dionysius the Areopagite, Basil, Gregory Nazianzen and John Chrysostom. The year of his

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[1] Michael the Great, *Chronicle*, 583-603.

[2] The Boston [Houghton Library at Harvard] MS. 450 dated 732, contains a magnificent copy of this version. The correct number of this MS. is 4050. (tr.)

[3] The Bodlean Library, Oxford MS. Poc. 10.

death is not known, but the church commemorates him on the 26th of June.[1]

83. Athanasius I Gamolo (631)

He was one of the best Patriarchs of Antioch because of his zeal, piety and good judgment. Natives of Samosata, Athanasius and his brother Severus were brought up after the death of their father by their pious and virtuous mother. Later the two brothers became monks at the Monastery of Qenneshrin. At the monastery, Athanasius was known as the 'Gamolo' (camel driver), because of his engagement to carry salt for one year on camels from the salt mine at Gabbula to his monastery, in compliance with its regulations. He was chosen a Patriarch for the See of St. Peter[2] which he administered from 595 to 631, or according to a less reliable account, from 604 to 631. He died in the year 631.

Athanasius wrote three noble general letters: one addressed to Quryaqos, metropolitan of Amid, describing the unity which he held with the See of Alexandria,[3] the second letter was to the abbot

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[1] See the *Calendar of Bar Sabuni* at Damascus and the *Calendars* published by Nau, p. 70.

[2] The Syrian Church believes that its Patriarchal See was established by St. Peter the Apostle in Antioch, who was the first to occupy that See. It is interesting to mention that according to Michael the Great, Athanasius was chosen by the Holy Spirit to be the Patriarch of Antioch. Michael relates that "In 595, the Apostolic See became empty upon the death of Julian I (595-591). The bishops went into confinement to contemplate the selection of a new Patriarch. After fasting and praying for three days, it was revealed to them on the evening of the third day that if they opened the gate of the monastery at the early morning of the next day, the first monk whom they saw passing by the monastery would be the one who had been chosen by the Holy Spirit to be the Patriarch of the great See of Antioch. When they opened the gate they found Athanasius driving his camels, which were carrying salt from the Gabbula to his monastery. The bishop took him into the monastery and consecrated him a Patriarch, while he was weeping and refusing to accept such an eminent position. Finally, he yielded, but he requested the bishops to postpone assumption of his office until his engagement for one year as a camel driver expired. They did so. See Michael the Great, *Chronicle*, 388-389. (tr.)

[3] Michael the Great, *Chronicle*, 2: 292-402.

and monks of St. Matthew's monastery and the third letter to the Emperor Heracleus, in which he refuted the heresy of John Grammaticus.[1] He also wrote a discourse containing the biography of Severus (of Antioch) in which he elaborated on his struggle. This biography, the original Syriac of which has been lost, survives in the Ethiopic translation, which was rendered into English and published by Goodspeed.[2] It was also mentioned by the historians of the Patriarchs of Alexandria.

84. Severus, bishop of Samosata (d. 630-643)

Severus is the brother of Patriarch Athanasius. He entered the monastic order at the Monastery of Qenneshrin where he studied and then became abbot. He was consecrated by his brother as the bishop of Samosata shortly before 598. He was very pious and spend his time in worship and prayer. Because of his piety God favored him with the gift of miracles. In 616, he accompanied his brother to Egypt. He wrote a liturgy in sixteen pages in Greek, which was translated by Thomas of Amid into Syriac. It begins thus, "Almighty Lord and master of all, thou art the ocean of safety and love," a copy of which is preserved at our library in Ḥomṣ.[3] According to a rather untrustworthy account, he died in 625 or 630, probably in 643. He is commemorated on the eighteenth of November.

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[1] *Ibid.*, 2: 404 and 411. There is no evidence that Athanasius wrote a letter to the Emperor Heracleus, denouncing the heresy of John Grammaticus. The author seems to be confusing this letter with the Synodical declaration issued as a result of the reconciliation of the two Sees of Alexandria and Antioch by the efforts of Athanasius and Anstas of Alexandria who met for this purpose. At their meeting, both Patriarchs anathematized the heretics, including John Grammaticus. See Michael the Great, *Chronicle*, pp. 392-399. (tr.)

[2] "The Life of Severus," *Patriologia Orientalis*, (1907), 591-718.

[3] Transcribed from a copy at Habsnas in Tur ʿAbdin.

85. The Priest Thomas

Thomas was known to have been at the Monastery of "Qidr" near Baṭnan[1] at the first half of the seventh century. He wrote a history tabulated according to years, beginning from the year 512 in which Severus was consecrated a Patriarch, until the Muslims' conquest of Syria in 636 and even until the death of Heraclius in 641. In this history, he utilized the history of Eusebius (also tabulated according to years) and other sources. According to Baumstark, "The Book of the Caliphs includes three short historical tracts by Thomas."[2] His brother Simon, also a monk, was a doorkeeper of the Monastery of Qidr and was killed in 636, during the Arab invasion of the Mountain of Mardin.[3]

86. The Priest ʿEmaues

The priest ʿEmaues (ʿEmoy), a skilled Persian physician, lived either at the end of the Sassanian period or at the beginning of the Arab rule. He composed an Ephramite ode on the resurrection of the dead in twenty-seven pages.[4]

87. John of the Sedros (d. 648)

John III, Patriarch of Antioch, was a prominent and energetic church dignitary, a pious, intelligent and far-sighted man. He entered the monastic order at the Monastery of Ousebuna where he mastered Greek and Syriac as well as theology. He became the disciple and secretary of Athanasius I and succeeded him to the Apostolic See in 631. He witnessed the Arab conquest of al-Jazira. He was a man who faced difficulties and hardships with patience and the course of events made him compliant.

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[1] Or Mardin.

[2] It seems that the author has misquoted Baumstark. Baumstark does not state that these three historical tracts included in the Book of Caliphs belong to our Thomas. He makes it clear that Thomas is "only the author of one of three chronicles which appeared at intervals over a period of a few years." Baumstark, p. 247. (tr.)

[3] *Chronica Minora*, pp. 77, 139, 143 and 148.

[4] Vatican MS. 96.

At his behest, the Gospels were translated from Syriac into Arabic by skilled Christian Orthodox Arab translators from the Banu ʿUqayl, Tanukh, and Ṭay at the request of ʿUmayr Ibn Saʿd Ibn Abi Waqqas al-Anṣari the Amir of al-Jazira around 643,[1] but this translation did not come down to us. He entered into an elaborate dialogue with this Amir on the establishment of the facts of Christianity, which was written down by Severus, one of his secretaries. It is titled "Letter of the Patriarch Mar John concerning his conversation with the Amir of the Muslims." This letter was translated into French and published by Nau.[2]

John also composed supplicatory prayers known as the *sedros* or *ḥusoyos*, which he incorporated into church rituals. They usually begin with praise and glorification. Of these *sedros* we found a large collection in the oldest copy at the British Museum,[3] most of which undoubtedly came from the pen of this father who was nicknamed "John of the Sedros." They are written in a smooth and splendid style. Nine of these *sedros* bear his name, the first of which is for Lent, the second for the resurrection, the third and the fourth for the repentance of sinners, the fifth for the dispelling of ordeals, the sixth for evening, night and day, the seventh for the morning, the eighth for the dead and the ninth for the Friday morning of the fifth week of the fasting.[4] We have also found three of his *ḥusoyos* for the celebration of the eucharist, the first of which begins thus: "Praise be to the pure sacrifice who became the priest of his person;" the second begins thus: "Praise be to the heavenly Lord of hosts;" and the third begins: "O Lord who art truly a good master."[5] He has also drawn a liturgy which begins: "O Lord, who art delighted by love and enjoyest safety;"[6] a homily on the consecration of the Chrism, beginning thus: "Beloved brethren let us talk philosophically a little bit in behalf of this present sacred

[1] Bar Hebraeus, *Ecclesiastical History*, 1: 275. *Chronicle* of the anonymous Edessene, 1: 263.

[2] Published by Nau according to a Brit. Mus. MS. 17193 in 1915.

[3] Brit. Mus. MS. 17128 in 148 large size pages transcribed in the tenth century.

[4] Brit. Mus. MSS. 14518, 14493, 14495 and 14499, and also Paris MS. 1059.

[5] Paris MS. 75, also in a liturgy dated 1486 at the village of Fayruza.

[6] Berlin MS. 151.

feast"[1] and a letter to Marutha, Maphryono of Takrit, which he wrote at the beginning of his patriarchate.[2] He also wrote a magnificent doctrinal treatise in thirty-nine pages addressed to Chorepiscopus Theodorus, which he opened with a general proclamation to the children of the Holy Church and declared in detail the creed of faith in support of the true apostolic belief, citing as evidence the fathers, one of whom is John of Jerusalem. Furthermore, he condemned in this treatise the heresy of the Phantasiasts and concluded it with the history of the leaders of this heresy and the account of their false ordinations.[3] He died on the fourteenth of December, which is also the day of his commemoration.

88. Marutha of Takrit (d. 649)

A luminary of the church of the East and an ornament of his time, he was born at Shawarzaq, a village of Beth Nuhadra[4] in the province of Mosul and became a monk at the Monastery of Nardes at the prime of his age. Then he journeyed to the Monastery of Mar Zakka or Zacchaeus near Callinicus in quest of knowledge and for ten years studied theological sciences, Greek and Syriac under the monk Theodore at this monastery. He then moved to the Edessene mountain, where he mastered calligraphy and also studied under the blind monk Thomas. From there he went to the Monastery of St. Matthew to teach theology. He also laid down appropriate methods for services and worship for the monks of this monastery. At the end of the year 628 he was consecrated a Maphryono of the See of Takrit and held a Synod at the Monastery of St. Matthew, in which he drew up twenty-four canons. He organized twelve dioceses for the Maphrianate See of Takrit and added to them three more dioceses in Azerbayjan, Khurasan and Afghanistan. He built churches, founded monasteries, imposed the fasting of Nineveh, and administered the church in an apostolic manner. He

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[1] Brit. Mus. MS. 825.

[2] Michael the Great, *Chronicle*, 2: 432.

[3] Brit. Mus. 14629. Some Nestorian scholars ascribed to him the orders for the Benediction of the Oil of Anointment and the Benediction of the Water at the evening of the Epiphany.

[4] At present called Duhuk near Mosul, Iraq. (tr.)

died on the second of May, 649, which also became the day of his commemoration.

Among his works is a commentary on the Gospels, portions of which are reproduced in the collection of the monk Severus; festal homilies, one of which is the homily for Low Sunday, beginning thus: "Brethren, we are celebrating the new day (New or Low Sunday) and remembering the Sacraments;"[1] a polemical treatise against the Nestorians mentioned in his biography but lost; a detailed letter to the Patriarch John, containing the account of Barṣoum of Nisibin and the Nestorianism which invaded Persia as had been related by the authorities of church history. He was also the author of a liturgy beginning thus: "O Lord who art good by His nature and a giver of safety and peace," and a *ḥusoyo* for Passion Week beginning: "O Lord our God, whose mercy doth naturally exist in Thee." To him was ascribed the life of Aḥudemeh, metropolitan of Takrit,[2] and according to a less reliable account, some supplicatory prose hymns.

89. John, metropolitan of Buṣra (d. 650)

John of Buṣra, also called the metropolitan of the lands of the Arabs, was a doctor of the church who had been consecrated by Athanasius I and whose name had become popular among the illustrious bishops of his time by the year 617. According to the monk of Zuqnin, he died at Amid in the year 650 and was buried in the Church of St. John the Baptist. John wrote a splendid liturgy in nineteen pages beginning: "O Lord the giver of love and concord."[3] John has been mentioned by Jacob of Barṭelli in his *Book of Treasures*, part 4, chapter 1. Jacob wrote, "According to his (John's) liturgy, the Angels were created before the world, as has been thought by the Nazianzen, Chrysostom, Jacob of Edessa and Moses Bar Kepha," Assemani erroneously thought this belief was in a commentary on the Holy Scriptures written by John.

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[1] Brit. Mus. MS. 848.

[2] Brit. Mus. MS. 14645 dated 936, published by Nau in 1905.

[3] The MSS. at the church of al-Ṭāhira in Mosul dated 1671 and at our library in Ḥomṣ.

90. The Priest Andrew of Jerusalem

At the end of his commentary on the twenty-sixth psalm, Bar Ṣalibi said, "Andrew was an orthodox priest who concerned himself with commenting upon all the Scriptural Books, especially the Psalms and in these commentaries he cited verbatim the opinions of the doctors of the church without adding anything of his own. But he quoted first the commentaries of Origen, Severus, Gregory the Theologian, Basilius, Didymus, Cyril, Eusechius of Jerusalem, John, Athanasius, Theophilus, Eusebius and Theodoret the Nestorian, namely, by stating the verse of the psalm and following it with the commentaries of the doctors of the church on each word of it. He also divided the psalms of David into five volumes."[1] He is, therefore, one of the commentators whom Bar Ṣalibi consulted in his commentary on the Old Testament, especially, on the book of Psalms. He also copied briefly from Andrew's first book. At the British Museum there survives Andrew's discourse on the death and funeral of the Blessed Virgin Mary. It begins thus: "Beloved, those who are being illumined by a pure and immaterial light, with knowledge that has not been marred by fallacy, in order to contemplate the symbolic spiritual way..."[2] The period of Andrew was not mentioned by an old or a new historian and is unknown. I think that he was a seventh century scholar.

91. The Ascetic John of Naqar

The compiler of the old book of the *Didascalia*, preserved in Midyat, reproduced a short tract which includes the following statement: "Testimonies about Baptism and the partaking in the Holy Sacraments by St. John of Naqar the ascetic in the Holy Mountain of Edessa." Remarkable sayings by this John have also been mentioned by the book of ascetical treatises at the church of Anḥil[3] and at the Birmingham library.[1] He had probably lived between the sixth and the eighth centuries.

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[1] [Bar Ṣalibi,] *Commentary on the Old Testament*, copies of which are preserved in our library [in Ḥomṣ] and at the Zaʿfaran library.

[2] Brit. Mus. MS. 175591. This MS. is not found in Wright, *Catalogue of the Syriac MSS. in the British Museum.* (tr.)

[3] See the collection of the (lives) of Ascetics dated 1208.

92. Denḥa I, Maphryono of the East (d. 659)

Denḥa became a monk and studied at the Monastery of St. Matthew under his predecessor Marutha of Takrit, whom he also succeeded to the See of Takrit in 649. He wrote a detailed biography of Marutha in an excellently formulated composition[2] which was translated into French and published by Nau. We have translated an abridgement of this biography into Arabic and published it in our magazine.[3]

93. Janurin of Amid (665)

Janurin or Shanurin[4] of Amid, also known as Kandidatos was a logician and a skillful translator from Greek to Syriac.[5] In the year 665, he translated seventeen poems of Gregory Nazianzen, the first of which is the one Gregory composed on himself. Of his affairs we know nothing more than what we have stated.

94. Severus Sabukht (d. 667)

Severus was a skillful and famous doctor, a mathematician, a philosopher, nay the first scholar of the church who explored the obscurities of astronomical and natural sciences. He was born at Nisibin in the last quarter of the seventh century, became a monk and was educated in the Monastery of Qenneshrin, where he also acquired that knowledge of Greek and Syriac language and literature and of the Persian language, which made him the goal of seekers of knowledge. He was one of the prominent scholars who

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[1] Birmingham MSS. 4 and 86, fourteenth-fifteenth centuries. Alphonse Mingana ascribed priesthood to him relying upon the word *qadisho* (saint) which [due to a copying mistake] has been distorted into *qashisho* (priest).

[2] Brit. Mus. MS. 14645.

[3] *al-Majalla al-Baṭriyarkiyya* (*The Patriarchal Magazine*) (1933), 111.

[4] Assemani calls him Senorinus Chididatus of Amid, but according to W. Wright he had misread the name. Wright, *A Short History of Syriac Literature*, 156, citing Assemani, *B.O.*, ii. cxlix., 502, col. 2; iii. 1, 23, note. However, according to I. Guidi, the name of this translator appears in the Vatican MS. 96 as Yanurin. See I. Guidi, *Actes du Congres des Orientalistes de Geneve*, 1894, part 3: 75. (tr.)

[5] Michael the Great, *Chronicle*, 2: 435; also the Vatican MS. 96.

was graduated from this famous school, in which he also spent his life teaching philosophy, theology and mathematics, besides the writings of all the Syrian scholars. He was most prominent in astronomy and even excelled the Greeks in this field.[1] Many pupils studied under him, the most famous of whom were the Patriarch Athanasius II and Jacob of Edessa. In 638, Severus was consecrated a bishop of the city of Qenneshrin, or, as it was said, of his monastery. He died in 667 at an advanced age. He was assigned the twentieth of July (or according to another calendar the eleventh of September) as the festival day of his commemoration. In the latter calendar, he was called "Severus the Mathematician."

From the writings of Severus, which cover the fields of theology, philosophy and mathematics, very few have come down to us.

Of his theological writings the following survive:

1. a treatise on the weeks of Daniel;

2. an extract on the date of the birth of Our Lord in flesh and in what Greek year he was born;

3. two letters in seven pages to Sergius, abbot of the Monastery of Khanushia in Sinjar, containing a commentary on the two discourses of Gregory Nazianzen on the Son and the Holy Spirit. In these letters, the name of the author (Severus) was ascribed to his native home Nisibin, which misled Chabot, who thought they belonged to a bishop of Nisibin who was Severus' namesake.[2]

His philosophical writings are:

4. a short treatise on the *Analytica Posteriora* of Aristotle written in 638 of which only three pages remain;[3]

5. extracts in three chapters from his treatise on *Hermeneutics*;

6. a letter to his friend Jonas the periodeutes (visiting cleric), explaining some points in the *Rhetorica* of Aristotle;[4]

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[1] Baumstark, p. 246.

[2] See the three folios in the Brit. Mus. MS. 14547, ninth century.

[3] Brit. Mus. MSS. 17156 and 14460. Also, the Chaldean Library in Mosul MS. 35, sixteenth century, and Cambridge MS. 3287, eighteenth century.

[4] Brit. Mus. MS. 17156, Cambridge MS. 2812, nineteenth century, Dayr al-Sayyida MS. 50.

7. a treatise he wrote for some of those who love knowledge, explaining some logical points which had been mentioned in his former letter to Jonas to whom he sent a copy of this treatise;

8. a letter to the priest Ithalaha, who became a bishop of Nineveh on certain terms in the treatise, *De Interpretatione* and on arithmetic, surveying, astronomy and music, making the remark that he had written to him a year ago, explaining some canons of the saintly fathers and also praising him because he had sent him copies of the letters of Gregory and Basilius.[1]

Of his astronomical works we have:

9. a magnificent treatise on the astrolabe in fifty-two pages, translated into French and published by Nau in 1899;[2]

10. a treatise on the signs of the Zodiac, which he wrote in the year 659 or 660, of which only eighteen chapters remain. These chapters were published by Sachau in 1870.[3] A few samples of these works exist in a manuscript at the British Museum, such as the habitable and inhabitable portions of the earth, the condition of those living in all its sphere—above and below the measurement of the heaven and the earth and the space between them—and whether the sun moves under or over the earth in the celestial sphere. To this treatise he added in the year 665 from nineteen to twenty-seven answers to astronomical, mathematical and cosmographical questions at the request of the periodeutes Basil of Cyprus.[4] This is probably the same treatise which Bar Hebraeus alluded to in his book, *Ascent of the Mind*;

11. a letter in eighteen pages addressed to the same Basil on the fourteenth of the lunar month of April 556, about fixing the exact date of Easter;[5]

12. three letters, also to Basil, on the science of history, contained in the British Museum manuscript;[1]

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[1] Brit. Mus. MS. 14660, ninth-tenth centuries, and Mosul MS. 35.

[2] Paris MS. 346 dated 1309 in the handwriting of the priest Yeshuʿ Kilo; Berlin MS. 186 in the handwriting of the metropolitan Moses of Tyre dated 1556. For the French translation of Sabukht's treatise on the astrolabe see F. Nau, "Le traite sur l'astrolabe plan de Sévère Sabokt," *Journal Asiatique* IX seric, t. XIII, 1899: 56-101 and 238-303. (tr.)

[3] Sachau, *Inedita Syriaca*, 127-134.

[4] Brit. Mus. MS. 14538, tenth century, and Paris MS. 346.

[5] Berlin MS. 186. [The date 556 should be 665. (tr.)]

13. he translated from the Persian into Syriac an abridged exposition of Aristotle's *Interpretation*, which had been translated from the original Greek to Persian by Paul the Persian for King Khosrau I,[2] to which the monk Severus added the fifth treatise of Aristotle on logic;

14. the translation of Ptolemy's *Tetrapillon* on the composition of mathematical speech as is confirmed by an established historical tradition.[3]

Both Wright and Duval, quoting Assemani, who quoted al-Duwayhi, have erroneously ascribed to him a liturgy in the name of Severus of Qenneshrin, which, in fact, belongs to Severus, bishop of Samosata and abbot of Qenneshrin as has been already mentioned.[4]

95. The Monk Ithalaha

Ithalaha was a monk priest at the Monastery of Mar Zakka near Callinicus in the seventh century. He wrote a ten-page treatise entitled "Questions of the Nestorians and the Refutation of their Opinions about the Orthodox," covering thirty-two of these questions.[5] A British Museum manuscript contains a *scholion* by Ithalaha regarding the order of the discourses of Gregory Nazianzen before he became a priest.[6] William Wright, however, suspects that this *scholion* belongs to Ithalaha. Therefore, this Ithalaha is either Ithalaha of Nineveh, a monk at St. Matthew's Monastery, whom we think was consecrated a bishop of Gomel and Marga at the end of the year 628, or his contemporary Ithalaha, a monk of the Monastery of Mar Zakka.

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1 Brit. Mus. MS. 17156.

2 Dayr al-Sayyida MS. 50.

3 Paris MS. 346.

4 Wright, *A Short History of Syriac Literature*, p. 139, citing Assemani *B. O.*, 2: 463. (tr.)

5 Vatican MS. 173.

6 Brit. Mus. MS. 14725. For more information on this MS. see W. Wright, *Catalogue of Syriac MSS. in the British Museum*, 2: 443. (tr.)

96. Jonah, bishop of Tell Mawzalt

Jonah was a learned monk and a periodeutes at one of the monasteries in the middle of the seventh century. Severus Sabukht addressed a letter to him, as has been mentioned. He was consecrated a bishop of Tell Mawzalt. He also wrote a letter to a periodeutes named Theodorus, containing the proofs concerning the restriction to one wife only.[1]

97. Matthew, metropolitan of Aleppo (669)

Matthew became a monk and studied at the Monastery of Zuqnin. According to the Edessene historian, "he was a philosopher of the category of Severus Sabukht."[2] He was consecrated a bishop of Aleppo in the fourth decade of the seventh century and became famous after 648. He was still living in 669. I have seen no writing by him, but perhaps he composed writings which have been lost.

98. Bishop Severus

At the beginning of his career, Severus was a priest and secretary [*syncellus*] of the Patriarch John III and was also involved in studies. He wrote a letter to some of his friends, answering sixteen legal questions, which he read to the Patriarch, who approved it. A copy of this letter in two pages survives in the Cambridge library, containing eight questions, one of which is connected with the hunters of Armenia.[3] After his elevation to the office of bishop in 667, he wrote a treatise in four pages on the time of Councils and the reasons for their convening. A copy of this treatise survives in the *Didascalia* in Midyat.

99. Malphono Sabroy

Sabroy, from the house of Abraham of the village of Ramtashir, still living around the year 630 and in the middle of the seventh century, was a master of grammar and philosophy. In a letter to the

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[1] Cambridge MS. 2023, thirteenth century.
[2] Vol. 1: 282.
[3] Cambridge MS. 2023, nineteenth century.

Bishop John, Sabroy's grandson, David Bar Paul, had this to say about him: "He (Sabroy) founded at the village of Beth Shāhāq near Nineveh, a school for the teaching of correct Syriac language, which had more than three hundred pupils and from which were graduated many teachers. He also wrote a dialogue in two books in refutation of the Nestorians and three treatises answering sixty questions suggested to him by a blind teacher from the same school."[1]

100-101. Rabbans Ram Yeshuʿ and Gabriel

Ram Yeshuʿ and Gabriel are the sons of Master Sabroy, who studied under him and supported his language program at the school of Beth Shāhāq and at the Monastery of St. Matthew. Both brothers undertook the correction, punctuation and vocalization of many books. Both the Syrian Orthodox and the Eastern traditions agree that Ram Yeshuʿ was the inventor of the diacritical points for distinguishing the vowel letters.[2] As has been formerly mentioned, Sabroy and his sons wrote the *Basilica*[3] as well as the canticles for both choirs for Palm Sunday and Passion Week. They also wrote a service book for towns to be used by the church in the East.

102. Patriarch Severus II (d. 681)

Known as Bar Mashqa, Severus entered the Monastery of Ouspholis (The Specula or Watchtower) where he completed his studies. In 668, he was elevated to the Apostolic See. Severus was too strict because of his over-indulgence in asceticism and thus created a rift between himself and some of the bishops. Before his death in 681, he wrote a letter to John, metropolitan of the Monastery of St. Matthew and Persia, authorizing him and two bishops, Joseph and Sergius, to undertake the settlement of peace in the church after the fulfillment of the conditions he laid down.

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[1] The letter of David to John at the Zaʿfaran library and at our patriarchal library in Ḥomṣ.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] See above 23. The Basilica is an anthem or group of anthems usually sung when a king or a prince is present at the service. (tr.)

This letter was incorporated by Michael the Great in his *Chronicle*.[1] He is also said to have written some *ḥusoyos*.

103. Rabban Aaron the Persian

Rabban Aaron the Persian is a scholar who belongs to the second half of the seventh century. He was praised by Jacob of Edessa in his letter to Eustathius (Cyrissona) of Dara. Moreover, in his sixth letter to John of Atharb, George, bishop of the Arab tribes, had the following to say about him: "He (Rabban Aaron) was a respectable old man deeply versed in knowledge and the abbot of savant monks." The historian of Zuqnin also mentioned him by stating that "Aaron, the Persian commentator, lived in the time of Severus II (668-681)."[2] We have also read in some of the manuscripts in Mosul that he was known as "The owner of the library and that he wrote a book."[3] Most probably he was an abbot of a monastery in al-Jazira.

104. Thomas of Amid

Thomas was also a contemporary scholar of Jacob of Edessa, whom he mentioned after Rabban Aaron in his afore-mentioned letter. Around the year 680, Jacob likened him to the star which guided the Magis. Perhaps Thomas became the bishop of Amid and died around the year 700, for the historian of Zuqnin states that "Thomas III, bishop of Amid, was one of the illustrious bishops of that time."[4]

105. Athanasius II of Balad (d. 686)

An erudite philosophical scholar and skillful translator, Athanasius was born at Balad on the right bank of the Tigris in a city which no longer survives. At Qenneshrin he studied sciences, Syriac and Greek under Severus Sabukht. He became a monk and moved to the great Monastery of Beth Malka near Antioch, not the small

[1] Michael the Great, *Chronicle*, 2: 438-440.
[2] Vol. 2: 153.
[3] The eight books ascribed to Clemis in the year 1652.
[4] Vol. 2: 155 and 156.

Monastery of Mar Malke in Tur ʿAbdin as has erroneously been thought by most Orientalists. At this monastery, he pursued the sciences of philosophy diligently, following his thorough and learned master. In January 645, he translated the *Isagoge* of Porphyry[1] and another anonymous *Isagoge*,[2] the first of which was published by Freimann in Berlin in 1897.[3] Later he was ordained a priest and resided in Nisibin. At Nisibin he translated into Syriac in 669 selections from the letters of Severus of Antioch at the request of Matthew, metropolitan of Aleppo and Daniel, metropolitan of Edessa. This translation made Baumstark believe that there was another translator by the name of Athanasius of Nisibin. We have found no evidence by him (Baumstark) to substantiate his opinion, which is more of a conjecture;[4] nay, the ancient Zaʿfaran manuscript states that this priest was the Patriarch Athanasius himself. Athanasius also translated the second discourse of his (Severus') book against Nephalius[5] and a group of the homilies of Gregory Nazianzen.[6] Also, he translated in the year 666-667 nine treatises of the *Book of the Six Days* by Basil of Caesarea, as suggested by the two formerly mentioned metropolitans above and by the priest and *syncellus* Severus, as is mentioned in the vocalization of the Holy Bible and the writings of the doctors which are at the Zaʿfaran library.[7] It is also evident from the three letters of the Catholicos Timothy which he wrote to the monk Sergius, the Malphono, around the year 800, that he (Athanasius) also translated pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite. This translation became widespread. Timothy wrote, "Proceed to the Monastery of

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[1] Paris MS. 248 and a MS. in the Vatican. According to Baumstark this Vatican MS. is 1586, ninth-tenth centuries. Baumstark, 257, note 1. (tr.)

[2] Brit. Mus. MS. 14660.

[3] See Baumstark, p. 257, note 1. (tr.)

[4] Baumstark, p. 259. According to Wright, citing Assemani, this Athanasius is perhaps the same one who became Patriarch of Antioch. However, the author seems to be correct in maintaining that this priest Athanasius is the same Athanasius the Patriarch since there is no decisive evidence that any Athanasius other than Athanasius of Balad translated the letters of Severus of Antioch. See Wright, *Catalogue*, 2: 564. (tr.)

[5] The Chaldean library in Mosul MS. 56 copied from the MS. in Amid.

[6] Brit. Mus. MS. 12153. See biography No. 81.

[7] Zaʿfaran MS. 241.

St. Matthew and transcribe the translation of the book pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite by Athanasius or by Phocas of Edessa"[1] (sic).

Athanasius' translations were of sound taste, masterful style and intrinsic eloquence. In commenting on the translation of the said book, Phocas of Edessa said that Mar Athanasius and Jacob of Edessa perfected the art of translation from Greek into Syriac. He meant that these two lifted translation from an artless to a scientific level.

At the end of the year 683, Athanasius was consecrated a Patriarch and wrote a ten-page proclamation to the company of the bishops, mentioning the names of seventeen of them.[2] He also issued a public letter on how the Christians should conduct themselves among the Muslims. He also prohibited them from eating the meat of sacrificial animals.[3] In addition, he composed supplicatory prayers, three to be used at the celebration of the Eucharist. The first begins thus: "Thanks to the Good Shepherd by whose body the flock is fed;" the second begins "O Lord by whom exists and lives everything;" and the third one begins: "O God the Word and most high." Besides these, he composed prayers for the dead. To him, John of Alexandria wrote a synodical letter in nine pages on the twenty-fourth of June, 686, beginning thus: "May the verses of the Holy Bible be the opening of my speech."[4] At the end of this year he died.

106. Abraham al-Ṣayyaḍ (686)

He is Abraham II, Maphryono of the East, nicknamed al-Ṣayyaḍ "the Hunter." He was a man of letters and drew up a liturgy beginning thus, "O God the most high and kind."[5] He died in 686.[6]

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[1] The *Letters* of Timothy, pp. 120, 156 and 265.

[2] The Basibrina *Canons*.

[3] The *Code of Canons* at the library of Zaʿfaran and also at our library [in Ḥomṣ (tr.)]. During *ʿĪd al-Adḥā* (The Feast of Immolation), the Muslims usually offer sheep or cattle as a sacrifice. (tr.)

[4] The Basibrina *Canons*.

[5] This nickname is mentioned in the Eastern intercession in the choral book at our library in Ḥomṣ.

[6] Berlin MS. 51. It is also found in several liturgies at our churches.

107. John I, Maphryono of Takrit (d. 688)

Known as Bar Kepha, John was a metropolitan of the Monastery of St. Matthew and later elevated to the See of Takrit. At the Council of Rish ʿAyna, after the death of Severus II, he proclaimed a public message addressed to the Antiochian bishops to establish peace in the church. A copy of this message can be found in the history of Michael the Great.[1] He died in 688, a saintly and venerable old man.

108. Presbyter Simon of the Monastery of Qenneshrin

Presbyter Simon was a monk at the Monastery of Qenneshrin, who lived at the end of the seventh century. He wrote a lengthy and polished treatise on the doctrine of the followers of Maximus, who believed in two wills in Christ. This treatise is drawn from the books of the Maronites written against this doctrine. The text of this treatise has been incorporated by an anonymous Edessan chronicler into his history, vol. 1, chapter 131. Baumstark thinks that Simon was a native of Saqra, a village in the vicinity of Qenneshrin and that he was a Julianist and a disputant who refuted some of the Manichean heresies.[2]

109. Mar Jacob of Edessa (d. 708)

A man unique in the extent of his knowledge and chief among the doctors of the church, Jacob had a brilliant mind, critical temperament, sharp wit and sound judgment. He was a grammarian, a man of letters, a poet, a translator, an historian, a commentator, a legislator and a philosopher-theologian. He was prominent in each one of the sciences which he had acquired, showing great capability and skill in writing. In the earlier periods he had no equal and among the scholars of later periods, his extensive knowledge was rivaled only by that of Bar Hebraeus. By his vocalization of the books of the two Testaments, he preserved the Holy Bible from distortion and misspelling; his revision of translations of some works of the doctors of the church show that

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[1] Michael the Great, *Chronicle*, 2: 439-441.

[2] Baumstark, *Geschichte der Syrischen Literatur*, 247.

he was highly proficient in philology. His philosophical and theological books prove that he was the most distinguished and finest scholar of his time; his interesting letters contain knowledge and wisdom; his legal opinions and juristic ideas prove that he had a sound mind, a guiltless heart and perceptive individual judgment. Consequently, he shows himself a judge of creative as well as traditional knowledge within both of which lies the final decision. This is due to the fact that he used opinions of the Christian authorities and blended them with his own intelligent opinions. Finally his ritual books leave no doubt that he is the greatest doctor of the church and the bearer of the banner of its glory. His books are the end beyond which there is no further quest for a researcher. It is no surprise that he is considered unequaled in all the East and the most prominent of all the Syrian scholars in the ancient world as well as in the Middle Ages.

Mar Jacob[1] was born at the village of ʿAyndābā in the province of Antioch, most probably about 633. The name of his father is thought to be Isaac. Under Father Quryaqos, the periodeutes (visiting cleric) of his province, he studied the principles of the sciences, the books of the two Testaments and the books of the doctors of the church. Then he went to the Monastery of Qenneshrin where he became a monk and studied the literature of the Greek language under Severus Sabukht. Together with his companion Athanasius of Balad, who was older than him, he completed his studies and became well versed in philology, philosophy and theology. Also he became well-trained in the ascetic and virtuous life. Then he journeyed to Alexandria to penetrate more deeply into the minutiae and incomprehensibilities of philosophy. He returned to al-Sham[Syria], became a monastic at Edessa and studied Hebrew. At Edessa, he achieved wide fame. He was sought by scholars and lovers of learning, who corresponded with him about problems which he competently answered. In 672, he was ordained a deacon and then a priest. In 684, he was chosen and was consecrated by his friend Athanasius II, as a metropolitan of Edessa, from which came his appellation. He remained in Edessa four years, during which he became very strict with the monks and clergy concerning the observation of laws that had been

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[1] Michael the Great, *Chronicle*, 2: 445-446.

neglected. He expelled those who disobeyed him. In the meantime, the Patriarch John III and the bishops advised him to temporize and treat the clergy as tolerantly as conditions would permit. This suggestion made him more furious and, thereupon, he openly burned a copy of the neglected canonical rules, resigned his post and left the diocese, taking with him his pupils Daniel and Constantine to the Monastery of St. Jacob in Kesum. He wrote two treatises, or two poems, in one of which he criticized one of the pastors; in the second he rebuked those who violate the canonical rules.[1] After a short period, he was appointed a teacher of the Greek language at the Monastery of Ousebuna in the province of Antioch, where he remained for eleven years, revitalizing the study of this language. He also commented on the Holy Scriptures according to the Greek version. And when some of the monks who hated the Greeks showed disagreement, he left for the Monastery of Talʿada accompanied by seven pupils. He remained at Talʿada about nine years, devoting his time to the revision of the translation of the Old Testament. The Book of Kings which he had translated in 705 is preserved at the library of Paris.[2] When at the end of 707, Metropolitan Ḥabib, who was consecrated in place of Mar Jacob, passed away, the congregation of Edessa requested Jacob to return to them, recognizing his excellence. He returned to Edessa at the end of January, 708. Four months later he went to the Monastery of Talʿada to collect his books and died on the fifth of June, which is also the day of his commemoration. He was nicknamed "the man who preferred toil" or "the militant" as well as "the translator of books."

Jacob was zealous, saintly and high-minded. He was also hot-tempered, of great determination and had no leniency; thus, he was unable to administer the affairs of his congregation amicably. In this regard, he shares similar characteristics with the very learned Gregory Nazianzen. Nevertheless, his resignation provided him the opportunity to spend the ripest years of his life in the service of knowledge. Therevfore, he benefited the Church of God in ways he would have been unable to had he remained in his diocese.

Following is a list of his writings in the Syriac language:

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[1] Baumstark says that the second poem is in a prose form.

[2] Bibliothèque Nationale MS. 27.

1. Revision of the Pshiṭto translation of the Old Testament which is, to the Syrians, the first legal work of vocalizing the Holy Bible. Jacob divided the Holy Scriptures into chapters with a preface containing a short summary of the content of each one of them. He also wrote numerous commentaries and marginal notes showing the differences between the Greek and Syriac translations, or explaining the pronunciation of the vocalized words. Of this revision, the Pentateuch, I Samuel, II Samuel and the two prophecies of Isaiah and Daniel have come down to us, but they are slightly wanting. As to the rest of the books of the Holy Bible, we have only portions of them. The Orientalists were able to publish whatever they could find of the annotations of this book in the *Catena Patrum* of Severus the Monk,[1] or in the annotations of other commentators.

2. The Book of Kings which he vocalized in 705 according to the two Greek and Syriac translations.

3. The book of vocalizing the terms of the Old and New Testaments is considered one of his most magnificent works. This book is a significant thick volume, containing the text of verses which required the vocalization of proper names and peculiar phrases. These he perfectly vocalized, appending to them the vocalized writings of ancient and leading Christian authorities like Basilius, Gregory Nazianzen, Gregory of Nyssa, John Chrysostom, and Severus of Antioch. This work became a model for other scholars.

4. A commentary on the Book of Genesis and the Four Books which follow it, together with other books of the Old Testament. The title of this book is *Scholia*, as mentioned by the *Catena Patrum* of Severus. The library of the British Museum contains chapters of the Books of Genesis, Exodus and the four Books of Kings from this *Scholia*.[2] There is also part of this *Scholia* at our library in Ḥomṣ

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[1] The *Catena Patrum* is a book of selections from the writings of the fathers arranged in the form of a continuous commentary on the greater parts of the books of the Old and New Testaments. They were compiled by a monk from Edessa named Severus (d. 861). These selections, particularly, contain greater parts of the commentaries of Jacob of Edessa on the Old and New Testaments. See William Wright, *Catalogue of Syriac Manuscripts in the British Museum*, 2: 910. (tr.)

[2] Brit. Mus. MS. 14483.

and at the Vatican library. Part of this *Scholia* was published by Dr. Phillips in 1864.

5. A treatise on theology mentioned by Bar Hebraeus in his *Hudoye*,[1] and also cited by Moses Bar Kepha in his two books, *Personal Authority* and *The Creation of Angels*, chapter 48, which I think is no other than the eighth treatise titled *The Divinity and Incarnation* of his book *The Six Days*.[2]

6. A treatise *The First Cause*, on the Creator, the Eternal and Almighty God, the Preserver of all created beings. This treatise was mentioned by George, bishop of the Arabs. This treatise has been lost.[3]

7. A treatise on *The Six Days* which he wrote at the end of his life at the suggestion of his pupil Constantine, metropolitan of Aleppo and later of Edessa. In this treatise, he discussed the creation of beings (seven chapters), following the method of Basilius and other fathers who wrote on this subject. This treatise contains interesting physical subjects which indicate the competence of the author in treating diverse sciences and show he is completely at home with eloquent composition contrary to the opinion of contemporary writers. This treatise comprises 356 pages. It was probably written after the author finished his treatise on the *First Cause*, both of which would form a theological encyclopedia. Death came to him when he had almost finished this treatise; its completion was left to his friend George, bishop of the Arabs, who added ten pages to it. This treatise was published by Chabot and Vaschalde, using a manuscript in Lyons transcribed in 839.[4] This manuscript has two old copies, one of which was made in 822 for Theodosius, metropolitan of Edessa. It belonged first to the Monastery of St. Matthew and was later possessed by the Chaldean library at Amid, from whence it was moved to the

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[1] Bar Hebraeus, *Hudoyo* (*Nomocanon*), 106.

[2] Bibliothèque Nationale MS. 276.

[3] This treatise should not be confused with another treatise entitled *De Causa Omnium Causarum* which is erroneously ascribed to Jacob of Edessa. There is sufficient evidence by modern writers that *De Causa Omnium Causarum* was written by someone else, probably in the tenth century. See William Wright, *Syriac Literature*, 147 and 242; Baumstark, *Geschichte der Syrischen Literatur*, 255 and 281. (tr.)

[4] Lyons MS. 2.

Chaldean Patriarchal residency in Mosul.[1] The second one is at Leiden and was transcribed in 1183.[2]

8. Questions and replies on the essence of Christianity, followed by examples derived from some Biblical passages concerning the training of pupils.[3]

9. Prose homilies on the sacrifice in the Divine Eucharist, against the use of unleavened bread, against an Armenian denomination which believed in two natures in Christ, against those who violate the canons of the church and on the consecration of the Chrism.[4] He has also a treatise on the rapture of the Apostle Paul to the third heaven.[5]

10. A short commentary in two pages on the celebration of the Eucharist, which he wrote for George the stylite ascetic in Sarug.[6]

11. A treatise on the reason the monks wear wool.[7]

12. The organization of the regular weekday service book known as the *shḥimo.*

13. The organization of the church service books (*phanqithos*) for Sundays and for festivals. Regarding church rituals his excellent services surpassed those composed by all of the church fathers all over the countries of the Syrians except in the lands of the East, as has been previously mentioned.

14. The *Book of Treasures*, which contains the orders of Baptism and the solemnization of Matrimony (including the legal contract of marriage and the solemnization of the marriage of widowed spouses) and the consecration of water on the Epiphany.[8]

15. The orders of funerals of priests, bishops, laymen, lay women and children.[9]

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[1] The Chaldean Patriarchate in Mosul MS. 54.

[2] Leiden MS. 66.

[3] Brit. Mus. MS. 12154.

[4] At our library in Ḥomṣ and Brit. Mus. MS. 825.

[5] See the *Didascalia.*

[6] At the monastery of Mar Abraham in Midyat; at the library of our church in Constantinople; at our patriarchal library in Ḥomṣ and at Berlin, p. 628 of the index and at Sharfeh 4-1.

[7] The collection of *Canons* at Basibrina.

[8] Assemani, *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, 1: 487.

[9] Boston [The Houghton Library of Harvard University] MS. 4016.

16. Touching and passionate *madroshos* to be chanted on the eve of Good Friday (based on the melody of *Qum Phawlos*), others to be chanted on the eve of Monday of Passion Week and metrical lines specifically for Passion Week.[1]

17. A revision of the liturgy of St. James, according to the Greek version.[2]

18. A liturgy beginning thus, "O Lord the Father of all and the Host of Hosts," in sixteen pages. It was translated and published by Renaudot.[3] Also a very lengthy *ḥusoyo* on the congregation of the Jews and on the church beginning thus, "Blessed art thou, the cluster of grapes of life."[4]

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[1] *Beth Gazo* at Diyarbakir of the sixteenth century in the handwriting of the deacon Abu al-Ḥasan.

[2] In Jacob's revision of this liturgy, Msgr. Raḥmani saw the terms *mshawtaf bḥashe* which Jacob gave as the translation of the Greek compound word *simpathis* meaning "partaker in compassion," or "compassionate." Raḥmani translated it literally as "partaker in sorrow" (sic), whereas the correct translation is "partaker with sorrow." Raḥmani also erroneously thought that Jacob distorted the intrinsic meaning of this phrase and that he forced the phrase "with thy Son" in vain before the word *simpathis* for the sake of clarification. See Rahmani, *Liturgies*, p. 69. Raḥmani is mistaken, because this term, *mshawtaf bḥashe* is a compound and its meaning corresponds with the meaning of the Greek term *simpathis*. Further, the Syriac term *ḥasho* and its derivations mean grief, sorrow, kind feeling and compassion, etc. as do the meanings of the Greek word *pathos*. It is obvious that Malphono Jacob meant here "compassion." The futility of the claim of the critic [Raḥmani] and the information he collected, is also evident from the text of the prayer under discussion which is, "Truly thou art holy, king of the worlds and the giver of all holiness. Holy is thy only Son our Lord Jesus Christ and holy is thy Holy Spirit, which knowest everything and knowest thy hidden mysteries. O God and Father, thou art holy, with thy compassionate Son, almighty and omnipresent; revered and good, particularly in thy nature. Thou art who created man from dust and granted him the enjoyment of Paradise, but when he disobeyed thy order and fell, thou did not tarry nor leave him in his error." Where is the meaning of sorrow here? It would have been better for Raḥmani to be scrupulous and to know that Jacob of Edessa is a scholar not to be blamed or criticized in this regard.

[3] There are numerous copies of this *ḥusoyo*, one of which is at our library in Ḥomṣ.

[4] At our patriarchal library in Ḥomṣ and at the church of Amid.

19. A calendar of feasts for the cycle of the year, which has been ascribed to him in many copies of manuscripts.

20. A translation of the homilies of Severus of Antioch into Syriac. This translation was preceded by the translation of the same homilies made by Paul, metropolitan of Callinicus. Jacob completed his translation in 701. According to the complete copy dated 708, these homilies numbered one hundred and twenty-five homilies. These are the best of his translations.

21. Revision of the hymns of Severus of Antioch, which had been translated by the abbot Paul. The oldest copy of this translation which has come down to us was probably transcribed in his own handwriting and was completed in 675.

22. In his book *Semḥe* (book 5, chapter 4, of the first treatise), Bar Hebraeus stated that "The Edessan (Jacob of Edessa) revised the poems of Gregory the Theologian, which have already been translated by the formerly mentioned Paul." However, some Orientalists doubt whether Jacob undertook the revision of these poems.

23. Translation of Aristotle's *Categories* into Syriac; the *Isagoge* followed by the *Categories* and the five predicates of the *Isagoge.* This translation comprises 128 pages.[1]

24. A translation into Syriac of the *Chronicles* of Eusebius of Caesaria at the end of the seventh century, as is related by Michael the Great.[2]

25. A translation of the books of the second canons ascribed to Clement of Rome, the first of which is the apocryphal book of the *Covenant of Our Lord* written in the fifth century.

26. A translation of the canons of the first Council of Carthage in the time of St. Cyprian and the canons of the three Ecumenical Councils in 687.[3]

27. A translation of the apocryphal history of the children of Jehonadab (the Rechabites) of Jewish origin. It was translated from the Greek and published by Nau.[4]

28. The book of *Enchiridon* (Compendium) which is a collection of scientific and philosophical phrases. In this book, the author

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[1] Florence MS. 209 and Paris MS. 248.

[2] Michael the Great, *Chronicle*, 1: 124.

[3] Zaʿfaran and Jerusalem library.

[4] Brit. Mus. MS. 12174 and Paris MS. 236.

particularly explains the terms employed by the theologians such as *essence*, *hypostasis*, *nature*, *person* and *individual*.[1]

29. A book of history on the same method of the *Chronicle* by Eusebius, to which he added information until 692. In this history, he included historical canons prefixed by chapters in which he revised the *Chronicle* of Eusebius and corrected his mistakes in the computation of years. This history, which is a short one, was completed by an anonymous historian until the year 710.[2] Most of this history has been lost, except for forty-six pages which were translated into Latin and published by Brooks in 1903.

30. A grammar of the Syriac language (the language of Mesopotamia) of which only fragments have come down to us and have been published.[3] On the basis of this book, Eastern and Western grammarians wrote their grammars. Also they considered this the first book written on the grammar of this language. Jacob also discussed several grammatical questions in his letters.

31. His numerous canons, which cover forty pages in the ancient copy which we possess, transcribed in 1204.[4] Some of these canons have been abridged from the original, which covers about seventy pages. These canons are:

1) Canons addressed to Thomas the recluse ascetic of Tell Rumnin on the Consecration of the Chalice.

2) Canons on whether the holy Chalice should be left from day to day without drinking its contents.

3) Canons on the Order of Baptism.

4) Canons on the order of the Consecration of Water.

5) Canons in the form of replies to twenty-seven questions asked by John the Stylite of Atharb. These canons are prefixed by a four-page letter from Jacob to John.

6) Canons in the form of replies to seventeen questions asked by John.

7) Canons in the form of replies to three questions asked by Abraham the recluse ascetic. They cover two pages.[5]

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[1] Brit. Mus. MS. 12154.

[2] Brit. Mus. MS. 14685.

[3] Brit. Mus. MSS. 17217 and 14665.

[4] A copy at Zaʿfaran and two copies at our patriarchal library in Ḥomṣ.

[5] The *Canons* of Basibrina.

8) Canons in the form of replies to three questions asked by Thomas the recluse ascetic.

9) Canons addressed to Addai, the priest from the vicinity of Mardin, in reply to fifty-one questions, of which two pages are wanting. The number of these questions contained in the ancient and lengthy copy of the Zaʿfaran's monastery, which is undoubtedly the original copy on which more recent copies are based, is seventy-three.

10) Thirty-one canons which he issued himself.

11) Canons in the form of replies to seven questions addressed to him by the priest Addai, which brings the number of questions to one hundred and eleven.

12) Canons in the form of replies to questions asked by the priest Thomas of which one question and its reply were found in this copy. The canons are in the form of replies from number ten to twelve inclusive, covering about nine pages. The manuscript of Basekhra contains twenty-three canons issued by Mar Jacob, but the author has abridged these canons and questions.

The total number of the canons of this doctor is one hundred and sixty-six from which the church chose what it desired and added them to the book of the *Hudoye.*

32. When Jacob of Edessa attained the quintessence of knowledge, he was sought by distinguished learned clergy and laymen, who brought to him questions and problems to solve. He dictated his letters on these questions and problems with the result that most of his knowledge came to be recorded in the form of letters. We do not set here the exact number of his letters, although we may obviously judge that they were numerous. In the British Museum in London, we found a manuscript containing twenty-three of these letters in 138 pages.[1] We also read in the collection of Basibrina Canons eleven letters in thirty large size pages and written in fine script. We have a photographic copy of most of the contents of the British Museum's manuscript. However, a small portion of these letters has been published; five letters were published by *Revue de l'Orient Chretien.* The total which we were able to obtain is forty-six letters. They are as follows with their contents:

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[1] Brit. Mus. MS. 1212172.

1) A letter to George, bishop of Sarug, on Syriac orthography, in which Jacob asked the copyists to be accurate in their copying and to be exact in the vocalization of terms and their diacritical points. Also he mentioned the excellence of the skill of orthography and its importance.[1] This letter was published by Phillips and then by Martin in 1869.[2]

2) A letter on the diacritical points which should be placed over or beneath the words to signify their exact meaning and to distinguish between the synonyms. He divided this letter into five chapters. Both of these letters (this letter and the preceding one) comprise of six pages.[3]

3) A letter addressed to Paul, the presbyter of Antioch, on the Syriac alphabet and the improvement of Syriac writing.[4]

4) A lengthy letter to the ascetic priest Thomas who became a worshipping recluse at Tell Rumnin, on the order of celebrating the Eucharist (in six large size pages).[5]

5) A letter to the same Paul on whether we should leave the holy Chalice from day to day without drinking its contents.

6) A three-page letter to the priest Addai on the Order of Baptism.[6]

7) A letter to the deacon Bar Ḥadhbshabba from the Monastery of Ṭalitha on the worshipping of the Christians towards the east.[7]

8) A letter to the same against the Council of Chalcedon. He wrote this letter when he was still a deacon.[8]

9) A letter to his friend, the dignitary Eustathius of Dara also named Cyrissona which means master in Greek, in reply to his question: "Which path we should follow, the heavenly or the earthly?"

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[1] At our library in Ḥomṣ.

[2] G. Phillips. *A Letter by Mar Jacob, Bishop of Edessa, on Syriac Orthography*, 1869. Also P. Martin, *Jacobi epi Edesseni, Epistola ad Georgium epun serugensem de Orthographia Syriaca*, 1869. (tr.)

[3] At our library in Ḥomṣ.

[4] Bar Hebraeus, *Semḥe*, book 4, treatise 1, para 2.

[5] The *Canons* of Basibrina.

[6] *Ibid.*

[7] Seʿert MS. 69 and Brit. Mus. MS. 14631.

[8] Seʿert MS. 69 and Brit. Mus. MS. 14631.

10) A second letter to Eustathius apologizing for not being able to accept his invitation to go to Dara. He wrote this letter at forty-two years of age when he was still a deacon.

11-12) A third and a fourth letter to the same, expounding the contents of his metrical discourse which will be mentioned later.

13) A fifth letter to the same begins by discussing some of the letters of the Greek alphabet.

14) A sixth letter in which he began by discussing the Jebeonites who tricked Joshua Bar Nun for fear of the children of Israel.[1]

15) A seventh letter to the same in which he praised the lands of the East, including Dara. In fact, he meant to praise his correspondent and friend Eustathius by alluding to his knowledge and spiritual wisdom, concluding that he was indispensable.

16) A letter to the priest Abraham on the wine and vine husbandry into which he incorporated a very high spiritual meaning.

17) A second letter to the priest Abraham the ascetic recluse at Kafr ʿŪzīl on diverse matters in one and a half pages.[2]

18) Twenty-two letters to the stylite ascetic priest John of Atharb, one of the best learned men, the first of which states, "A recent author and an intruder on the tables of literature, has fabricated two poems on the Six Days and ascribed them to Mar Jacob of Sarug. One of these poems is in the seven-syllabic meter, whereas Jacob of Sarug composed poetry only in the twelve-syllabic meter. The second poem is in the twelve-syllabic meter, but the stamp of both poems is remote from the eloquence of Jacob of Sarug let alone his rhetoric."

19) A second letter which he opened by stating, "I do not know what to say regarding what you have written to me. I find myself between two problems: firstly, I do not know how to speak and secondly, you have decided to choose for yourself the medical profession while you have no instruments nor knowledge of mixing of liquids. Furthermore, your dispensary is empty of drugs and medicines."

20) A third letter to the same in which he mentioned Noah the Righteous and the book *Glaphyra* by Cyril of Alexandria.

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[1] The Book of Joshua 1:9.

[2] The *Canons* of Basibrina.

21) A fourth letter to the same in which he states that he neither knows who established the festival of the Finding of the Cross which occurs on the fourteenth of September nor the time and the reason for this festival. He continues that he has not found such information in a chronography or any book; all that he knew was that the church has from earlier times observed this festival according to the ancient tradition.[1]

22) A fifth letter on the genealogy of the Lord Christ in which he states, "I know that we have stories made up by zealous men without Biblical testimonies, stating that the holy Virgin Mary is the daughter of Hanna and the righteous Jehoiakim the son of Phantir, who was the brother of Malke the son of Yani and that he was living in Galilee in the same spot on which the city of Tiberias was built." He concludes by mentioning the prophecy of Daniel concerning Christ.

23) A sixth letter to the same on the history of the world, which according to some writers, begins at the year 5180 B.C., but according to Eusebius, at 4888 B.C. In this letter, he alluded to the historians Africanus, Eusebius, Clement of Alexandria, and his brother Andrew the Great,[2] Hippolytes, Metrodores, Eunixanus the Alexandrian monk and Andronicus. He also mentioned the reason he considered the birth of Christ to have taken place in the year 309 of the Greeks whereas Eusebius fixed the date at 312 of the Greeks, telling how Severus Sabukht followed Eusebius in this regard and how he corrected Eusebius.

24) A seventh letter stating that Clement of Rome, the disciple of the Apostle Peter, mentioned in the eighth *Diatexis* that the books of Solomon the Sage (Ecclesiastes) are five, but he did not list them and that the church authorities mentioned only three books by Solomon. Further, he mentioned why the Books of Ecclesiastes, Bar Sirach, Tobit, Esther, Judith and the three Books of the Maccabees, are not considered canonical books and that the Book of Wisdom, or Ecclesiastes as it is called by the Greeks, is not the writing of Solomon.

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[1] The feast of the Cross originated in the fourth decade of the fourth century, first at Jerusalem, whence it spread into other churches.

[2] Of whom we found no information in any other source. Cf. William Wright, *Catalogue*, 2: 598, who mentions "Andreas and his brother Magnus." (tr.)

25) An eighth letter holding that pious Christians, who had erred or sinned do benefit from the prayers, offerings and alms offered on their behalf, unlike the hypocrites, on whose behalf, none of these things should be offered.[1]

26) A ninth letter on whether the life of man is limited and that man dies at a time chosen by God.[2]

27) A tenth letter claiming that man neither dies before his time nor without the order and permission of God his creator and ruler. He supported this point by the testimonies of Christian authorities and the philosophers.

28) An eleventh letter ruling that the secret words are not to be uttered before every one.[3]

29) A twelfth letter on the children who receive baptism.[4]

30) A thirteenth letter on God's care of His created beings and the refutation of the doctrine of fate and predestination.

31) A fourteenth letter on the observers of the Sabbath, who were mentioned by St. Ephraim and their female leader Camso in Edessa, who had become their bishop(!); on the heretical *Quqoye*; on Mar Phalut, bishop of Edessa; on the reason God told Abraham that "thy seed shall be a stranger in a land that is not theirs and that they shall be afflicted for four hundred years;"[5] the reason Abraham left his homeland Ur of the Chaldees; on whether it is true, as it is said, that in the time preceding Moses there was no book or Bible; on who was the Ethiopian woman in whose behalf Miriam and Aaron spoke;[6] on the pride of Satan and the Lord's saying to him concerning Job, "Behold, he is in thy hand, but save his life;"[7] on the Behemoth mentioned in the Book of Job;[8] on which Zachariah was slain between the temple and the altar;[9] on whether the son of the widow of Zarepath was the prophet Jonah

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[1] *The Didascalia.*

[2] Basibrina.

[3] Basibrina. By the Secret Words, the author means the prayer of the Consecration of the bread and wine of the Holy Communion. (tr.)

[4] Basibrina.

[5] The Book of Genesis 15:13. (tr.)

[6] The Book of Numbers 12:1. (tr.)

[7] The Book of Job 2:6. (tr.)

[8] The Book of Job 40:15. (tr.)

[9] The Gospel according to St. Matthew 23:35. (tr.)

Bar Amittai;[1] on whether Tiglath-Pileser, King of the Assyrians, was the King of Nineveh (in the time of Jonah) and which is more correct: "Nineveh shall be overthrown in forty days" or "in three days;"[2] on what is the wild gourd which was picked by one of the sons of the prophets;[3] On the Prophet Obediah, on the Tabernacle, on Zeruiah the mother of Joab and Abigail the mother of Amasa; that not all of the Psalms are the composition of David and whether it is true that the Jews were called Hebrews after *Eber*; what are the three thousand proverbs ascribed to Solomon, the sixty valiant men who guarded his chamber and on Saul and the ten righteous men in Sodom.

32) A fifteenth letter in reply to eighteen Biblical problems mainly from the Old Testament. He mentioned in this letter tales ascribed to Epiphanius of Cyprus.

33) A sixteenth letter in reply to thirteen problems such as that the composer of the *quqoye* was Simon, the potter of Kishir and not Jacob of Sarug or another person, that the closet in which our Lord ate the Passover belonged to Lazarus not Nicodemus, that the thorn which tormented the Apostle Paul was a gangrenous sore in his heel, that Philip who converted the Ethiopian eunuch and the people of Samaria to Christianity was Philip the Deacon not the Apostle Philip and that Kush is the country of Yemen not Abyssinia. They also included replies to problems such as: who were the Marys who witnessed the crucifixion, on Peter the Fuller and Timothy of Alexandria nicknamed the "Weasel," on the doctors of the church whose names are Isaac, that the numbers of the Magians was twelve, on the reason the Jews worship facing the South, on the bones which Ezekiel saw in the wilderness, on the difference between the mind and the soul, on the prayer for the dead and on the phrase in the Apostle's Creed "to judge the quick and the dead!"[4]

34-38) Five letters beginning from the seventeenth to the twenty-first on solving Biblical problems (we do not know the

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[1] I Kings 18:17-24. (tr.)

[2] The Book of Jonah 3:4. (tr.)

[3] The Book of II Kings 4:39.

[4] For further information on the replies of Jacob of Edessa to John the Stylite of Atharib, see Brit. Mus. MS. 12172 in Wright's *Catalogue*, 2: 529-605.

subject of the twentieth letter). The twenty-first letter in which the author mentions Daniel, Joachim and Susanna is wanting.

39) A twenty-second letter in four pages on the consecration of the Chrism on Maundy Thursday and on the difference between the Chrism and the Unction. It begins thus: "Verily, I say unto thee."[1]

40) A letter to the deacon George regarding the exposition of the twenty-fifth *madrosho* on the Nativity of Christ as well as a *madrosho* on refutation of critics. Both of these *madroshos* are the composition of St. Ephraim.

41) A letter to Moses of Tur ʿAbdin, who is the chronicler Moses of Anḥil, mentioned by Bar Ṣalibi at the beginning of his commentary on the Gospels.

42) A letter to Jacob the Stylite on canonical questions.

43) A letter to Simon the Stylite.

44) A letter to a man named Stephen.

45) A letter to Thomas the Sculptor on the solution of problems sent to a certain Nestorian.

46) A letter to Lazarus the Ascetic.[2]

33. Except the formerly mentioned *madroshos*, what has come down to us from the poetry of Jacob of Edessa, is a metrical discourse in the dodecasyllabic meter, which he composed while still a deacon, for Cyrissona or Eustathius of Dara,[3] and heptasyllabic metrical discourses, unaddressed and imperfect in which he discussed God, nature and mind. It begins thus, "God creates by His power, but nature yields forth what it has been ordered to do. The mind looks to nature and it also generates according to its capability." Then he turns to censure the mind by saying, "Were not the natures of created beings enough for thy investigation that thou has even ventured to search for thy creator?" To him, Baumstark ascribed four metrical discourses on God, nature and wisdom which have also been ascribed by some manuscript to Jacob of Sarug, on the grounds that they resemble the poetry of Jacob of Edessa more.[4]

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[1] At our library dated 1603.

[2] An extract of this letter is to be found in the *Didascalia.*

[3] Brit. Mus. MS. 12172. Eustathius was still living around 710. See Michael the Great, *Chronicle*, 2: 451.

[4] Vatican MS. 95 and Cambridge MS. 2011. See Baumstark, p. 255. (tr.)

34. Replies to twenty-eight theological questions as well as commentaries on the Bible suggested by his disciple Constantine.[1]

35. An explanation of the degrees of spiritual relationship which forbid marriage.[2]

36. A fourteen page tract containing commentaries on Hebrews as well as other terms mentioned in the books of the prophets according to the version of the Syro-Hexapla by Jacob of Edessa. A copy of this tract is at our library.[3]

To him is also ascribed a letter on the acts of Christ followed by the lives of the doctors (of the church), which in fact, is not his.[4]

Anton Baumstark said that the Bible has found in Jacob of Edessa the greatest theologian in the Syriac language as evidenced by the contents of his diverse writings. The different types of sciences (such as grammar, philosophy and natural sciences contained in his writings, which reached the maximum of precision and quality), as well as this diverse treatise leaves us the opportunity to judge that, in these fields, the Syrians were more efficient than the Westerners.[5]

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[1] In a *Beth Gazo* at our patriarchal library in Ḥomṣ dated 1568.

[2] The miscellaneous collection of Basibrina.

[3] This copy was transcribed in 1004.

[4] Our patriarchal library in Ḥomṣ MS. 1417; Oxford Bodl. MS. 460.

[5] Baumstark, *Geschichte der Syrischen Literatur*, 254. [The author's quotation of Anton Baumstark is not an exact translation. Baumstark said that "Christian Hellenism has found in Jacob of Edessa the most prominent representative in the Aramaic language. His individuality and importance become most effective in a comparison to Jerome. Like Hieronymus, Jacob of Edessa's preference to apply the personal form of a letter to his mostly philologically-oriented scholarship is characteristic. Like the creator of the Vulgate, Jacob of Edessa—while occupied with the Old Testament—had at his disposal the invaluable resource of his knowledge of Hebrew. He applied his best talents to correcting revisions of older translations, mostly liturgical texts. For the Latin compilation of the Eusebian *Chronicle*, the basic chronological achievement has to be attributed to him. The diversity of the contents of his other prose (mostly the protrusion of Lianimar philosophy and natural history and the occasional usage of metrical verse also) makes the Syrian Jacob of Edessa appear more versatile than the Westerner. Baumstark, p. 248 and not p. 254 as the author states. However, on p. 254, Baumsark mentions the works of Jacob of Edessa. (tr.)]

Furthermore, for his creative ability, originality and significance of his philological writings concerning the Holy Scriptures, Baumstark likened him unto Jerome the translator of the *Vulgate*. He also thought that the correction of the Latin version of Eusebius' *Chronicle* provided Jacob with a most significant document to arrange what is accepted of that *Chronicle*. A group of late Roman Catholic writers attempted to associate this great erudite with their faith, but later most of them corrected their opinion.[1]

110. Bishop Euthalius

Euthalius was abbot of the Monastery of St. Ousebuna in the first decade of the eighth century. He was a learned man and had written a letter in four large pages on canonical questions addressed to the ascetic priest Addai.

111. Presbyter Simon, abbot of the Monastery of the Arabs

Presbyter Simon, an abbot of the Monastery of the Arabs near Tell Mawzalt, was a man of learning and independent reasoning. With permission of Timothy, abbot of the same monastery, he wrote a letter of about sixty pages answering the questions propounded by the priest ascetic Addai. This letter was written after the death of Mar Jacob of Edessa (about 710).[2]

112. Presbyter Simon of Samosata

Presbyter Simon of Samosata, the *Psalter*, wrote the life of Mar Theodotus the Ascetic, metropolitan of Amid, who died around 700, as has been related by his disciple, the monk priest Joseph,

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[1] The author implicitly refers here to Assemani, who according to W. Wright "tried hard in vol. i. to prove that he was not a Monophysite (p. 470 *sq.*), [or orthodox as the author and his church maintain,] but in vol. ii. 337 he gives up the attempt in despair." Wright, *A Short History of Syriac Literature*, 141, ff. 1. (tr.)

[2] The *Canons* of Basibrina.

shortly after this time. Of this useful biography, we found two copies in the *Lives of Saints* covering thirty large pages.[1]

113. David, bishop of Marʿash

Michael the Great states that, "David was a distinguished and well known man as well as a doctor. He died at the beginning of the patriarchate of Elijah, that is, in the second decade of the eighth century.[2]

114. The Historian Moses of Anḥil

Moses of Naḥl or Anḥil, a village in Tur ʿAbdin, was a learned man and an historian. He lived at the close of the seventh and the beginning of the eighth centuries. He was mentioned in the biography of Simon d-beth Zayte, bishop of Ḥarran (700-734), who stated that, "Moses of Anḥil, a historian of that time, who was known in the time of Mar Simon, is the one whose fame spread all over the earth for his miracles and for his kindness, knowledge, fairness and righteousness."[3] From this we understand that Moses either preceded in time or was contemporary of the historians David Ibn Moses and John Ibn Samuel. To him (Moses), Mar Jacob of Edessa wrote a letter as has been mentioned earlier.

115. Elijah I (d. 723)

Elijah was a Malkite, who after reading the writings of Severus of Antioch, embraced the Syrian Orthodox faith. He became a monk at the Outer Gubba Monastery. Because of his piety and learning, he was consecrated bishop of Apamea around 691. Later he was elevated to the See of Antioch in 709. He entered Antioch in great pomp and was greatly honored by the Umayyad Caliph al-Walid. Elijah was very scrupulous in attending personally to the affairs of his congregation. He died in 723 at eighty-two years of age.

Of his writings that have come down to us is a lengthy letter which he wrote while still a bishop, in reply to Leo, the Malkite

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[1] Zaʿfaran MS. 117-118 and also at the Church of Diyarbakir.
[2] Michael the Great, *Chronicle*, 450.
[3] In an MS. at our patriarchal library in Ḥomṣ.

bishop of Ḥarran, apologizing for forsaking the doctrine of the two natures. In this letter, divided into twelve chapters and covering forty pages, Elijah refuted the questions raised by Leo and proved with evidence the soundness of his newly embraced doctrine. He also combined an apology and a disputation, citing as testimonies famous church doctors, such as Athanasius, Gregory Nazianzen, Gregory of Nyssa, Ambrose and Cyril. He also cited the Syrian Mar Simon d-beth Zayte; and the Malkite Bishops John of Damascus, George, bishop of Miyapharqin and Constantine of Ḥarran. A complete copy of this letter is at the Vatican Library, with a table of contents containing the titles of chapters.[1] Another version which is imperfect is in the British Museum, written on vellum in the Estrangelo script.[2] Of this version portions of chapter seven as well as the last four chapters survive. Also at the British Museum is an extract[3] of the letter of Patriarch Elijah to the clergy of the village of Ruḥīn,[4] in the province of Antioch. In writing it, he was assisted by Mar George, bishop of the diocese of Ruḥīn.

116. The Monk Ṭubana

The monk Ṭubana (the Blessed) was a monk of the Monastery of Qarqafta in the village of Magdal in the Jazira of the Banu Rabiʿa. The monks of this monastery, as mentioned previously, were highly learned in the Biblical sciences, especially Biblical philology. After finishing his studies, Ṭubana, like Mar Jacob of Edessa, devoted his life to the study of the translation and orthography of the Bible. He lived in the first quarter of the eighth century.

117. Deacon Saba (726)

The monk-deacon Saba of Rish ʿAyna was one of the prominent monks of Qarqafta Monastery. He was also a writer, a jurist and a scholar, following the same course as Ṭubana in vocalizing the texts of the Bible. He wrote excellent works transcribed on the

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[1] Vatican MS. 145.

[2] Brit. Mus. MS. 17197.

[3] Brit. Mus. MS. 14615, tenth-eleventh centuries.

[4] According to Yaqut al-Ḥamawi in his *Muʿjam al-Buldān*, Ruḥīn is a village on Mount Lebanon, near Aleppo. (tr.)

eighteenth of March, 724 and on the first of April, 726. The latter work, which contains the Books of Ezekiel and his companions, was written at the Monastery of Ouspholis by order of its abbot Constantine, who was also the bishop of Mardin. These writings reveal the history of the flourishing of this skill (vocalization) amongst us (the Syrians). Saba was younger than Ṭubana, who used to correct his writings. Both of those distinguished men were mentioned by al-Ḥasan Ibn Bahlul, who praised them and their excellence in his dictionary. As a result of the work of Saba and Ṭubana and of the monks who were men of letters and philologists, who followed their course, there emerged the philological rules known as the Qarqafite tradition.[1]

118. Mar George, bishop of the Arabs (d. 725)

Mar George, bishop of the Arabs, was a scholar, a church dignitary, a student of philosophy, an excellent critic and an authority who was deeply versed in both poetry and prose. In the prime of his life, he studied at Qenneshrin under Severus Sabukht shortly before the latter's death and later under other professors. He acquired all that the brilliant mind could absorb of the Syriac philological sciences as well as philosophical, astronomical, theological sciences and history. He assumed the monastic habit and pursued godliness. He was ordained a priest and then a bishop of the Arab tribes of Ṭay, ʿUqayl and Tunukh, on the twenty-first of November 686. Thus, he came to be known as the 'Bishop of the Arabs'. The seat of his diocese was ʿAqūla, which is the town of al-Kufa. He also had a monastery in which he resided and from which he administered his diocese. He supervised his diocese in the best manner for thirty-two years (or forty years) during which he shown in purity and knowledge, until he died, a venerable aged man, in February 725 or 726.

Following is a list of his interesting works which have come down to us and which indicate his proficiency and eloquence:

1. Commentaries on some books of the Bible which were cited by the commentators Patriarch George, the monk Severus, Bar Ṣalibi and Bar Hebraeus.

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[1] See the author's *Nuzhat al-Adhhān*, p. 50.

2. A short commentary in fifteen pages on the sacraments of the church concerning faith, baptism, the celebration of the Eucharist and the Chrism. A copy of this commentary is at the British Museum;[1] another copy is at the library of Seʿert.[2]

3. A supplement of the *Book of the Six Days* by the learned Jacob of Edessa in ten pages, translated by Ryssel into German.

4. Compilation of a large *scholion* on the homilies of Gregory Nazianzen.

5. A translation of the *Organon* of Aristotle, to each part of which he prefixed an introduction, following each section with a commentary. Parts of this significant translation were published by Hoffmann.[3] Ernest Renan had this to say about this work: "I did not find among the philosophical commentaries of the Syrian scholars a more important and precise treatise than this work. It deserves to have priority of publication over all Syriac philosophical writings." There is an incomplete copy of this work in the library of London in two hundred forty-four pages, transcribed in the eighth or the ninth century, the text being written in heavy script and the notes in fine script.[4]

6. A chronicle which he mentioned in some of his letters to John of Atharb and cited by Elijah Bar Shinaya in the second part of his history.[5] This chronicle is lost.

7. Six long homilies in the twelve-syllable meter, the first of which is on the holy Chrism;[6] the second comprising twelve large pages on the life of Severus of Antioch, praising his virtues;[7] the third on solitary monks (in four pages);[8] the fourth on the

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[1] Brit. Mus. MS. Add. 12154. The author seems positive that this short commentary was written by George, bishop of the Arabs, while the MS. states that "it was written by a bishop named George." However, this George may be the same George, bishop of the Arabs. See Wright, *Catalogue*, 2: 985. (tr.)

[2] Seʿert MS. 69.

[3] Georg Hoffmann, *De Hermeneuticis apud Syros Aristotilius* (Leipzig, 1869), 148-151. (tr.)

[4] Brit. Mus. MS. 14659.

[5] Pp. 129-132.

[6] Jerusalem MS. 222 (thirteen pages), also Brit. Mus. MS. 825 and Vatican MS. 117.

[7] The Basibrina *Homilies*.

[8] Zaʿfaran MS. 27 and Basibrina.

Calendar;[1] the fifth on Palm Sunday, beginning with: "O Son of God whose glory hath filled the heights and the depths, fill thou mine soul with praise appropriate of thy exaltedness and humbleness;"[2] the sixth on the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste, a copy of which is extant in Mardin;[3] and a charming *sughitho* in heptasyllabic meter on Abraham and his sacrifice.[4]

8. A collection of letters preserved in London,[5] in one hundred and forty pages, covering theological, juristic, astronomical, ritualistic and historical problems which he carefully examined and distinguished between the important and unimportant problems. These letters also exhibit the author's ability, intelligence and erudition. Moreover, they contain a fair, scientific criticism hardly different from the points of view of top precise contemporary critics.

The first letter is addressed to Mari, abbot of the Monastery of Talʿada in May, 717 and contains replies to twenty-two heretical questions; the second is addressed to the deacon Barḥadhbshabba of the Monastery of Beth Meluta or Ṭalitha on the ninth of January 715, in reply to a minor question; the third, in reply to a heretical question, is addressed to the priest and recluse Yeshuʿ of the village Baneb;[6] the fourth is addressed to the same priest in July 714, in reply to nine questions concerning Aphrahat, the Persian Sage and refuting the latter's allegations that the world would end in the sixth century; that at the time of death the soul is buried in a senseless body; concerning the case of an orthodox priest giving absolution to a heretic deacon; concerning the criticizing of the story of Gregory the Illuminator, who converted the Armenians; concerning the age of Simon the Aged; concerning persons who offer up prayers, or celebrate the Divine Eucharist, with their heads covered; of newly baptized children, who are possessed of a devil, etc.; the fifth is addressed to the stylite priest, John of Atharb in July 714, in reply to eight astronomical questions; the sixth is

[1] Vatican MS. 532 and Berlin. This homily was published by Gabriel Boyaji.

[2] Basibrina.

[3] At our library.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] Brit. Mus. MS. Add. 12154.

[6] William Wright writes it Anab. See Wright, *Catalogue*, 2: 987 (tr.)

written to the same John, explaining what he could not understand of the letters of Jacob of Edessa (seven saints mentioned by Jacob) to Cyrissona of Dara, followed by his replies to the logical questions laid down to him by Thomas the Sculptor, dated the first of March 715. In his reply, George mentioned that he knew only Syriac, which means he did not know Greek. Syriac and Greek were the two languages mastered at that time by church scholars to study philosophy and theology. But this does not mean that he knew no Arabic—which he undoubtedly knew—for nobody would be in charge of the Arabs without having a knowledge of their tongue; the seventh, addressed to the same John in March 716, relating to three astronomical matters; the eighth, to the same, on a dispute that had arisen at the assembly of monks and clergy concerning the prayer for the dead and the confession of sins[1] (a significant letter, dated the sixth of March 718); the ninth, to the same, containing an exposition of the letter of Jacob of Edessa to the ascetic priest Abraham. He also discussed in this letter the various kinds of water and the springs of Tar which he saw in Persia; the tenth letter, written in December 717 and addressed to the recluse priest Yeshuʿ in reply to three matters, the second of which concerns the question: "Should the holy sacraments be lifted up in the absence of a deacon and without the table of the show bread?"; the third of these questions, on the offering of the sacraments to baptized children and to the dying sick; the eleventh letter, to his secretary the priest Jacob, explaining two passages in the book of Gregory Nazianzen,[2] at the beginning of which he stated that his Syriac translation was not correct. He went on to say that, "The correct translation is that which has been explained to me by the Patriarch Athanasius II, may God rest him in peace." These are the eleven letters which the London MS. contains. As to

[1] The writer's account on the contents of this letter seems to be free and quite different from the original Syriac text. According to the Syriac text, the dispute had arisen among the assembly of monks and clergy, some of whom maintained that "Sins are forgiven through the prayers of the priests," while others maintained that "Sins are not forgiven, except through works of repentance." See Wright, *Catalogue*, 2: 988. (tr.)

[2] According to the Brit. Mus. Add., 12, 154, this letter was meant to explain two passages in one of the sermons of Gregory Nazianzen. See Wright, *Catalogue*, 2: 988. (tr.)

the twelfth letter, we have found it in the book of canons in Basibrina, along with five letters addressed to the ascetic priest Addai in reply to seven questions covering one and a half pages. There was a second copy of this letter in the library of Seʿert which is lost.[1] This library also contained a copy of his third and eleventh letters, addressed to the priest and recluse Yeshuʿ. The church, moreover, has incorporated some of these letters into its canons. Besides, George undoubtedly wrote many other letters which were lost. The letters of his that are intact are those written during the last ten years of his life. It is also quite improbable that an authority and scholar like George would not be asked for the solution of other problems in the course of his long tenure as a bishop.[2]

George's style is powerful, solid and fluent; his poetry is elegant and most is of the very best quality.

119. Sabar Yeshuʿ

Sabar Yeshuʿ, the son of Ram Yeshuʿ, the son of Sabroy, studied Syriac under his father. Like his father, he was a brilliant man of letters. At the Monastery of St. Matthew, he busied himself in correcting, punctuating and vocalizing many manuscripts with meticulous care. His name appears on these manuscripts. Later, he left the monastery and his homeland as well and went to one of the villages of the Marga. He also was employed as a clerk at the Register of Kharaj in the days of al-Ḥurr Ibn Joseph, the Governor of Mosul (725-731)[3].

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[1] Seʿert, 69.

[2] The Paris MS. 346 transcribed in 1309 contains fragments of the works of Mar George, but we have not read this MS. However, in the collection of Basibrina we have read questions and answers by Jacob of Edessa with a commentary on the third question by George. There is also mention of George by Elias of Nisibin in his *Chronicle*, 2: 7, citing, in some of his letters, his statement on the months which have thirty days only. He also called him the bishop of the Maʿadiyyīn (an Arab tribe).

[3] See David Bar Paul.

120-124. The Philologists of St. Matthew's Monastery

In his letter to Bishop John, Rabban David Bar Paul said, "When Ram Yeshuʿ and Gabriel, masters of the [Syriac] language, came to the Monastery of St. Matthew, the abbot, seeing that they were more eloquent than their contemporaries, gave them cells for their dwelling. Each one of them picked a copy of the same book, which was without diacritical points and vowel signs and took it to his cell to work on it by fixing and then compared both copies. They found that they had done exactly the same. They continued punctuating and vocalizing many books in this manner. With them and after them, there also flourished such eminent men as Yeshuʿ Sabran, Athanos, the abbot of the Kukhta Monastery and Severus Bar Zadiqa (the Righteous), Elijah of Ardi, the monk Ephraim and many others. These all followed the path of the Rabban family, who concerned themselves with philological rules and the punctuation of books." Undoubtedly, these masters who preserved the language, lived till the beginning, even the first quarter of the eighth century.

125. Mar Simon d-beth Zayte (d. 734)

Simon, the son of Mundhir, was a native of Ḥabsnas in Tur ʿAbdin. He studied and became a monk at the Monastery of Qarṭmin around 657. In 682, he was ordained a priest and then the abbot of the same monastery. He is credited with building many churches and monasteries in Tur ʿAbdin, which he also provided with large religious endowments. Among these were large tracts of vineyards and olive trees which he planted himself; hence, his nickname *d-beth Zayte* (of the olives). He was also helped in carrying out his work by a treasure he found hidden in a cave, which he devoted to charitable purposes. In 700, he became the bishop of the diocese of Ḥarran and proved to be one of the best bishops of his time. He also established a school at Ḥabsnas. In 726, he attended the council of Manazgird.[1] He died on the first of June, 734, which is also the day of his commemoration by the church.

In addition to his asceticism, piety and godliness, he was a man of learning. He composed many polemical books, against the

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[1] Michael the Great, *Chronicle*, 2: 459.

Malkite opponents.[1] According to the Patriarch Elijah, he also wrote a treatise addressed to one of the Malkites, Constantine, bishop of Ḥarran.[2] His biography was written by the monk Job of Manʿim.

126. Constantine, bishop of Edessa (d. 735)

Constantine was the most famous disciple of Jacob of Edessa. With Jacob, he went to the Monastery of Ousebuna, where he remained in his company for a long time. In 699, he was consecrated metropolitan of Bithyina by Julian III. However, he probably did not go there and, therefore, was sent to the diocese of Ḥomṣ. After the death of his master (Jacob), he was transferred by the Patriarch Elijah I, in 709, to the diocese of Edessa, which he administered for twenty-six years. In knowledge and virtue, he was in the vanguard of the bishops of his time. In 726, with four other bishops, he attended the Council of Manazgird, which was held between the Syrians and the Armenians. He died in 735.[3]

Constantine was very energetic in his pursuit of knowledge. He suggested that his learned master (Jacob of Edessa) write two books: *The First Cause* and *The Six Days of the Creation.* At the beginning of the second book,[4] the reader finds three questions laid down before Jacob, which demonstrate Constantine's high intelligence, wide perception and deep investigation. Thus, Constantine became the incentive impelling that erudite to produce these two works as well as the replies to twenty-eight questions which have been formerly mentioned. He also composed metrical discourses collected in an anthology, which until the sixteenth century was preserved at the library of Mar Abraham Monastery in Midyat. It was mentioned in the index of the old and valuable manuscript with this statement: "The anthology of the metrical discourses composed by the Rabban Constantine, metropolitan of

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[1] See his biography.

[2] Brit. Mus. MS. 17197.

[3] See the *Chronicle* of the monk of Zuqnin, 2: 164; Michael the Great, *Chronicle*, 2: 446, 450 and 459 and the *Chronicle* of the monk of Qarṭmin which we have published, p. 17.

[4] Pp. 2-4.

Edessa, at the Monastery of Mar Abraham in Midyat."[1] It is established that this work belongs to Constantine I and not to his successor Constantine II, a graduate of Qenneshrin, of whom nothing is known except his period of bishophood (845-878).[2]

127. John the Stylite of Atharb (d. 738)

John, a stylite ascetic and a priest at the Monastery of Atharb near Aleppo, was greatly interested in investigation and knowledge. He came to know Jacob of Edessa in the latter's late life and began corresponding with him, investigating historical and ritualistic questions and asking him juristic opinions regarding no less than one hundred legal matters. He received satisfying answers from him. He also corresponded with George, bishop of the Arabs, after Jacob's death. He died in 738.

John having attained a great knowledge of theological science, wrote an eloquent and significant treatise on the human soul for the orthodox Arab Syrian clergy according to the views of the church scholars. It is divided into six chapters, covering twenty-two large pages. This treatise was greatly admired by John of Dara, who incorporated it into his *Treatise on the Soul*. In 1928, we read this treatise, which is extant in only one copy, in the library of Boston in the United States.[3] He also wrote a short chronography which was lost except for a few citations by Michael the Great.[4] In addition, he wrote a letter, in eight pages, between 726 and 737, in reply to the priest Daniel of Ṭay, discussing the theme of the prophecy of Jacob: "The scepter shall not depart from Judah," etc.,[5] in which he cited the opinions of some ancient doctors like Severus Sabukht, the great philosopher Jacob of Edessa and George, bishop of the Arabs.[6] John was cited by Bar Ṣalibi in his treatise on Paradise.[7]

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[1] At our library.

[2] Michael the Great, *Chronicle*, 2: 755-756.

[3] MS. 3973, thirteenth century.

[4] Michael the Great, 2: 461.

[5] The Book of Genesis 49:10. (tr.)

[6] Brit. Mus. 12154.

[7] See biography No. 134.

128. Daniel Bar Moses

Daniel Bar Moses of Tur ʿAbdin who lived in the first half of the eighth century is the maternal grandfather of the Patriarch Dionysius of Tell Maḥre. He wrote a short chronicle (more like an ecclesiastical history), cited by both Dionysius his grandson and by Elijah Bar Shinaya.[1] What remained of this chronicle were only the events of the years 739, 745 and 748, incorporated in the annals of Dionysius.[2]

129. John Bar Samuel

John was also a Syrian chronicler who lived in the middle of the eighth century in some parts of the country south of the Euphrates. Around 746, he wrote a chronicle utilizing the chronicle of John of Atharb. The chronicle of John Bar Samuel was mentioned by Dionysius of Tell Maḥre[3] and cited by the monk of Zuqnin, Theophan the Greek and Michael the Great. Both chronicles of the two Johns are lost.

130. Phocas of Edessa

Phocas Bar Sergius of Edessa and resident of Sarug, was an eminent and brilliant layman, possessing proficiency in both Greek and the Syriac language. He wrote a useful commentary on the margin of the book ascribed to Dionysius the Areopagite, which he wrote between 720 and 750. In the introduction to this commentary, Phocas said: "I, the humble Phocas, have dedicated to the Holy Trinity this work of mine which does not correspond with its majesty. This work is but the effort of the humble author. I have spent a period of a year amidst a continuous engagement in worldly affairs for its completion. I have never had any assistance regarding its language or its copying. But, by the help and care of God, I carried all the burdens of commenting on the text and its notes, writing them on tablets and then transferring them to paper. Therefore, I do ask the prayers of everyone who finds enjoyment

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[1] Michael the Great, *Chronicle*, 2: 378.
[2] 1: 168-171.
[3] *Ibid.*, 2.

in spiritual subjects." It appears, from the old manuscript of Mosul[1] dated 766, that Phocas re-translated many chapters of this work and subsequently, the translation was ascribed to him, as is evident from the letters of the Catholicos Timothy to the monk Sergius. These letters also indicate that he lived in the middle of the eighth century.

131. John II, metropolitan of St. Matthew's Monastery

John II, metropolitan of St. Matthew's Monastery, who attended the Council of Tella in 752, was a man of letters. He had composed a beautifully worded liturgy beginning with: "Grant us, O Lord, to love thee completely and also to love one another." Of this liturgy we have a copy (half of which is imperfect) transcribed from the copy of Diyarbakir. It is an error to consider the author of this liturgy a thirteenth century writer, for no metropolitan of this monastery bearing this name existed at that time. The style of the composition also supports this hypothesis.

132. John I (d. 754)

John became a monk and studied at the Monastery of Ousebuna or at Zuqnin (according to another source). He was consecrated metropolitan of Hawran,[2] and in 737 was elevated to the See of Antioch. When the (Umayyad) Caliph Marwan II, visited Hawran, the Patriarch John came to him with fifty camels carrying presents. The king greatly honored him and provided him with a diploma of authorization.

John died in 754, a very aged man. In the late period of his life, he wrote a synodical letter to the bishops, who assembled at Tella in 752, prescribing that it be announced in all the churches. This letter, which was incorporated by Michael the Great into his

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[1] Mosul MS., pp. 120, 156 and 265.

[2] As said by Michael the Great and Bar Hebraeus in their histories, not the bishop of Harran as cited by Elias of Nisibin, as well as Duval and Baumstark. In fact, the bishop of Ḥarran at that time was Thomas (734-738). See our article entitled "The Bishop of Harran" in the *Patriarchal Magazine* (1934), 37-38.

Chronicle,[1] exhibits the excellence of John, his humility and zeal for the church, as well as his happiness because of the peace in the church.

133. Elijah, bishop of Sinjar (758)

Elijah, bishop of Sinjar, was an able scholar and a sage who wrote a commentary on the metrical discourses of Gregory Nazianzen. An anecdote concerning him relates that he was arbitrarily dismissed from his office by Athanasius al-Naal, who usurped the See of Antioch, despite the fact that Elijah was one of the Eastern bishops under the jurisdiction of the Maphryono. Athanasius appointed in his place the intruding bishop, Yeshuʿ Bakr. Later, Elijah returned to his diocese and attended the Council of Mabug in 758.

John of Dara cited him in chapter four of the first treatises of his *Paradise* and quoted his statement that: "The tree of knowledge of good and evil was a real tree. It was made to be a divine symbol for Adam and Eve to partake of its fruit in the proper time." He (John) also called him the "theological interpreter."[2]

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[1] Michael the Great, *Chronicle*, 2: 468-469.
[2] At our library.

CHAPTER TWO

BIOGRAPHIES OF SCHOLARS AND WRITERS OF THE SECOND PERIOD

134. Quryaqos, metropolitan of Tur ʿAbdin (770)

Quryaqos was a bishop of Sijistan. Around 749, he created a rift in the church, motivated by his ambition to occupy the diocese of Tur ʿAbdin. He attempted to achieve his aim through the influence of the Caliph Marwan II, known as the Jaʿdī. By his resourcefulness, Quryaqos, together with a wicked teacher named Bar Salṭa of Rish ʿAyna, fabricated a treatise which they ascribed to the *Apocalypse* of Enoch. Incorporated in it were positive references to the caliphate of Marwan, his son and their successors. The Caliph (Marwan) was deceived by this treatise and by one of his astrologers. Quryaqos, however, gained nothing except disappointment and excommunication by the Patriarch John. On repenting he gained absolution. Finally, he was given the administration of part of the diocese of Tur ʿAbdin.[1]

Quryaqos was still living in 770.[2] He was mentioned by Bar Ṣalibi, in the treatise on the perceptible paradise of his *Book of Theology*. Bar Ṣalibi said "Jacob of Edessa, John the Stylite, and Quryaqos, bishop of Tur ʿAbdin, envisaged that Paradise was spiritual."[3] Hence, we know that the man was a writer, but we do not know what he wrote.

135. The Monk Lazarus of Beth Qandasa (773)

The Rabban Lazarus of Beth Qandasa was a noble and virtuous monk in the holy mountain of Edessa. He was also a doctor of

[1] Michael the Great, *Chronicle*, 2: 465-473.

[2] The *Chronicle* of the monk of Zuqnin, 2: 289.

[3] Bar Ṣalibi, *The Book of Theology and Disputations*, dated about 1200.

theology: a professor exploring the infinitesimal sciences of dogma and a leading critic. Moreover, he ran a school which produced pupils like George of Beth Neqe (or from the village Banqa) and the monk priest Jacob of Beth Jonathan of Narsibad.

On the mountain of Edessa, in the course of his teaching the science of dogmatic criticism as well as the critical method of interpreting the Pauline epistles, he wrote a commentary, around 773, on the following epistles: to the Galatians, Second Thessalonians, Second Timothy and to the Hebrews. The commentary on the epistles is taken from Chrysostom. Nevertheless, this commentary appears to be compact and fluent, comprehending the meanings of the total expounded verses. Of this commentary there is a single copy, in London,[1] completed shortly before the tenth century in a rough script which is almost fading. Lazarus also has a *scholion* showing that, according to Dionysius the Areopagite, "The order of Seraphs was the highest in the celestial hierarchy." Of this *scholion* there are two copies, one in Jerusalem,[2] and the other in London.[3] Wright and Duval ascribed a commentary on the Gospels of St. John and of St. Mark[4] to him, but Baumstark[5] correctly disagrees with them, as we have personally ascertained. In fact, this lengthy commentary whose style is good, was compiled in a scientifically adequate method, by a Malkite writer of Ḥarran named al-Ḥarith Bar Sisin (Sisan) of

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[1] Brit. Mus. MS. 14683.

[2] Jerusalem MS. 123.

[3] Brit. Mus. MS. 18295.

[4] Wright has two contradictory opinions regarding the compiler of this commentary on the Gospels of John and Mark. In his *Syriac Catalogue*, 2: 608 and 610, he stated that the "compiler of this commentary was Ḥārith Bar Sinin of Saubat and of Harran." However, after studying MS. 14683, which indicates that parts of the Pauline epistles were written by Harith Bar Sinin of Saubat, he was led to believe that this indication "renders it exceedingly probable that the said Ḥārith was merely the copyist and that he has claimed the labours of Lazarus of Beth Kandasa as his own." But in his *Syriac Literature*, p. 162, which appeared at least twenty years after his catalogue, Wright, despite the clarity of MSS. 14682 and 14683, credited Lazarus of Beth Qandasa with the compilation of the said commentary with no substantiation. (tr.)

[5] Baumstark, p. 271. (tr.)

Sanbat,[1] who transcribed the commentary on the previously mentioned epistles, citing the doctors, particularly, Jacob of Sarug and sometimes quoting St. Ephraim, Cyril, Theodorus and adding his own observations. Of this commentary there is a single copy, in the British Museum.[2] That this al-Ḥarith was of the Malkite creed is attested by Masʿudi in *Murūj al-Dhahab* (Vol. 2, p. 378). He said, "A Christian Malkite man from the citizens of Ḥarran known as al-Ḥarith Ibn Sanbastat (sic, the correct name is what we have mentioned), related to the Sabeans of Ḥarran things concerning their offering of sacrifices, which we abstained from mentioning to avoid lengthiness."[3]

136. The Historian Monk of Zuqnin (775)

In 775, a distinguished monk from the monastery of Zuqnin, near Amid, wrote a large chronicle in two volumes, beginning from the creation until his own time. He cited the ancient authorities to the time of John of Asia (John of Ephesus) who died in 587. After John's death he recorded fragmentary chronicles. However, he was not so precise in determining the dates of years. As he brought down his chronicle closer to his own time, he elaborated on the religious and civil events and on natural catastrophes. He gave a detailed account of the events relating to the last days of the Umayyad and the beginning of the Abbasid states until the days of al-Mahdi. In fact, he was the only historian who mentioned events which could not be found in any other history, be it Syriac, Greek or Arabic. In his chronicle, he uncovered the calamities which befell the inhabitants of the Jazira, particularly, the disturbances of peace under kings and their governors. These events covered two hundred pages of his chronicle. He wrote his chronicles, it seems, at the request of Chorepiscopus George of Amid, Othelius his Father Superior, the periodeutes Lazarus and Anastasius and the

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[1] According to Yaqut in his *Muʿjam al-Buldān*, Sanbat is the name of a village in the island of between Cairo and Alexandria. (tr.)

[2] Brit. Mus. MS. 14682.

[3] The Coptic Patriarchate MSS. 11 and 54, containing two new copies of the Pentateuch, translated from the Syriac into Arabic, according to the Septuagint, by al-Ḥārith ibn Sinan, who was probably still living at the close of the ninth and the beginning of the tenth centuries.

rest of the monks. Book four, i.e., half of the second volume of this chronicle, was published in French by Rev. Jean Chabot in 1895, but he ascribed it to Dionysius of Tell Maḥre, Patriarch of Antioch (d. 845). He used for evidence an old copy in the Vatican,[1] transcribed in 932; in the same year it was also moved to the monastery of the Syrians (in Egypt). This is the copy concerning whose author Assemani was mistaken. It would have been better for him and those citing him later to know that the style of Dionysius of Tell Maḥre is by no means the same as the style of this monk, which is not free from imperfection, mistakes and foreign phrases. Moreover, this monk's style was not up to the standard of eloquent authors. Besides, he confused the sequence of years. In addition, Dionysius of Tell Maḥre was not graduated from Zuqnin, but Qenneshrin and he did not bring down his annals to the year 775, but to 843. Finally, the Orientalists recognized that this author was anonymous. François Nau was also mistaken in regarding Yeshuʿ the Stylite as the author of this chronicle. Between 1927 and 1933, Chabot published these chronicles in two volumes, consisting of 732 large pages under the title *Anonymous History*. He also translated it into Latin.

137. The Translators of Canons (Hymns)

It was mentioned before that Jacob of Edessa composed the hymns known as the canons. Most of these canons, particularly those composed by Andrew of Crete, Cosmas and John of Damascus for the cycle of the whole year were translated from Greek into Syriac by proficient scholars and servants, as mentioned by the Cambridge MS. 624.[2] It is, therefore, probable that these scholars undertook the translation of these canons in the second half of the eighth century. Some of these scholars were probably graduated from the school of the Mountain of Edessa in the days of Rabban Lazarus of Beth Qandasa.

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[1] Vatican MS. 162. [The *Chronicle of Zuqnin* has been translated into English with notes and introduction by Amir Harrak under the title *The Chronicle of Zuqnin*, Parts III and IV, AD 488-773 (Toronto, Canada: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1999.) (tr.)]

[2] Cambridge MS. 624.

138. Mar George I, Patriarch of Antioch (d. 790)

George is one of the most famous Patriarchs of Antioch, distinguished in his age for his knowledge, understanding, literary productions and sober opinions. Moreover, he was amiable, humble and patient in overcoming hardships. He was born at Baltan near Josya in the province of Ḥomṣ and studied and mastered Syriac and Greek as well as philology, theology, and jurisprudence at Qenneshrin. There he was ordained a deacon and led an ascetic and pious life. He also corresponded with Theodore, bishop of Samosata, who predicted that God would entrust him with a high position in his church.

Theodore also encouraged him to be faithful to his monastery. As George was, besides his outstanding learning, a man of virtue and noble character, he was chosen by the Holy Council to ascend the Apostolic See of Antioch. He was consecrated a Patriarch in 758. Soon after his consecration, he had to put up with envious and malignant bishops like John, bishop of Callinicus, and David, bishop of Dara, and others, assisted by a wicked and intriguing monk who yielded to them. Consequently, both John and David usurped the See of Antioch. In 766, he suffered in prison, went to Baghdad, and for nine years he and other captives had to bear with patience the injustice of Abu Jaʿfar al-Manṣur, the stingy and greedy Abbasid Caliph. Although al-Manṣur was aware of the innocence of the Patriarch, he hoped that he would discover golden treasures through falsely achieved knowledge. With him was also imprisoned the Patriarch of the Malkites and the Nestorian Catholicos. They were all released after the death of Abu Jaʿfar in 775. He was honored and received by the church as if he were an angel descending from heaven. Immediately, he began gathering his scattered flocks and repairing the damage which had befallen the church. He journeyed to Antioch where, in the same year, he consecrated ten bishops. In 785, he held a synod at Kafr Nabu near Sarug in which he enacted twenty-two canons preceded by a universal letter. He administered the church wisely until his death on the first of December, 790. He was buried in the Monastery of Mar Barṣoum in Melitene and is commemorated by the church on the seventh day of the same month.

Mar George wrote an eloquent commentary in two volumes on the Gospel of St. Matthew, in which he cited Ignatius, Africanus, Eusebius of Caesarea, Gregory of Nyssa, Chrysostom, Jacob of

Sarug, Philoxenus of Mabug, Severus of Antioch, and George, bishop of the Arabs. There is one old copy[1] extant of this commentary, in almost 500 pages, written on vellum and imperfect from the beginning until chapter forty-seven. Also written by him was a distinguished letter, mentioned by Michael the Great,[2] addressed to Guriyya, the deacon of Beth Naar, a village in Lebanon, on the phrase, "we break the heavenly bread."

He wrote poetry, characterized by clarity and charm. During his imprisonment, he composed beautiful hymns and metrical discourses, some of which, as we believe, were added to the church services. Of these hymns, we found one, to the tune of *Qum Phawlos*, in which he laments his condition. It goes like this: "May it do me much good, if I am informed that Babylon, city of the giants, has fallen and that the gates of prisons have been opened in order to go out victorious like Peter,[3] and like Zachariah sing with delight: 'Behold, the sun shines over the blind from on high'.[4] O daughters of Zion, weep for Daniel and O monasteries, weep for George."

139. The Monk Theodosius (806)

The Zaʿfaran manuscript, transcribed in the year 1000, contains the philological rules for the Holy Bible as well as the writings of the doctors. In the appendix added to it at the end of the twelfth century,[5] the monk Theodosius is described as "the skillful teacher." We also know from these sources that he was engaged in the interpunction of the unfamiliar phrases in the poems of St. Ephraim, as is mentioned by the large register preserved at the great church of Melitene and transcribed by the Patriarch John Bar Shushan. His name is also mentioned in the table containing the

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[1] Vatican MS. 154.

[2] Michael the Great, *Chronicle*, 2: 480-482.

[3] Acts 12:5-17.

[4] Luke 1:78-79. He used the verses freely, but kept the meaning intact. The two verses which the writer cites read "through the tender mercy of our God, whereby the day spring from on high has visited us, to give light to them that sit in darkness and in the shadow of death, to guide our feet into the way of peace." (tr.)

[5] Zaʿfaran MS. 241.

names of the Syrian doctors in the handwriting of Isaac the Shaved,[1] metropolitan of Cyprus. Most probably this Theodosius is the monk scribe from the Pillar monastery who beautifully transcribed *The Divine Providence* by Patriarch Quryaqos in 806,[2] if it was not transcribed by another scribe of the same name in Melitene around the tenth century.

140. Elijah of Ḥarran

Elijah was a native of Ḥarran, but studied and became a monk at the Monastery of Qenneshrin. He was ordained a priest and then bishop of Salamya, shortly before the year 790. One of his writings is a treatise on the Divine Eucharist, divided into four chapters in twenty-five large pages and addressed to Dionysius the Edessene, of the Monastery of Qenneshrin (later Dionysius of Tell Maḥre, Patriarch of Antioch).[3] In this treatise, he discussed the disputation over the phrase "let us break the heavenly bread." Assemani, citing Bar Ṣalibi in his commentary on the Gospels, states that "Elijah compiled a diatessaron (harmonized) Gospel in the same manner as Ammonius, but it has not been found to this day. In this work, he also criticized some of the canons of the Gospels by Eusebius of Caesarea, showing their mistakes. He was correct in his criticism."[4] However, the published copies of this commentary and also the two copies in our library do not include this quotation.

141. Theodorus Bar Zarūdī

The teacher Theodorus Bar Zarūdī of Edessa was a spiritual philosopher. He wrote commentaries on the (pseudo) book of Dionysius the Areopagite, according to the British Museum MS. 22370, transcribed in the middle of the fourteenth century. These commentaries, however, are not found in the two MSS. of Mosul, dated 766 and the MS. of Jerusalem, dated 887. Theodore is thought to have lived at the close of the eighth and the beginning of the ninth centuries.

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[1] Sharfeh MSS. 9 and 10 of the middle of the sixteenth century.

[2] Jerusalem MS. 129.

[3] Brit. Mus. Add. 14726.

[4] Assemani, *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, biography 32, p. 156 and after.

142. Simon Bar ʿAmraya (d. 815)

According to one source, Simon Bar ʿAmraya was a native of Takrit, but according to Bar Hebraeus, a native of the village of Bādiya. He studied and became a monk at the Monastery of the Pillar. He also became a disciple of Patriarch Quryaqos, who ordained him a Maphryono of Takrit in 806, but he was dismissed from office around 813. He composed metrical discourses, especially one in praise of the Apostle Thomas, a copy of which is extant in Seʿert.[1] He died in 815.

143. Anba David Bar Paul of Beth Rabban

A proficient writer with a versatile style and an eloquent poet he could be considered a top-rated poet had he not used Greek terms.

David was born at Beth Shāhāq, in the province of Nineveh, to the family of Beth Rabban, which was dedicated to learning. He was a descendant of Beth Sabroy, the son of Abraham, David's great-grandfather. At Beth Shāhāq, he studied under Moses, the teacher, at its great church (a grandfather of Moses Bar Kepha),[2] mastering the Syriac language and becoming one of its authorities and a distinguished man of letters. Then he entered the Monastery of Khanushia, near Sinjar, where he studied Greek. Also, he became deeply versed in theological science, which was taught in the great monasteries and he was elevated to the dignity of priesthood. He is also said to have left his monastery with his disciple Zachariah and forty monks because of a misunderstanding between them and John, their bishop. They settled in a monastery west of the Euphrates. But after one year and eight months, that is, in 780 or shortly after it, they returned to their monastery.[3] David brought back with him the anthems of Severus of Antioch, which he had learned during that period and inserted about one hundred and eighty anthems into the Eastern Order. Then he settled in the Monastery of Mar Sergius on the Barren Mountain and became its

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[1] Seʿert MS. 52.

[2] See the biography of Moses Bar Kepha.

[3] As stated in a marginal note on p. 4 of the collection of his letters which mentions the year one thousand and ninety, but the figure which succeeds the ninety is illegible because of the age of the copy.

abbot. He achieved fame for his virtue and honesty. Men of learning and letters corresponded with him. It seems that he lived long and most probably died in the second decade of the ninth century, as evidenced by his correspondence with Thomas the Stylite, who was living in 837.[1] Bar Ṣalibi's statement that he was a friend of Bar Kepha or his disciple does not seem to be correct, even if it is supposed that David lived long; for Moses Bar Kepha was born in 813 (or in 833, according to a different source). However, despite the fact that old chronicles do not mention him, contemporary scholars thought him to belong to the thirteenth century,[2] until his anthology was found. Moreover, Assemani and later writers who quoted him, were mistaken in attributing to him the episcopal dignity, claiming that Bar Hebraeus in his *Awṣar Roze* (*The Storehouse of Secrets*), sometimes calls him a monk and at other times a bishop. In fact, this book does not mention him at all as a bishop. However, he was counted in the *Book of Life* (the Mosul copy) among the saints who were monks.[3]

What remains to us of his writing is a collection of elegant phrases as well as metrical letters in the three meters. There is a single medium-sized copy of these letters in the Zaʿfaran library,[4] consisting of two hundred and eighteen pages, imperfect at the beginning and at the end, transcribed at the beginning of the fourteenth century. It contains sixty-six letters, of which seventy-three were exchanged between him and contemporary writers. The rest of these letters consists of metrical discourses, copies of letters to unknown addressees and eight letters addressed to him. These letters differ in theme and purpose as follows:

1) Letters of affection, such as his letter No. 2, addressed to the priest Sumaqa (The writing of this letter was shared by David's

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[1] *The Book of the Six Days* by Jacob of Edessa p. 122, preserved at Lyons (France).

[2] Wright, citing Assemani, based his view that David Bar Paul belonged to the thirteenth century on the grounds that he was cited by Bar Hebraeus in his *Awṣar Roze* (*The Storehouse of Secrets*). See Wright, pp. 259-260, citing Assemani, *B.O.* 2: 243. (tr.)

[3] At our library.

[4] Zaʿfaran MS. 248. Also three recent copies, one in our library, Birmingham MS. 29 and a copy in the possession of Professor Margoliouth at Oxford presented to him by this author in 1913.

disciple Zachariah). He wrote letter No. 3 to the stylite ascetic priest Thomas in Benshams. Letter No. 5 is on true love in reply to the letter of the deacon Jonah; letter No. 17, to the bishop John, with a praise of his traits; letter No. 35 to John, bishop of Ḥarran; letter No. 47 to the priest Athanas; letter No. 48 to Phocas the chief priest of Ḥarran.

2) Philological letters such as letter No. 4 addressed to Ḥannan Yeshuʿ, in which he expounded phrases alphabetically arranged; letter No. 58 on the division of the Syriac alphabet; letter No. 14 to the bishop John on the diacritical points used in the Holy Scriptures; a letter on philological rules which is the best of his letters.[1]

3) Expository letters, such as his letter No. 6, addressed to a scholar, stating that the book of Ecclesiastes was not written by Solomon but by Judas Maccabeus and his brothers in the third century B.C.; letter No. 7, describing the Tabernacle and praising the prophet Moses as well as Greek philosophers, particularly Aristotle; letter No. 8, addressed to his disciple Zachariah on a question relating to the Ten Commandments; letter No. 49 to Phocas, the chief priest of Ḥarran on the Book of Numbers; letter No. 50, containing a discourse in the twelve-syllable verse on commentary on some topics from the Old Testament, particularly those referring to the coming of Christ and the fall of the Jews; letter No. 59 addressed to George on the Ten Virgins; letter No. 62 containing a reply to someone asking why the shepherds were the first to see Christ; letter No. 65 to Zachariah, containing an exposition of some questions.

4) Letters on dogma, such as his letter No. 10, consisting of a discourse in the twelve-syllabic verse on the qualities of the Holy Trinity; letter No. 13 to the priest Mar Aba, explaining the Incarnation of Christ and declaring his orthodox faith; letter No. 43, addressed to the periodeutes priest Yeshuʿ on the same subject.

5) Ethical letters, such as his letter No 10 in the heptasyllabic meter, addressed to a female disciple and containing instruction; letter No. 33 addressed to a nun, containing advice on how to carry the burdens of monasticism appropriately; letters No. 40 and 42, containing counsels and reproaches of the rich; letter No. 45 to the

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[1] Raḥmani published parts of them in Chapter 3 of his *Studia Syriaca.*

deacon John, containing advice; letter No. 46 addressed to the monk-priest John on the delight in the love of Jesus Christ; letter No. 51 to a rich priest named Ḥabib; letter No. 52 to a priest on negligence; letters No. 53, 54 and 56, on pride, arrogance and conceit; letter No. 55, in the form of a dialogue between the olive tree and the rest of trees; letter No. 57, in the form of a dialogue between the vine and the cedar tree.

6) Social letters, such as his letter No. 41 in the heptasyllabic meter, describing the death of the rich and stating that the funeral of a righteous man is shunned by everybody, whereas the funerals of wealthy men are attended by multitudes of people. In them, the priest exaggerates the singing of hymns, metrical discourses and songs for the sake of gold; and letter No. 11 on the despotic ruler.

7) Ascetical letters, such as his pleasant letter No. 15, in which he calls himself to repentance; letter No. 18, addressed to the abbot Elijah in which he blames himself and asks his assistance to reform himself; letter No. 19 to a noble adviser and priest named Constantine, which he wrote while still in the prime of youth. This is indeed a splendid letter.

8) Eight letters, some of which he was asked to write, such as letter No. 23, from the abbot of a monastery addressed to the chief priest of Takrit, the clergy and the congregation; letter No. 24, which is a general letter from the metropolitan of a diocese to the clergy and congregation, enjoining them to help a poor fellow; letter No. 25, from a bishop to another bishop; letter No. 26, containing a protest against a bishop; letter No. 27, addressed to monks; letter No. 34, from the abbots of the monasteries of the Arabs and Sergius to the abbot and monks of St. Matthew's monastery; letter No. 38, from the stylite monk John to one Thomas on the condition of man after Adam's fall and Christ's remedy of our condition; letter No. 39, which he wrote for the monk John in praise of John the Stylite. The two last letters are composed in the heptasyllabic meter.

9) Seven letters were sent to him. They are: letter No. 22, from a priest; letter No. 29, from Thomas the Stylite; letters No. 30 and 31, from one Abraham in which he calls him "The Flower of the Earth" and "The Lily of Europa" (of the East); letter No. 32, which is anonymous; letter No. 37, from someone to a bishop or a teacher monk; letter No. 44, in the heptasyllabic meter, from John

to David Bar Paul, asking him to send him the collection of his letters.

10) Letters written on different subjects, such as letter No. 9, on what belongs and what does not belong to nature; letter No. 16, to the bishop John on thoughts; letter No. 20, to the same, containing a comparison between the Syriac and Greek alphabetical calculations and indicating that Greek scholars have deliberately overlooked the Syriac scholars; letter No. 21 to a physician, informing him of the abbot's sickness; letter No. 36 on peace; letter No. 63 on the peace of Christ; letter No. 61 in the form of a metrical discourse on those who cite Biblical verses for the practice of magic; letter No. 66 on the seven regions.[1]

David Bar Paul also composed a lengthy but pleasant heptasyllabic discourse in twenty-eight pages on the trees, their fruits, kinds and qualities;[2] a metrical letter to some Nestorians[3] and also a dodecasyllabic discourse. Ascribed to him are twenty-two splendid dodecasyllabic discourses on the love of wisdom and knowledge.[4] The first contains only one instance of the letter *Olaph*, the second one instance of the letter *Beth*, etc,[5] going through all twenty-two letters of the Syriac alphabet. However, this kind of composition was not known before the thirteenth century. He has also written two philological commentaries; one on the mutable letters[6] and the second on how to interpunctuate and preserve Syriac.

144. Quryaqos, Patriarch of Antioch (d. 817)

A most distinguished Antiochian father, in his life, piety, knowledge and understanding, Quryaqos was born and raised at Takrit. He received his education and also became a monk at the Monastery of the Pillar near Callinicus where he acquired a great deal of theological science and practiced the monastic life. He was

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[1] Vatican MS. 66 contains a copy of this discourse under number 152.

[2] JerusalemMS. 161; Birmingham MS. 338.

[3] Za'faran MS. dated 1482.

[4] Vatican, ninety-six pages.

[5] Birmingham MSS. 488 and 338; Berlin MS. 315 dated 1481, imperfect from the beginning to the letter *gomal*.

[6] Paris MS. 276.

a man of many virtues and good character, except that he was somewhat hot-tempered. He was elected a Patriarch by the Holy Synod and was consecrated in 793. He held five Synods, one in Beth Bātīn in 794, in which he issued forty canons and made them public in a universal letter.[1] The second was held at the Monastery of Nawawīs in the province of Qenneshrin in 797 or 798 to reconcile the phantasiast Julianists and add them to the church, but his efforts were blocked by some envious and fanatic bishops.[2] The third was at Beth Gabrin in 808, in which he excommunicated the monks of the Gubba monastery. The fourth was at Ḥarran in 813 and the fifth at Mosul in 817.[3] Because of his determination and strictness in enforcing laws and regulations, he suffered calamities from malicious clergy and laymen. He administered the Holy See for twenty-four years, during which time he consecrated eighty-six metropolitans and bishops. He died in Mosul on the sixteenth of August, 817 and was buried in Takrit and was commemorated by the church.

Michael the Great said: "Patriarch Quryaqos wrote a book on theological teaching as well as a magnificent collection of letters."[4] By the first work, Michael meant the book on *Divine Providence*, consisting of three volumes and divided into ninety-eight treatises. What remained of this book is the third volume,[5] and twenty-two treatises, some of whose chapters are wanting. Two of these treatises he wrote at the request of Theodosius, bishop of Seleucia and Walid and Yeshuʿ of Tirminaz, in the province of Cyrrhus. It is a noble book, testifying to the author's wide knowledge of the Bible and the writings of the church scholars. Moreover, it is written in a smooth and excellent style, free from foreign terms.

Quryaqos also wrote ten letters in reply to the questions propounded to him by the said Yeshuʿ, deacon of Tirminaz. These were added to his book.[6] He enacted seventy-two canons in the

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[1] At our library and at Seʿert MS. 69.

[2] Brit. Mus. 17145; Michael the Great, *Chronicle*, 2: 498.

[3] At our library and Michael the Great, 2: 495-497. Jerusalem MS. 118 dated 806 and also the MS. at our library dated 1915 which consists of 191 large pages.

[4] Michael the Great, 2: 494.

[5] Jerusalem MS. 118 and at our library dated 1915.

[6] A second copy is at our library dated dated 1602.

Synods of Beth Bātīn and Ḥarran and instituted a pledge of allegiance consisting of six pages, to be recited by the candidates for high ranks of priesthood before their consecration.[1] He also has three eloquent discourses consisting of seven pages; in the first he praised the virtues of Severus of Antioch. It begins with, "The clear and pure mirror which reflects the wonderful merits of St. Severus, requires a clear mind with tremendous imagination to look through it."[2] The second discourse on the Sunday of the priests begins with, "When we remember the chief priests and priests of the orthodox faith, who departed from this transient world."[3] The third discourse on the "vineyard of the beloved," mentioned by the prophet Isaiah,[4] begins with: "When our Savior spoke to the descendants of Israel by parables and symbols."[5] He also wrote a homily on virginity[6] and drew up a liturgy beginning with, "O eternal and everlasting Lord," consisting of five pages,[7] and a creed composed by him and Gabriel, head of the Julianists.[8] This collection of his letters, however, is lost and of his synodical epistles, only two survive; one addressed to John IV and one to Mark III, Patriarch of Alexandria, in an imperfect Arabic translation.[9]

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[1] Jerusalem MS. 118 and at our library dated 1915. [The pledge of allegiance is recited by metropolitans, bishops and other high-ranking clergy before their ordination and contains their promise to uphold the orthodox faith, the laws of the church, its sacraments and the ecclesiastical councils which it recognizes. It also contains the punishment of excommunication in case the ordained person violates his allegiance. This practice has since been enforced in the Syrian Church until this day. (tr.)]

[2] The Basibrina Homilies.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] Isaiah 5:1.

[5] Brit. Mus. MS. 848.

[6] The *Kaschkul* [Collection] of Basibrina.

[7] MS. at our library.

[8] Brit. Mus. MS. 17145.

[9] *The Book of the Belief of the Fathers.*

145. Malphono Athanus (818)

Athanus, a chaste priest, commentator and *malphono*, was first known in 818. According to Michael the Great and Bar Hebraeus, some of the father members of the Synod of Callinicus nominated him for the Patriarchal See in that year (818). It seems that he was a teacher at one of the great monastic schools. Of his writing we have read a four-page tract, which he wrote as an introduction to the pseudo-book of Dionysius the Areopagite. In this tract entitled "A necessary subject preceding the Book of St. Dionysius, written for the benefit (of others) the chaste priest and teacher Mar Athanos,"[1] the author discusses briefly the three topics which it contains: the headship of priesthood, the speech on theology, and the letters. Despite its brevity, this tract shows his deep knowledge of philosophy and theology. May God reward him.

146. The Chronicler of Qarṭmin (819)

This chronicler was a brilliant monk of polished style, who flourished at Qarṭmin, but his name is unknown. In 819, he wrote a brief, exact and useful chronicle, tabulated according to the years from the time of Christ the Lord until the said year, consisting of nineteen pages. It contains, particularly, parts of the chronicles of the Monastery of Qarṭmin and its abbot, which could not be found in other sources. We found this chronicle in 1911 in the valuable collection of canons at Basibrina and had it published in Paris.[2] It was also translated into Latin by Rev. Chabot.

147. Ḥabib Abu Ra'iṭa of Takrit (828)

According to Michael the Great, citing Dionysius of Tell Maḥre, Ḥabib Ibn Khadama Abu Ra'iṭa of Takrit was a layman having wide knowledge of logic and philosophy. He was a contemporary of Nonnus of Nisibin and had participated in the complaint against Philoxenus, metropolitan of Nisibin, to the Patriarch in 828. Of his writing we found Arabic theological treatises, which are the oldest

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[1] Jerusalem MS. 123 dated 887.

[2] See *Patrologia Orientalia*, 1920.

surviving[1] writings by our Syrian scholars in this language. These are a treatise on the Holy Trinity, a treatise confirming the *Trisagion*, and a treatise to the citizens of al-Baḥrayn. The two Coptic writers, al-Mu'tamin Ibn Isaac Ibn al-ʿAssal and the priest Abu al-Barakat Ibn Kabar of the thirteenth and the fourteenth centuries have erroneously attributed to him the episcopate of Takrit. This error was repeated by later scholars.[2] No doubt Abu Ra'iṭa knew Syriac literature although nothing of his writing in Syriac has survived.

148. Lazarus bar Sobto (829)

Basilius Lazarus bar Sobto ["old woman"] and his brother, the priest Ṭobo ("the good") entered the Monastery of Mar John Qurdis in Dara,[3] where they studied and became monks. Lazarus was consecrated metropolitan of Baghdad by the Maphryono of the East to succeed the bishop Ḥabib, much later than the year 818. In some manuscripts, he is also called "Philoxenus." According to Dionysius of Tell Maḥre, Lazarus was, despite his profound knowledge of Syriac, theology, and poetry, harsh and stubborn. Consequently, hatred developed between him and the majority of his congregation, which forced the Patriarch Dionysius to dismiss him and consecrate the bishop John in his place in March, 829. After this date nothing, not even the year of his death, is known about him.

Lazarus wrote a significant work on "The Revision of the Celebration of the Divine Eucharist" in three chapters, covering thirty-one pages in which he criticized ritualistic customs and supplicatory prayers which had been added to the church service and to the sacerdotal of the priests, by men of little experience.[4] He also wrote an exposition of the ritual office of baptism in four pages[5] and compiled a good liturgy, beginning with "O Lord, who

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[1] Copies of these treatises are to be found in Paris, Rome, Cairo and the Coptic Monastery in Jerusalem.

[2] Louis Cheikho, *Al-Makhṭūṭāt al-ʿArabiyya li-Katabat al-Naṣrāniyya* (*Arabic Catalogue of Christian Writers*), p. 20. See also Bishop Isodorus (d. 1942).

[3] Brit. Mus. MS. 625.

[4] Vatican MS. 147; also at Sharfeh, Istanbul and our library.

[5] Vatican MS. 147.

art the ocean of safety," consisting of eighteen pages,[1] and an eloquent twelve-syllabic discourse on the holy Chrism, consisting of twenty-eight pages. This liturgy was incorporated into the Eastern rite.[2] He is quoted by Bar Hebraeus as having stated "that Greek canons or anthems have been incorporated into our Syrian rituals."[3] There is no doubt that Lazarus had written a lengthy treatise on this subject, but it did not survive.

149. Theodosius, metropolitan of Edessa (832)

The learned Theodosius was the brother of the Patriarch Dionysius of Tell Maḥre and probably older than him. He was born at Tell Maḥre. He studied at the Monastery of Qenneshrin the origins of Syriac and Greek literature, as well as philosophy and theology. He also acquired sufficient proficiency in the Arabic language. Then he became a monk and was elevated to the office of priesthood before 802. He began to be well-known for his virtues and was consecrated a bishop of Edessa around 813. In 825, he journeyed with his brother to Egypt to complain to the Amir ʿAbd Allah Ibn Ṭāhir against his brother Muhammad who had unjustly destroyed the churches in his diocese. The Amir was hospitable to them and was just in their case. Theodosius died in 832. He was lauded by his friend, the monk Anton of Takrit who called him "The Lover of Sciences and Languages."[4]

Theodosius wrote a short ecclesiastical history, beginning from 754 to 812, which was cited and used by his brother.[5] According to Bar Hebraeus he also translated the poems of Gregory Nazianzen, from Greek into Syriac.[6] Of these, we found in the Vatican a metrical homily, in two pages, on the miracles performed by the prophets Elijah and Elisha.[7] He began the translation of this homily in June, 802 and finished it in December of the same year,

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[1] Our library and also Renaudot, *Liturgies*, 2: 399.

[2] Al-Ṭāhira Church in Mosul MS. dated 1301, Birmingham MS. 546 and also at the village of Qaraqosh and at our library.

[3] Bar Hebraeus, *Ethikon*, section 5, chapter 4: 66.

[4] Anton of Takrit. *The Book of the Knowledge of Rhetoric*, section 5, 2: 87.

[5] Michael the Great, *Chronicle*, 2: 378.

[6] Bar Hebraeus, *Ecclesiastical History*, 2: 363.

[7] Vatican MS. 96.

while still a priest at the Church of Edessa. He also rendered into Syriac in six long pages twenty-five questions submitted to Theodosius, Patriarch of Alexandria, in 820 and another twelve questions, in four pages, submitted by the monk to the same Patriarch. We have read these questions in the collection of canons at Basibrina. In his *Book on Theology*, Bar Ṣalibi quoted his exposition of the term (Ariphus) in the north-west of Constantinople, by which he meant the tide and ebb which occurs seven times a day.[1]

150. Thomas the Stylite (837)

Thomas was a distinguished ascetic priest, who lived at the top of a pillar in a place called Benshemesh, beyond the Khabur river in upper Jazira. He was alive in 837. This fact is attested by his handwriting, dating back to this year in the *Book of the Six Days*, preserved in the library of Lyon and transcribed by the priest Dioscorus.[2] He had, it seems, a good knowledge of literature and culture. He also corresponded with the Malphono David Bar Paul of Beth Rabban. To this David he wrote a pleasant reply (formerly mentioned) supporting his views, with testimonies from St. Ephraim, Severus, Pythagoras, and Plato. Also formerly mentioned was David's reply to him (letter No. 30) in which he praised his virtues and the two letters of the monk John addressed to him (letters No. 38 and 39). He also compiled a *ḥusoyo* (Supplicatory Prayer) for the martyr ʿZazaʾel of Samosata.[3]

151. Benjamin, metropolitan of Edessa (d. 843)

One of our elite scholars in the ninth century, he became a monk in the Monastery of Mar Jacob in Cyrrhus or the Edessene Mountain and was ordained a priest. He studied the science of theology thoroughly and obtained the title of *Malphono* in the science of religious dogma. Under him many studied the commentaries of the homilies of Gregory Nazianzen; for each homily he made an index containing Biblical verses and commentaries by church fathers. As a result many of his students

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[1] Bar Ṣalibi, *Theology*, heading 275, p. 190, preserved in our library.
[2] The library of the Jesuit school MS. 2: 122, the middle margin.
[3] The collection of *ḥusoyos* in Tur ʿAbdin.

became priests and thus benefited the people in their religion. His disciples, particularly the monk Daniel of Beth Bātīn, wrote commentaries on the obscure parts of these homilies.[1] He continued his lectures on these homilies, even in his seclusion with his students, at the Monastery of Talʿada. On the third of June, 837, or probably shortly after, he was consecrated metropolitan of Edessa. His death in 843 is proved by the consecration of his successor, the Metropolitan Elijah.

Benjamin had a commentary on the celebration of the Divine Eucharist, in two pages, addressed to the monk-priest Simon.[2] He is also cited by Bar Ṣalibi in his commentary on Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite.[3]

152. Basilius, bishop of Samosata (d. 843)

Basilius studied and became a monk at the Monastery of Qenneshrin and was consecrated a bishop around 809. He replied to questions submitted to him by some clergy of Edessa.[4] He died around 843.

153. Rabban Anton of Takrit

Anton was a very learned man, a leading philologist and one of the ablest writers and poets. He was a native of Takrit, from the family of Georgin or Keorgin.[5] He entered a monastery of the East and was ordained a priest, after he thoroughly studied the origins, eloquence and poetry of the Syriac language. In this field, he stands supreme. He also studied Greek, but he loved his own language so much that he could not stand the accusation made by some Greek writers that it was deficient and wanting. Therefore, he wrote his

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[1] Brit. Mus. MS. 14725.

[2] Brit. Mus. MS. 14538.

[3] The Edessene library MS. thirteenth century, Birmingham MS. 539, chapter 4, section 2: 141.

[4] Brit. Mus. MS. 14538.

[5] This is how he calls himself at the end of his treatise on the Chrism: Anton of the family of Keorgin of Takrit, who is likened unto the monks. The name of his family is also mentioned in the lexicon of Bar Bahlul.

invaluable work entitled *The Knowledge of Rhetoric*, in five treatises,[1] consisting of four-hundred pages, in defense of this language. The first treatise and the largest consists of thirty chapters: [the first] On Rhetoric; the second, On What Is the Use of Praise; the third, On the Rules of Refinement and Art; the fourth, On the Types and Varieties of Love and Affection; and the fifth treatise On the Embellishments of Speech, in which he elaborated on the varieties of poetry and rhyme. He is considered one of the first to use if not create rhyme. The style of his book is grand and eloquent. It is truly the pride of the Aramaic tongue. Because of it he was called "The Rhetorician" and the "Bearer of the standard of eloquence" among the Syrians. His book became an encyclopedic reference source for the masters of language which they attempted to imitate. One of his achievements is that he invented a new eight-syllable meter in Syriac verse which became identified with his name. Three copies of this unique book are extant, one in the Monastery of St. Matthew, near Mosul, the other in Jerusalem and the third in Midyat (Turkey). The first copy was transcribed in 1403; the second which is the most complete of them all, was transcribed partly in the fourteenth and partly at the beginning of the sixteenth centuries;[2] and the third was transcribed close to the date of the first one, but it is lost. Out of these three we compiled a reliable copy, lacking, only a few pages and is awaiting the efforts of the CSCO Society to have it published.[3]

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[1] W. Wright erroneously believes that Anton's treatise on rhetoric was in seven chapters. He was, as it seems, misled by the Brit. Mus. Add. 17208 which contains only seven leaves of the first book of the treatise. See Wright, *A Short History of Syriac Literature*, 203, and also his *Catalogue*, 2: 614. (tr.)

[2] Jerusalem MS. 231.

[3] Birmingham, Woodbrooke MS. 402, transcribed in the middle of the sixteenth, not the fourteenth century, as was erroneously thought by Mingana. This MS. consists of eighty pages, containing the first and part of the second books. The Brit. Mus. MS. 17208 contains only seven pages of the first book. Raḥmani published the index of this treatise, together with the fifth book, in 1908. Some of the chapters were also published by Sprenglin. The fifth book of this treatise was translated into English by Professor J. W. Watt and published by CSCO. See J. W. Watt, *The Fifth Book of the Rhetoric of Antony of Tagrit* (Louvain, 1986). (tr.)

This erudite (Anton) also acquired great proficiency in theological sciences. He wrote a book *On the Providence of God*, in four treatises, covering seventy-six pages, in which he discussed the types of death the bounds placed by God on death and fate, as well as wealth and poverty. He also wrote a treatise *On the Sacrament of the Chrism* in twenty-seven long pages, compiled from the Bible and the commentaries of the church fathers like Justin, Hippolytus, Ephraim and his disciple Aba, Athanasius, Gregory Nazianzen, Gregory of Nyssa, Epiphanius, Cyril, Dionysius the Areopagite and David of Ṣalaḥ. He also compiled an anthology in seventy-four pages,[1] consisting of eight metrical discourses, most of which are in the eight-syllable meter. Also, he wrote five letters, one to an imprisoned man, imperfect at the beginning; the second, on thanksgiving (to God) on the part of a certain Euphemius, alias ʿUthman Ibn ʿAnbasa of Callinicus; the third, a consolatory letter; the fourth, contains an encomium on one Sergius; and the fifth, containing an encomium on an aged and distinguished monk, Joseph of Rish ʿAyna, mentioned by the author as his long-time companion. This letter also contains portions of his chronicle, tributes and religious disputations with Muslims. He also described the town of Rish ʿAyna, the fertility of its soil and the pleasant living in it. Hence, we know that he had traveled through the Jazira (in upper Mesopotamia) and visited its monasteries. Then he went to Edessa and showed his book to Theodosius, its metropolitan, who admired his classification of poetry and praised him highly. The sixth letter is on praise, but is wanting. The seventh letter was a splendid pentasyllabic discourse against calumny, with allusions to those who slandered or belittled him. The eighth letter, against the ungrateful and the denier of grace which demonstrates his natural poetical aptitude and achievement in the composition of verse.

Anton also composed four supplicatory prayers, one for the morning, one for the evening, one for the dead and the last for supplication. These prayers as well as his formerly-mentioned writings are preserved in two MSS. in London.[2] It is also probably that Anton penned other writings which have been lost. However, he who desires, to grasp the principles of Syriac and its eloquence,

[1] A copy at our library.

[2] Brit. Mus. MSS. 17208 and 14726.

should study the writings of this proficient and outstanding scholar. He shall also find in his first book, i.e., *The Knowledge of Rhetoric*, the basis of smooth and lucid Syriac needed for eloquent composition. In like manner, those who came after him wrote in Arabic, like ʿAbd al-Raḥman al-Hamadhani (d. 933), in his book *al-Alfāẓ al-Kitābiyya* (*Philological Expressions*), Qudama Ibn Jaʿfar al-Baghdadi (d. 947) in his book *Jawāhir al-Alfāẓ* (*The Gems of Expressions*) and Abu Manṣur al Thaʿālibī (d. 1033) in his book *Fiqh al-Lugha* (*Philology*). I think that Anton Rhetor died between 840 and 850.[1]

154. Mar Dionysius of Tell Maḥre (d. 845)

Mar Dionysius I, known as the Tell Maḥrite, the seventieth Patriarch of Antioch, was a great and unique church dignitary deeply versed in knowledge. He was born at Tell Maḥre to a noble and wealthy Edessene family and became famous at the beginning of the seventh century for his great contribution to the church of Edessa. At Qenneshrin he studied philology, jurisprudence, philosophy and theology and entered the monastic life. It is sufficient to mention that, in 818, forty-eight metropolitans and bishops unanimously elected him to the Apostolic See, while he was still a novice monk. When he headed the church, he adorned his high office with his piety, honest belief, deep understanding, wide knowledge and firm will. For twenty-seven years he administered the affairs of the church with great energy, discerning policy, sound judgment and graceful patience. He held three councils at Callinicus in 818, another council at Ouspholis in 828 and another at Takrit in 834. He also issued canons and consecrated a hundred metropolitans whose names are cited by Michael the Great. He visited the Caliph al-Ma'mun in Baghdad and Egypt three times and paid one visit to the Caliph Muʿtaṣim, who recognized his caliber and high position and chose him for a political mission. Also, he was respected and recognized by the Amir ʿAbd Allah Ibn Ṭāhir al-Khuzai. The former was the most famous of the Abbasid Caliphs in judiciousness and knowledge. The latter was the best of the Amirs in character, chivalry and justice; he rebuilt the churches which had been unjustly destroyed.

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[1] See a our article on Mar Anton of Takrit in *Majallat al-Ḥikma*, Jerusalem, 1931.

After leading a dignified life, but one bothered by sufferings inflicted on his people by the unjust rulers, he died on the twenty-second of August, 845.[1] One of his writings is the magnificent *Annals*, covering the period from 583 to 843, which he compiled at the request of John, metropolitan of Dara. It consists of two volumes, each divided into eight treatises, which in turn are divided into chapters, covering the events of 260 years. Michael the Great utilized the *Annals* to a great extent and enriched his history, by incorporating Dionysius' introduction in its entirety to it. He also added to it the events of these *Annals* in brief. The original copy of these *Annals* was lost, except for two or three chapters, but its compendium has survived. The *Annals* of Dionysius also contains an interesting description of the pyramids, as well as the condition of the Coptic Church which welcomed him and his acceptance by the Patriarch Jacob and his bishop outside the city of Tannis in 833. These accounts were incorporated by Bar Hebraeus into his *Ecclesiastical History*. It was mentioned before that Assemani had erroneously ascribed to Dionysius the history written by the monk of Zuqnin.[2] Finally, Dionysius issued twelve canons at the council of Callinicus, preceded by a distinguished proclamation immediately after his consecration.[3]

155. Nonnus of Nisibin

Nona or Nonnus, archdeacon of the church of Nisibin was an eloquent Syrian with a smooth style. He was also deeply versed in the sciences of philosophy and theology. Discovering that he was a keen polemicist, the Patriarch Quryaqos delegated young Nonnus in 814 to the Court of Ashut, the Patrician of Armenia, to challenge Theodore Ibn Qurra, who was attempting to convert the Armenians to the Malkite doctrine. Consequently, Nonnus defeated his opponent and converted a great number of the followers of Julian the Phantasiast to orthodoxy, according to Michael the Great. In 818, he witnessed the consecration of the Patriarch Dionysius and in 822, he complained to him against

[1] See this author's article on the election of Mar Dionysius, in *al-Majallah al-Baṭriyarkiyya* (*The Patriarchal Magazine*) (the sixth year), 213.

[2] See biography No. 136.

[3] MS. at our library.

Philoxenus, metropolitan of Nisibin. In 828, the Patriarch praised the knowledge and excellence of Nonnus.

What remains to us of his writings is a medium-sized vellum MS. consisting of one hundred and forty pages and written in the Estrangelo script.[1] It contains the following:

1. A treatise in reply to one who asked him the proof of the oneness of God and the Trinity. It also contains a rational and not the traditional proof of the Word of God[2] in forty pages.

2. A lengthy treatise consisting of four discourses in eighty-two pages, composed by him when in prison, around 855, against Thomas, the eloquent Nestorian writer and bishop of Marga. Apart from defending the sound doctrine of the church regarding the Incarnate Word of God, he also mentioned the martyrdom of St. Baboy, Catholicos of the East and the persecution inflicted by Barṣoum of Nisibin, his message for the clergy and the believers and the burning of the books of the church fathers by his followers. It happened that Nonnus and Thomas were put in the same prison by the order of the king. A controversy went on between the two, when Thomas asked Nonnus many questions, some of which he answered and the rest he postponed to answer in this treatise.

3. A reply to two theological questions, one propounded to him by someone and the second in reply to a question from a monk named John, in eighteen pages. We have also read in the magazine of the *French-Armenian Studies* (1: 3) an article by Marius mentioning that Nonnus wrote a commentary on the Gospel of St. John in Arabic around 840 and that it was rendered into Armenian around 856. He also gives the description of the commentary.

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[1] Brit. Mus. MS. 14594, eleventh-twelfth centuries.

[2] The author's account of this treatise seems to be incomplete. According to the Brit. Mus. MS. 14594, Nonnus addressed a letter to an unnamed person who wanted to know "how Christians were to prove to polytheists and infidels that God was one, not many, that this One was three and yet one and the same; and that the Incarnation of God the Word, one of the Holy Trinity, took place under a fitting conjunction of circumstances and as such became the Deity." See both the Syriac version and its English translation by Wright, quoted above, in Wright, *Catalogue*, 2: 618. (tr.)

156. The Anonymous Historian (846)

In 846, a brilliant anonymous writer compiled a general and very useful ecclesiastical history tabulated according to years. His narration is very similar to that of the monk from Qarṭmin.[1] It begins with the creation and ends with the consecration of John IV as Patriarch of Antioch. The manuscript containing these annals is slightly imperfect at the beginning. It consists of seventy pages, seventeen of which are about the pre-Christian events from the death of Jacob, the father of the children of Israel; the rest is about the post-Christian era. Some parts of it are detailed.[2] It was published by Brooks in the second volume of *Chronica Minora* (pp. 157-238) and was also translated into Latin.

157. Arabi, metropolitan of Samosata (850)

Arabi (or ʿArbi) became a monk and studied at the Monastery of Qarqafta. He was consecrated metropolitan of Samosata around 846. He died in 850. In some manuscripts, he is identified as Shimshat because he was born there, but the name given to him is more correct since he was metropolitan of Samosata, according to Michael the Great and Bar Bahlul (in his *Dictionary*).[3] However, he was a native of Antioch and an eminent scholar. He is said to have written a commentary on one volume,[4] or according to another source, on two volumes[5] of the metrical discourses of Gregory Nazianzen. This work is preserved in the Zaʿfaran's library in a vellum manuscript written in the Estrangelo script and consists of one hundred thirty-two pages.[6] Another copy of this work, written in his own hand, is preserved in a London manuscript. This he wrote when he was still a monk and completed it at his monastery on the seventh of April, 839.[7]

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[1] See biography No. 146.
[2] Brit. Mus. MS. 14642.
[3] Bar Bahlul, p. 279.
[4] The *Annual Records* MS. 241 in the Zaʿfaran library.
[5] *The Rules of Reading*.
[6] Zaʿfaran MS. 242.
[7] *The Book of the Philosophers*, No. 992.

158. The Monk Bar Ḥadhbshabba

This monk was a philologist engaged in the interpunction and correction of the Syriac books in the Monastery of St. Matthew. We found his name mentioned in the colophon of the homilies of Severus (of Antioch) transcribed by the priest Addai of Amid as follows: "This book has been precisely corrected and interpunctuated according to the philological rules of Bar Ḥadhbshabba, the militant stranger of the holy Monastery of St. Matthew." The book was transferred to the Monastery of the Syrians in Egypt in 895.[1] Bar Ḥadhbshabba most likely lived in the middle of the ninth century.

159. The Priest-Philosopher Denḥa

The priest Denḥa was a learned monk in the Monastery of St. George. He had a close priest-friend named Simon, from the village of Shiḥa,[2] who wrote to him, suggesting that he should write a lengthy treatise in the heptasyllable meter against the heretics. He also suggested that the treatise should include counsel. Denḥa replied in an eloquent heptasyllabic treatise beginning with, "To the chief among the sages and leader of the philosophers." We have read this treatise in the *Didascalia* in Midyat.[3] Denḥa was most probably alive around the year 850. He also compiled discourses and commentaries on the Psalms as well as on the works of Gregory Nazianzen (translated by the abbot Paul) and on the *Dialectics* of Aristotle, as mentioned by ʿAbd Yeshuʿ of Ṣoba.[4] The works of Denḥa were quoted by the monk John of Zuʿbi.

160. John, metropolitan of Dara (860)

A proficient scholar and illustrious theologian, deeply versed in religious sciences, he became a monk at the Monastery of Mar

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[1] Brit. Mus. MS. 14601.

[2] Shīḥā or Shīḥ, is a village near Cyrruhs. Before 1052 it was the bishopric seat of Paul, the Malkite (Rum) Metropolitan Shīḥ who translated the Order of Funerals from Greek into Syriac. See *Studia Syriaca*, 3: 12.

[3] Midyat.

[4] Wright, *A Short History of Syriac Literature*, 218-219.

Ḥananya near Mardin. Around 825, the Patriarch Dionysius of Tell Maḥre consecrated him metropolitan of Dara, which he administered for thirty-five years. He died in 860. This date of his death is proved by the consecration of his successor Athanasius Ḥakim around this year.[1]

John was the one who requested Patriarch Dionysius of Tell Maḥre to write his annals. In his introduction to these annals, the Patriarch testified to John's love and pursuit of knowledge from youth until old age.[2]

John composed distinguished works whose study by the monks became compulsory.[3] These are cited by later authorities like Bar Kepha, Bar Ṣalibi and Bar Hebraeus, These works are:

1. A book on theology divided into twelve parts in forty-nine chapters, consisting of four hundred-ninety long pages.[4] It contains the theological books of the celestial hierarchies, ecclesiastical hierarchies, a book on the priesthood, on the priest, on the Resurrection, on the Christian doctrine, on the offering of the Holy Sacraments and on demons. This treatise was written at the request of a bishop. The Vatican MS. 100 (transcribed before the year 932) begins with the four books on the Resurrection, followed by the books on the celestial hierarchies and the priesthood.[5]

2. A book on Paradise, Creation, the Resurrection, Epiphany, the finding of the Cross and the Acts of our Lord—all of which are contained in a large volume consisting of four hundred forty-three pages and divided into seven books. In this book, the writer cites authorities like Eusebius; Nimysius, bishop of Ḥomṣ; Titus, metropolitan of Buṣra; Surian, bishop of Gabla; Elijah, bishop of Sinjar and particularly, Philoxenus of Mabug. There is an old copy of this work in the Zaʿfaran's library[6] written in a fine Estrangelo script in the tenth or the eleventh century, consisting of two hundred fifty-four pages and slightly wanting at the beginning. Our

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[1] Michael the Great, *Chronicle*, 2: 754-756.

[2] *Ibid.*, 2: 378.

[3] Bar Hebraeus, *Hudoye* (*Nomocanon*), 106.

[4] The MS. at the library of our bishopric in Mosul transcribed at the beginning of the twelfth century. See also, Oxford Or. MS. 264, Birmingham MS. 56 and our library.

[5] No. 100 transcribed before 932.

[6] Zaʿfaran MS. 243.

copy and that in Birmingham are reproductions of this manuscript.[1]

3. A significant book on the soul, into which he incorporated the entire treatise on the soul by John of Atharb. An old copy of this treatise is extant in Boston's library,[2] written in a fine and eloquent script and consisting of one hundred four long pages, imperfect at the beginning through chapter four. Another copy of the same is in the Vatican,[3] slightly imperfect, transcribed at the end of the ninth century or shortly after that.

4. A commentary on the New Testament or the Gospels alone, mentioned by Bar Ṣalibi in the introduction to his *Commentary on the Gospel of St. Matthew.* This commentary by John is lost.

5. An eloquent treatise on the policy of the church and the settlement of peace in it, consisting of thirty-nine pages. There is an anonymous copy of this treatise fixed at the end of his book on theology in the former Mosul manuscript. This treatise is undoubtedly the work of this erudite metropolitan which he wrote in the days of the Patriarch John IV (around 850). We also have an accord copy of the treatise in nineteen pages, transcribed in 1603, which is most probably a reply to Basilius II, Maphryono of the East (848-858).

6. A liturgy mentioned by Scholtingem and Assemani,[4] which we could not locate.

161. Jacob, bishop of ʿĀnah (860)

Jacob, bishop of ʿĀnah, i.e., of the Banu Taghlib Arabs, was chosen from the Monastery of Birqum by John IV, who consecrated him a bishop around 850 or 851. He died about ten years later, as is proved by the consecration of his successor Bacchus around 860 or 861. He was cited once only by Bar Ṣalibi in his exposition of Matthew 8:24. This work of Jacob is lost.

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[1] Birmingham MS. 67.

[2] [The Houghton Library at Harvard University] MS. 3973.

[3] Vatican MS. 100. It is said that Vatican MS. 147 transcribed in 1234 contains selections from this treatise.

[4] Assemani, *B. O.*, 2: 123, See also, Wright, *A Short History of Syriac Literature*, 204. (tr.)

162. The Monk Simon al-Hiṣn Manṣuri (861)

Simon al-Ḥisn Manṣuri was a monk from the Monastery of the Seven Martyrs near the old city of Fārīn. He was a man of learning who most probably was alive in 861. He may have been a correspondent with the previously mentioned philosopher Denḥa. He made marginal comments on the collection of the monk Severus (his exposition of the Holy Scriptures).[1]

163. The Monk Severus of Antioch (861)

Severus became a monk and was ordained a priest in the monastery of the female martyr Barbara on the Edessene mountain. He was engaged in the study of the commentaries on the two Testaments. In 851, he decided to compile a detailed collection of these commentaries, which he successfully completed on the twenty-fifth of March, 861, after ten years of work. This magnificent collection contained, as he mentioned, about ten thousand tracts expounding the obscurities of the Bible, which testify to his excellence of his own opinion regarding religious sciences. One of the advantages of this collection is that it has preserved the different commentaries of the church doctors, most of which were lost, such as the commentaries on the Pentateuch and the Books of Joshua, Job and Ecclesiastes by Jacob of Edessa, the commentaries on the prophets by St. Ephraim and on Ecclesiastes by Daniel of Ṣalaḥ.[2]

164. Malphono Daniel of Beth Bātīn

Daniel was born at Beth Bātīn in the province of Ḥarran and became a monk in one of the monasteries. He studied under Benjamin, metropolitan of Edessa, and became known for his learning and literary works in the middle of the ninth century. A British Museum manuscript[3] contains a *scholion* on the homilies of Gregory Nazianzen, one of which was compiled by Rabban Benjamin and his school and revised and corrected and expounded by one of his disciples, Daniel. Another manuscript in the British

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[1] Vatican MS. 103.

[2] Vatican MS. 103 and the Brit. Mus. MS. 853.

[3] Brit. Mus. MS. 14725. See Wright, *Catalogue*, 2: 441-442. (tr.)

Museum contains a short commentary in fifty pages on the words of Gregory Nazianzen, compiled by a writer who followed the exposition of Benjamin, metropolitan of Edessa.[1] From the pen of Daniel we have also a treatise on the difference between the Eucharist and the Chrism,[2] and the quality which distinguishes the Chrism from the sacrifice of the Eucharist;[3] and a record treatise on the celebration of the Divine Eucharist and the path into which it is divided,[4] which according to one copy, is composed of seven parts. He also wrote a magnificent biography of the Apostle Paul, his journeys and the essence of his epistles,[5] in sixty pages. This same Daniel is credited with assigning the Gospel lectionaries for Passion Week, some of which he quoted from the Diatessaron, assisted by his diligent disciple Isaac, as is mentioned by the ancient copies of the Gospels.

165. Isaac, the Compiler of the Anaphora

We have an anaphora compiled by Mar Isaac, beginning with, "O Lord, the Father of safety, of peace and the fountain of beneficence."[6] This anaphora was most probably composed by Isaac, bishop of Nisibin, in the middle of the ninth century. Probably this Isaac was the same disciple of the Rabban Daniel of Beth Bāṭīn. The liturgy was published in Malabar (India) in 1931.

166. John IV (d. 873)

John became a monk, studied and was ordained a priest in the Monastery of Mar Zakka, near Callinicus. In February, 846, he was chosen and consecrated Patriarch of Antioch by the Holy Synod which met at the Monastery of Shīlā near Sarug. In this meeting of the Synod, he wrote twenty-five canons, followed by a table

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[1] Brit. Mus. MS. 17197. See Wright, *ibid.*, 441 (tr.)

[2] The Constantinople MS. dated 1574, also at al-Sharfeh.

[3] Vatican MS. 147 and one at Constantinople.

[4] The Ḥbob MS. 1485.

[5] Zaʿfaran MS. 67. There is also an elegant copy at our library, transcribed in 1250.

[6] At the churches of Mardin, Amid, Qalʿat al-Imra'a and at our library.

indicating the degrees of consanguinity which forbid marriage.[1] In 869, he called a second Synod to a meeting at Kafr Tut, in which he issued eight canons for the offices of Patriarch and the Maphryono, an abridgement of which may be found in the *Hudoye* (Nomocanon).[2] There is also a tract in fifteen pages on the division of inheritance according to ecclesiastical laws, which may have been compiled by them, if not by John III. He also wrote a synodical letter to Joseph, Patriarch of Alexandria,[3] and received a reply from him. He consecrated eighty-six metropolitans and bishops,[4] and died on the third of January, 873.

167. Ignatius II (d. 883)

Ignatius studied and became a monk at the Monastery of Ḥarbāz and was consecrated the Patriarch of Antioch in 878. In the same Synod which met to consecrate him at the Monastery of Mar Zakka, he issued twelve canons and made them public to the congregation through a Patriarchal Bull. We have a copy of these canons, except for the first and the second canons and part of the third. He consecrated twenty-six metropolitans and bishops and died in 883.[5]

168. Patriarch Theodosius (d. 896)

Born at Takrit as Romanus,[6] Theodosius became a monk and studied at the Monastery of Qarṭmin. His Syriac style was majestic and he probably knew Greek too. He studied and mastered medicine and was considered a skillful physician. He was consecrated Patriarch of Antioch in 887 and consecrated thirty-two metropolitans and bishops. He died at his monastery in 896. His works are:

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[1] MS. at our library.
[2] Bar Hebraeus, *Hudoye*, p. 88.
[3] The *Canons* of Basibrina.
[4] Michael the Great, *Chronicle*, 2: 755-756.
[5] Michael the Great, 2: 755-756.
[6] Zaʿfaran MS. 213, containing the *Commentary on Hierothios.*

1. A lengthy commentary on Pseudo-Hierothios,[1] dedicated to Lazarus, bishop of Cyrrhus. He finished the first and the second treatises of this work at Amid, where he resided for a long time. The third treatise was finished at Samosata. There is an ancient imperfect copy of this magnificent work in the Zaʿfaran's library[2] in the handwriting of Abu Naṣr of Barṭelli, copied in 1290 and containing half of this commentary.

2. He wrote a treatise addressed to the deacon George, explaining the maxims and proverbs of philosophers, most of which he translated from Greek into Syriac. He also included in this treatise a collection of one hundred twelve Pythagorian maxims. It was published in both Syriac and Arabic.[3]

3. He also wrote a medical syntagma (*Kunnash*) bearing his name, which was admired by Bar Hebraeus. This *Kunnash* is lost except for a fragment in the Vatican.[4] He also wrote a synodical epistle and a Lenten homily in Arabic.[5]

169. Deacon Zurʿa of Nisibin

Deacon Zurʿah or Zūrʿā was an authoritative commentator on the Holy Bible. He compiled a collection of commentaries on the Book of Genesis and the Psalms, in which he explained their hidden meanings. He was quoted twice by Bar Ṣalibi in his literal exposition of the Book of Genesis, particularly the verse, "And out of the ground made the Lord God to grow every tree that is pleasant to the sight."[6] He also quoted him a third time on the exposition of the Tree of Life and a fourth time in his spiritual

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[1] Romanus adopted the ecclesiastical name Theodosius at his consecration as Patriarch. See Wright, *A Short History of Syriac Literature*, p. 206. It should be added in this respect that this custom of adopting a name of one of the ancient fathers and saints of the church by metropolitans and bishops at the time of their elevation to their high offices is practiced by the Syrian church to this day. (tr.)

[2] Zaʿfaran MS. 213, containing a commentary on Hierothios. [The pseudo-Hierotheus is entitled *On The Hidden Mysteries of the House of God*. (tr.)]

[3] Paris MS. 157 dated 1540, published by Zotenberg in 1876.

[4] Vatican MS. 192.

[5] Brit. Mus. MS. 7206.

[6] The Book of Genesis 2:9. (tr.)

exposition of Psalms Seven and Twenty-one. Later, he briefly quoted him as well as other commentators like Athanasius and Daniel.[1] This is all that is known about Zurʿah. His era is not known, but I think that he was a scholar in the ninth or the tenth century.

170. Garshun the Stranger

Garshun was a man of letters who knew Syriac and Greek and logic well. We found a splendid and comprehensive letter by him consisting of thirty-two pages. Twenty-two pages contain brief philosophical and scientific definitions written in the form of a dialogue and ten pages containing a translation of Greek terms into Syriac. He never missed an old term without recording it, in order to be used by the polemicists against the heretics. His name was no more than "Garshun the Stranger."[2] We think he was still alive at the end of the tenth century, or was one of the seven logician sages who flourished in the monasteries of Melitene and were maliciously exiled to Constantinople by the Greeks with John II, metropolitan of Melitene, around 1003. They died in prison shortly after 1005.[3]

171. Job of Manʿim

John was a native of Manʿim in Tur ʿAbdin, but originally his family came from Ḥabsnas. He was a nephew of David, metropolitan of Ḥarran (855-880) and a relative of Mar Simon d-beth Zayte (d. 734).[4] He acquired a part of his literary knowledge in the Monastery of Qarṭmin or at the school of Ḥabsnas, which was founded by the bishop Simon. At the close of the ninth or at the beginning of the tenth century, he wrote the biography of this saint, at the end of which he fixed his own name and genealogy. In a later period, his chronicle was attached to it, particularly the anecdotes connected with the history of Tur ʿAbdin. These

[1] A commentary on the Old Testament at our library.

[2] Jerusalem Library (*The Book of the Exposition of the Sacraments and Festal Homilies* by Bar Kepha dated 1873) and our library.

[3] Michael the Great, 2: 559.

[4] See biography no. 121.

anecdotes, consisting of forty-two pages, contain fabricated tales unrelated to him.[1]

172. Mar Moses Bar Kepha (d. 903)

He is one of our authoritative scholars an established philosopher and theologian, a great *malphono* (doctor) of the church and unique in his age for his copious and interesting works, whose study became imperative for the clergy.

Moses Bar Simon, better known as Bar Kepha, was born at the town of Kuḥayl or Mashhad Kuḥayl around 813, according to an old authority.[2] He entered the Monastery of Mar Sergius in the Barren Mountain between Sinjar and Balad and studied the Holy Bible and the sciences of philosophy and theology and Syriac under its abbot, Quryaqos. Soon he was so well-known for his diligence and energetic pursuit of knowledge, that his fame raised him about to the level of the very learned Jacob of Edessa. He was consecrated a bishop of Beth Remman and Beth Kiyona in 863 and for some time of Mosul too.[3] Also for ten years he was a periodeutes of the See of Takrit after the death of the Maphryonos Melchizedek and Sergius. He died on the twelfth of February, 903, at about ninety years of age and is commemorated by the church. Following are his works which he compiled at the request of Ignatius, bishop of Qronta and of his teacher and abbot of his monastery, Quryaqos and his disciples Ḥabib and Rabban Paul:

1. A commentary on the Old Testament, which was described by Bar Hebraeus as "an amazing elaborate commentary."[4] His biography also mentions that he wrote commentaries on the Psalms, the Pentateuch, the book of Judges, the books of the Prophets, the Gospels, and the Acts of the Apostles. He himself mentioned in his book *Paradise* his commentary on Genesis, which has been also cited by Bar Ṣalibi in his literary exposition of the same book. This commentary, though imperfect, is in the British

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[1] At our library.

[2] According to a weak theory mentioned by the Anonymous Edessene, he was born in 833. [*Chronicle*,] 2: 275.

[3] In his commentary on the Gospels, Bar Ṣalibi called him the "Metropolitan of Mosul."

[4] Bar Hebraeus, *Ecclesiastical History*, 2: 215.

Museum,[1] and there are tracts from it in the British Museum,[2] in Paris[3] and Oxford.[4] Bar Ṣalibi quoted thirty-two chapters of his commentary on the Psalms.[5]

2. A commentary on the New Testament to which he alluded in some of his introductions. The commentary on the Gospel of St. Luke[6] and a commentary on the Gospel of St. John is in six hundred twenty pages.[7] A MS. in London contains the commentary on the Gospels of St. Matthew and of St. Luke, St. Paul's Epistles to the Romans, Ephesians and the first Epistle to the Corinthians.[8] There are also another two manuscripts, an ancient one in Paris, containing a commentary on the Pauline Epistles[9] and the other, which is also ancient, in the Zaʿfaran, containing a commentary on the same epistles and the Apocalypse.[10]

3. A commentary on the *Hexameron* in five books, written after the commentary on the Gospels and the treatise on the soul, at the request of Ignatius, bishop of Qronta. The first book is divided into fifty chapters in fifty-three pages, with Chapters 27, 28 and 29 wanting in some places. The record book consists of one hundred forty-five pages and contains the Biblical anecdote on the Creation. It is slightly imperfect at the end. The third book, in twenty-one chapters, is on the Sun, the moon, the stars and the swimming, walking and flying birds. The fourth book, in twenty-four chapters on the four elements; and the fifth in thirty-eight chapters, on beings and what is happening in the upper and middle regions of the sphere; it is slightly imperfect. This book discusses the existence of God, his oneness and Trinity and eternity, indefinability and incomprehensibility. It also discusses the Person of the Word and of the Holy Spirit, the perceptible world and a refutation of the doctrine of the perpetuity of matter. Moses'

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[1] Brit. Mus. MS. 17274.

[2] Brit. Mus. MS. 17224.

[3] Paris MS. 35.

[4] Oxford MS. 101.

[5] Zaʿfaran and the bishopric library in Mosul.

[6] Zaʿfaran MS. 68.

[7] Boston [Houghton Library at Harvard] MS. 1971 dated 1196.

[8] Brit. Mus. MS. 17274, Oxford MS. 86 in two hundred twelve pages.

[9] Paris MS. 703.

[10] Zaʿfaran MS. 144.

commentary on the Bible is spiritual and symbolic. His authorities are Athanasius, Ephraim, Basilius, Gregory Nazianzen, Gregory of Nyssa, Zenobius, Cyril, Jacob of Sarug, Philoxenus of Mabug, Severus of Antioch, Severus Sabukht, Jacob of Edessa and Theodore of Mopsuestia, the Nestorian, whom he cited twice. Of this book there is a copy in Mosul, transcribed by the priest Maḥbub al-Shūfītī and completed in 1220. The MSS. in Birmingham,[1] and two copies at Paris are reproductions of this copy.[2]

4-5. A treatise on the creation of the angels, in which he expounded the Biblical text literally and mystically. His authorities were mainly Ephraim, Basilius, Gregory Nazianzen, John Chrysostom, Severus of Antioch, Dionysius the Areopagite, Methodius, Eustathius of Antioch, Gregory of Nyssa, Epiphanus, Theodatus of Ancyra, Cyril, John Philoponus and the liturgies of John of Buṣra and Jacob of Edessa. This treatise consists of fifty-four chapters in two hundred thirty-eight medium-sized pages, of which chapter 9 and part of chapter 46 are wanting. Appended to this treatise is, as we think, his other treatise on the celestial hierarchies. His authorities are the liturgy of James, the brother of Our Lord, Athanasius, Basilius, Jacob of Sarug, Dionysius the Areopagite and Severus. It is divided into sixteen chapters in sixty pages.[3] Both of these treatises are unknown in Europe.

6. A treatise on Paradise in two discourses. The first one consists of twenty-eight chapters and the second of seven chapters, as the author states in his introduction. It contains spiritual expositions. In this treatise, the author cited thirteen authorities, particularly Philoxenus of Mabug, Gregory of Nyssa, Gregory Nazianzen and Jacob of Sarug. He also cited the treatise on the Cross by Athanasius, Nymisius, bishop of Ḥomṣ whom he also mentioned in Chapter 20, the exposition of Isaiah by Cyril of Alexandria and also his treatise on Worship in Spirit, the refutation of Julian the Apostate, the treatise on the cause of this world and the coming of the next world. He also cited Severus of Antioch and the theological treatise by Jacob of Edessa. The author

[1] Birmingham MS. 65.

[2] Paris MSS. 241 dated 1504 and 311 (fifteenth or sixteenth century). Chapters 3-5 are imperfect.

[3] Zaʿfaran MS. 235.

mentions, at the end of the seventh chapter of the second book, that Bar Kepha stopped and did not finish the work. However, Chabot states that the Latin translation of this treatise by Andreas Masius in 1569 consisted of three books only.[1]

7. A treatise on the Resurrection in twenty-four chapters.[2]

8. A magnificent treatise on the rational soul in sixty-five chapters and not forty-one chapters as believed by Duval, or forty as mentioned by the Vatican MS. In this treatise, the author cites the Doctrine of Addai, Hierotheus, Methodosius, Ephraim, Basilius, Cyril of Alexandria, Gregory Nazianzen, Gregory of Nyssa, John Chrysostom, Theophilus, Cyril, the Father Isaiah, Jacob of Sarug, Philoxenus of Mabug, Severus of Antioch and Jacob of Edessa. He also cited Plato, Aristotle, Appolinarius of Laodicea, Theodoret of Cyrrhus and John Philoponus. The treatise was translated into German by Braun in 1891.

9. A treatise on free will, pre-destination and natural pestilences, divided into four discourses, comprising two hundred eight medium-sized pages. It deals with polemical and theological subjects, in which the author proved that death, whatever kind it is, does not befall people except by the order and permission of God. The treatise was also against the heathen, the Manicheans, Marcion and others who promulgated the doctrine of pre-destination. He also cited authorities to prove his point. Of this treatise there is a very old single copy in London,[3] in the handwriting of Simon, which is thought to have been completed in the tenth or the eleventh century. Chapter 1, part of chapter 2 and the beginning of the second discourse are missing. In this copy, the name of the author frequently appears, reversed in the margin. He has also ascribed the biography of Severus to John Bar Aphtonia.

10. An exposition of the sacraments of the church, such as the baptism in twenty-four chapters, addressed to his friend Ignatius,[4] and also on the celebration of the Eucharist and on the holy Chrism.[5]

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[1] Zaʿfaran MS. 229 dated 1365, in a very bad hand. Also at our library.

[2] Boston [Harvard University] MS. 3973 and our library.

[3] Brit. Mus. MS. 14731.

[4] Vatican 147, Ḥbob and Sharfeh.

[5] At our library; Birmingham MS. 3.

11. An exposition of the mysteries in the various ordinations, such as the ordination of deacons, priests and bishops.[1]

12. A treatise on the reason for the festal homilies for the whole year, which he wrote at the request of some of his brethren as he mentioned in the introduction to chapter one of this treatise. It also contains discourses and homilies from the Sunday of the Consecration of the Church to the feast of the Cross and also homilies for the commemoration of martyrs and saints, part of which are divided into chapters. Some of these homilies contains fifty short chapters, such as the discourses on the holy Chrism, of which two copies are extant in each of the libraries in London,[2] Paris,[3] Tur ʿAbdin,[4] our library and one copy only in Sharfeh.[5]

13. The disputation against heresies spoken of by Moses' biographer, as stated by Assemani,[6] is probably identical with his treatise on Sects, which is not mentioned by our Syriac copy. However, Bar Ṣalibi in his literal exposition of the book of Genesis states that, "Bar Kepha wrote the treatise against heresies, as he mentioned in the *Hexameron*."

14. A commentary on the *Dialectics* of Aristotle, mentioned by Bar Hebraeus.[7]

15. An ecclesiastical history mentioned in his old biography,[8] which he is thought to have transcribed in his own handwriting in Jerusalem. His biography was copied from this history. If this view is correct, then this history must have been lost a very long time ago, because it was never mentioned by historians, like Michael the Great, the Edessene and Bar Hebraeus.

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[1] Brit. Mus. MS. 21210; Vatican MS. 41; Sharfeh; Berlin MS. 62, containing an exposition of the liturgy and also at Ḥbob.

[2] Brit. Mus. MSS. 21210 dated 1242 and 17188 (tenth-thirteenth centuries).

[3] Paris MSS. 35 and 123.

[4] Meddo and Ḥbob.

[5] Sharfeh MS. 2-4 dated 1465.

[6] Assemani *B.O.*, 2: 218, column 2, cited by Wright, *A Short History of Syriac Literature*, 209. (tr.)

[7] Bar Hebraeus, *Ecclesiastical History*, 2: 215.

[8] At our library; also *B.O.* , 2: 218; Berlin, p. 685 of the index.

16. A homily to be recited when the monks assume the monastic habit, to which Bar Ṣalibi added, as mentioned in the book of ordination.[1]

17. [A discourse] in ten chapters on the tonsure of monks.[2]

18. A homily on the consecration of the holy Chrism, mentioned in the service books.[3]

19. Two discourses,[4] one for the instruction of the Orthodox Church and a discourse showing why the Messiah is called by various epithets and names.[5] The first discourse may be the one entitled, "An Admonitory Discourse to the Children of the Holy Orthodox Church," consisting of ten chapters.[6]

20. Four funeral sermons, one to be recited at the funerals of the clergy; the rest for all funerals.[7]

21. Two liturgies, one beginning with, "O Lord, the God eternal and true light," in nine pages,[8] and the second beginning with, "O Immaculate, Holy and Everlasting Lord."[9]

22. Five *ḥusoyos* (supplicatory prayers) for the Nativity of our Lord, Palm Sunday and for the second Sunday of the *mdabronutho* (dispensation of our Lord), which had been inserted in the service books.[10]

23. To Moses is ascribed the treatise on priesthood, but it is a matter in question. A copy of this treatise is extant in Constantinople, dated 1574 and entitled, *Six Discourses on the Heavenly and Earthly Priesthoods* by Bar Kepha. The first discourse is divided into eight chapters; the second, into eighteen chapters; the

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[1] At our library.

[2] Vatican MS. 41.

[3] Sharfeh MS. 14.

[4] Brit. Mus. MS. 21210.

[5] Brit. Mus. MS. 17188.

[6] At Constantinople.

[7] Brit. Mus. MS. 17188.

[8] At our library, London and in Paris two copies, one of which was transcribed in (tenth-eleventh centuries) and the second in 1242. This one was translated into Latin and published by Renaudot, 2: 391.

[9] At Qalʿat al-Imra'a MS. dated 1479 and also at our library.

[10] See Bar Ṣalibi's commentary on the Bible, biography no. 209. Bar Kepha, also mentioned in the *Festal Homilies* for the whole year that a monk from Takrit named John Bar Jazwi wrote a treatise on the brass censer.

fourth, into thirteen chapters; the fifth, into five chapters on the service of priests and that priesthood is worthless without good deeds; and the sixth, in ninety-two pages, containing commentaries on Baptism, the celebration of the Eucharist, the Chrism and the priestly services. There is another copy in Sharfeh entitled *Memre* (metrical discourses) on the priesthood by Moses Bar Kepha in one hundred forty-six pages.[1] Some scholars believe that this discourse belongs to John of Dara. John, in fact, has four discourses on the priest and priesthood mentioned in his book entitled *Theology*, in sixty-seven pages, which chapter and pages are different from the work under discussion. They most probably are two different works.

173. Ezekiel II, metropolitan of Melitene (905)

Ezekiel assumed the monastic garb and studied at the Monastery of Mar Athonos. He was a man of vast learning and literary knowledge. In 889, he was consecrated metropolitan of Melitene and died around 905. Michael the Great says that "Ezekiel was proficient like his predecessor, St. Thomas, the logician sage, a monk of the Monastery of Mar Barṣoum. He was consecrated (metropolitan) of Melitene in 869."[2] Ezekiel composed an eloquent heptasyllabic discourse, praising the virtues of Mar Barṣoum the Ascetic. We found part of this discourse in an old book in the village of Kunnaki, written in the hand of the metropolitan Abraham of Manʿim in 1478.[3]

174. Dionysius II (d. 909)

Dionysius practiced the monastic life and studied at the Monastery of Beth Bāṭīn. He was consecrated Patriarch of Antioch in April, 896. Immediately after his consecration, he held a synod at the Monastery of Mar Shīlā, which was attended by thirty-five bishops. In this synod, he issued twenty-five canons.[4] He died at the Monastery of Beth Bāṭīn in 909, after he administered the See for

[1] Sharfeh MS. 4-1 dated 1223.
[2] Michael the Great, 2: 448.
[3] MS. at our library.
[4] These canons are preserved in our library.

thirteen years and consecrated forty-nine metropolitans and bishops.[1]

175-176. The Monks Rufil and Benjamin

The Syrian monks Rufil (or Rubil) and Benjamin were distinguished for their knowledge of logic. They were most likely professors in Baghdad, who, as we believe, achieved fame at the beginning of the tenth century. Rubil was profound in the search of infinitesimal matters which he meticulously expounded. According to Bar Hebraeus, "Abu Bishr Ibn Matta the Nestorian, chief logician of his age, studied logic under these two monks."[2] Rubil died in 925.

177. Denḥa the Philosopher (925)

The Syrian Abu Zachariah Denḥa was a philosopher and polemicist, who had many controversies with Abu al-Ḥasan ʿAli al-Masʿudi in the western section of Baghdad in the quarter of Umm Jaʿfar and also in Takrit in the church known as the "Green." Al-Masʿudi mentioned these controversies in his *Kitab al-Masaʾil wa al-ʿIlal fi al-Madhahib wa al-Milal* (*The Book of Questions and Causes on the Doctrines and Sects*) and also in his book *Sirr al-Ḥayat* (*The Secret of Life*). Said he, "And I also saw for him a book on the lives and anecdotes of the Byzantine and Greek Kings and philosophers."[3]

178. Deacon Simon of Nisibin (950)

Deacon Simon became famous in Nisibin in the middle of the tenth century, around 950. He wrote a profound and ecclesiastical history in Syriac, beginning from the sixth century down to his own time, of which fragments only remain. Four events mentioned by this history, two of which were natural events that occurred in 918 and 922,[4] were quoted by Elijah Bar Shinaya, metropolitan of

[1] Michael the Great, 2: 757-758.

[2] Bar Hebraeus, *Tārīkh Mukhtaṣar al-Duwal* (*Compendium Book of Dynasties*), 285.

[3] Masʿudi, *Kitāb al-Tanbīh wa al-Ishrāf*, Cairo, 132, and London, 156.

[4] Elia Bar Shinaya, 204 and 205.

Nisibin. Simon was also mentioned four times in the collection of the anecdotes of Mardin and other countries of Mesopotamia. These were compiled in an imperfect Arabic by an incompetent writer who leaned on six anonymous writers, of whom we were able to detect Deacon Simon.[1]

179. Jacob, metropolitan of Miyapharqin (967)

Jacob studied at the monastery of "Bezona," where he also assumed the monastic garb. Around 940, he was consecrated metropolitan of Miyapharqin by the Patriarch John V. He died in 967 and was succeeded by Timothy.[2] He was a writer and man of letters. He wrote an excellent homily to be read to the priests and deacons at the time of their ordination. It begins with, "If you choose to enter into the service of God," etc. and is still recited until this day at the ordination services.[3] Assemani was mistaken in ascribing this homily to Jacob (of Barṭelli), due to his confusion of Miyapharqin with Takrit, as has been observed by Abbé Martin.

180. Yaḥya Ibn ʿAdi (d. 974)

He was Abu Zachariah Yaḥya Ibn ʿAdi Ibn Ḥamīd Ibn Zachariah, the logician, of Takrit and resident of Baghdad. He studied under Abu Bishr Matthew and Abu Naṣr al Farābi. He was the chief logician of his time. He lived eighty-one years and died in 974. His writings are tremendous. In his treatise *The Ethikon*, which we published in Chicago in 1928, we recorded seventy works by him, including books and treatises.[4] He translated from Syriac into Arabic ten works, which are: *The Laws* by Plato,[5] *Theophrastos*,[6] the

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[1] Among these writers was also the monk Isa Bar Malke Bar Shumays of Ḥirrin and and a resident of Quṣur. He was still living in 1540.

[2] Michael the Great, 2: 759-760.

[3] *The Book of Ordination.*

[4] The introduction to *Kitāb Tahdhīb al-Akhlāq* (*The Book of the Training of Character*) by Yaḥya ibn ʿAdi which we published in Chicago in 1928.

[5] Ibn al-Nadim, *al-Fihrist*, 370.

[6] Assemani, *Bibliotheca Orientalis.*

Metaphysics,[1] *De Dialectica*, *De Sophist*, *De Poetica*, *The Treatise on the Four Categories*, *The Second Treatise on Physics*, *The Letter "μ" of Aristotle's Theology* and *On Meteorology*.[2]

He also revised the translation of Alexander's commentary on the treatise *On the Heavens* translated by Bishr Ibn Matta,[3] the first treatise of *Physics* translated by Abu Rawḥ al-Ṣābiʿ and *Timeus* by Plato.[4]

181. Athanasius, bishop of Qallisura (d. 982)

Athanasius was consecrated a bishop of Qallisura around 970. He died around 982.[5] He was an eloquent writer who wrote a lengthy *ḥusoyo*, recited at the evening service before the feast of Mar Aaron the ascetic. It begins with, "Thanks to the Immeasurable Ocean of Eternal Bliss."[6]

182. Matthew, bishop of al-Ḥaṣṣaṣa

Matthew was the bishop of al-Ḥaṣṣaṣa near Takrit, which was destroyed long ago. He was a man of letters whose compositions are, to an extent, intricate. He compiled a short liturgy beginning with, "Grant us, O Lord, in this time continuous safety and peace."[7] This liturgy was ascribed by many copyists to Matthew the Shepherd or Herma, whom they thought one of the seventy evangelists. This opinion is erroneous. Many manuscripts also make him the bishop of Mosul.[8] He belongs most probably to the tenth century.

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[1] Bar Hebraeus, *Dynasties*, 93, *Miṣbāḥ al-Zulma* by Ibn Kabar the Copt, section 7, and Ibn al-Nadīm.

[2] Ibn al-Nadīm.

[3] Jamal al-Dīn al-Qifti, p. 212.

[4] Ibn al-Nadīm.

[5] Michael the Great, 2: 760-761.

[6] Preserved in our churches at Constantinople and in Qalʿat al-Imra'a.

[7] It has many copies.

[8] Brit. Mus. MS. 2295 dated 1482.

183. Al-Ḥasan Ibn al-Khammar

Abu al-Khayr al-Ḥasan Ibn Siwār Ibn Bahnam, known as al-Khammar,[1] was born at Baghdad in 942. He studied under Yaḥya Ibn ʿAdi and was distinguished for his deep knowledge of Syriac and Arabic. Besides, he mastered the origins and branches of the science of medicine. Very wise and tactful, a philosopher with great poise and knowledge, he knew how to handle learned men, leaders of the common people, dignitaries and kings. He behaved humbly toward the poor and yet was accomplished in the society of the great. When called by the Sultan, he went to see him, unnerved by the pomp of great men and kings. In such cases, he was even accompanied by three hundred beautifully attired mounted Turkish slaves. He was greatly honored by the Sultan Yamīn al-Dawla Muhammad Ibn Subuktakin, Governor of Bukhāra. Ibn Abi Usaybiʿa counts fourteen books by Ibn al-Khammar, who also proficiently translated many books from Syriac into Arabic.[2] Ibn al-Nadīm mentioned four of these works *Meteorology*, *De Sophist*, *the Question of Theophrastos* and the *Magna Moralia*.[3] Ibn Abi Usaybiʿa also mentions a fifth book, *the Isagoge and the Categories of Alenius of Alexandria* which he said, "Ibn al-Khammar has expounded by using the method of marginal notes.[4] Ibn al-Khammar was still living after 997; however the year of his death is unknown.

184. The Edessene Author of *The Cause of all Causes*

This bishop was a distinguished man of learning and a writer of good and masterful style. His name, however, is not known, because he does not mention it in the introduction to his famous work entitled *The Causes of all Causes.* But he mentions that he was a native of Edessa and had spent about thirty years as a bishop. He also states that he had suffered affliction caused by his people, which forced him to forsake his diocese. After returning to it for a while he finally left it for good, due to the intensified opposition he faced by those disobedient to him. After taking to a life of prayer

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[1] Ibn Abi Uṣaybiʿa, *Ṭabaqāt al-Aṭibba'*, 1: 322.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] *Al-Fihrist*, 370.

[4] Ibn Abi Uṣaybiʿa, p. 323.

and worship in a mountain with pious ascetic companions, he thought of inviting all people to love one another because they had the same belief. As a result he wrote a book in Syriac called, *The Cause of all Causes*, or *A Universal Book for All the Nations Under Heaven*, in which he teaches the people how to come to the knowledge of truth and exhorts the readers to translate it into other languages and carry it to all peoples, in order for them to obtain eternal salvation and inherit the Garden of Eden. To his superiors he apologized that, "God Himself, not the author, wanted this book to be written."

Judging by the majestic style and the magnificent subject which he discussed, we believe that the author lived in the second half of the tenth century and by no means before it. It is also incorrect to consider his era as late as the eleventh or the twelfth century, as has been thought by some Orientalists. We also read in the collection of the homilies for the whole year in London,[1] copied by the monk Ṣaliba, who finished its transcription the twenty-eighth day of June, 1015, that the person who had him transcribe this book was Athanasius, bishop of Ḥiṣn Petrous (more correctly Ḥiṣn Patrice) Ibn Akhi whose name only God knows. To be sure, the name of this bishop was not mentioned by the table containing the names of the bishops compiled by Michael the Great. Therefore, he was one of those few bishops whose names were lost or he was Athanasius, metropolitan of "Kodfi and Kharshana," the thirty-third of the bishops serving under Patriarch John VIII Bar ʿAbdun, for the town of Ḥiṣn Patrice (Baṭriq) was not mentioned among the Syrian dioceses. Also, it seems that he was the nephew of the Edessene bishop, the author of this book who stated in the introduction that, "God knows his name." The book is divided into nine discourses, in sixty-six chapters, but all of its copies do not include more than the second chapter of the seventh discourse. However, church scholars have completely overlooked this book because of the extreme views of its author which do not convince when put to the test.

The author relies on rational proofs rather than on traditional authorities, except for the Bible, for he had to have a basis for his argument. He discussed the existence of God, his oneness, his

[1] Brit. Mus. MS. 825.

persons and then qualities, the incarnation of the Word of God and God as the cause of all causes, whose care comprehends all. He also discusses whether God is comprehensible or not. Other questions he took up were the following: Why did He create beings? Is there another world? What is man, his nature and how could he know God? Are the books of the Pentateuch true and how the light, the heavens, the firmament and the celestial sphere were created? He also talks about the sun, moon, stars, earth, air, clouds, thunder, rain and the difference of the seasons, the kinds of birds, the ether, minerals, water, hot water springs, trees, plants, animals and cattle and how we should give consideration to all of them. Furthermore, he treats the means through which the mind of man ascends and whether there is a limit for knowing the truth. He also discussed the kingdom of heaven, hell, the descent of people and why their features, voices and forms are different and why cities were built and religions diversified. Finally, he discussed the priesthood and the way leaders rule the people.

Chabot claims that, "The author attempted to unify religion in the world and thus avoided the discussion of the Trinity and the Incarnation."[1] The fact is that he discussed the Sacrament of the Trinity in chapter six of the first treatise. He also spoke openly of the Incarnation. Chabot goes on to say that, "He had sympathy towards the mystic philosophy which prevailed among the Arabs." The fact, however, is that he had the knowledge of the progress of Arab sciences in the Middle Ages. The second part of this book is considered an encyclopedia of the sciences which were taught in Syria at that time, adding to the same authentic knowledge of his own. There is a significant copy of this book in our library, consisting of four hundred four pages, most of which was written by one clear hand in the thirteenth century. The rest is in a more recent hand.[2] This book was published by Kayser and was translated into German and published by Siegfried between 1889-1893. It was translated into Arabic around 1730 by the monk-priest ʿAbd al-Nūr of Amid, who erroneously ascribed it to Jacob of Edessa.

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[1] Chabot, *La Littérature Syriaque*, 87.

[2] From which the two copies of Zaʿfaran MS. 214 dated 1473 and Constantinople dated 1480, were transcribed; Jerusalem MS. 128 dated 1785, Oxford MSS. 123 and 732 and Berlin MS. 180.

185. The Syrian Scholars of the Tenth Century

The discussion of the Syrian scholars in the tenth century has been left until the end of this century. Although it should have preceded it—in order to clarify our criticism of Rev. Jean Chabot's claim that, "The tenth century is marked with the decline of Syriac literature and that no scholar in it emerged except the deacon Simon of Nisibin and John the disciple of Marun."[1] In this thinking, he followed Wright[2] and Duval.[3] This claim could be refuted by the fact that this century has produced many scholars whose biographies were already mentioned. They are:

1. The six philosophers: the monks Rubil and Benjamin, Denḥa the polemicist, Yaḥya Ibn ʿAdi, Ibn al-Khammar, the deacon ʿIsa Ibn Zurʿa (910-1007) whose biography shall be mentioned later, all of whom knew Syriac. Of these scholars the last three ones translated many philosophical and medical books into classical Arabic with utmost skill. How remarkable is the knowledge of these men who translated such books, in addition to their known Arabic writings! Therefore, they should not be excluded from the Syrian scholars.

2. Other biographies have also been mentioned, such as those of Ezekiel of Melitene, Dionysius II, Jacob of Miyapharqin and Athanasius of Qallisura. The biography of Athanasius IV shall also follow (905-1002).

3. To these must be added ten scholars who were deeply versed in knowledge and philosophy, although we know no work by them. They are: Gregory, metropolitan of Melitene and Claudia (923-964); the Rabban Muqim, master of the Edessene Mountain and teacher of John Marun; Sergius, metropolitan of Apamea (956-975), who accompanied John VII to the Capital (Constantinople) in 968; and the seven sages, distinguished monks from the monasteries of Melitene who were arrested by the Greeks in Constantinople around 1003.

4. Matthew, bishop of al-Ḥaṣṣaṣa and the Edessene bishop, the author of *Cause of all Causes*, who evidently belong to this century.

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[1] Chabot, p. 114.

[2] W. Wright, *A Short History of Syriac Literature*, 222.

[3] Duval, p. 394.

There are then twenty-three men of learning and letters apart from those of whom we have no information. If he (Chabot) and his counterparts (Wright and Duval) had been more scholarly they would have found that the Syrian bearers of knowledge numbered more than the Latin men of learning in this century, which was called by these historians "The Iron Century." And if they had been more just they should have said that they could not find more than two of these Syrian scholars. They should not have derogated this century. Their unfamiliarity with the subject does not entitle them to deny the fact that there were more Syrian scholars in the tenth century. Moreover, the loss of some works does not belittle the authors of these works.

186. Athanasius IV (d. 1002)

Athanasius IV of Ṣalḥ belongs to Ṣalaḥiyya, not Ṣalaḥ. His name was Lazarus. He assumed the monastic habit and also studied at the Monastery of Mar Aaron, known as the Shaghr, where he became reputed for wisdom and piety. He was consecrated a Patriarch in 986 and resided at the Bārid Monastery, which he rebuilt and embellished. He died in 1002 after he had consecrated thirty-nine metropolitans and bishops. In the year 1000, he compiled and assigned the lectionaries from both Testaments to be read in the church; his selections indicate utmost taste and arrangement.[1]

187. Anba John, the disciple of Marun (1003)

Anba John was born around the year 920 and lived as an ascetic in the Mountain of Edessa. He studied under Marun the Ascetic, after whom he was named. He also studied under Muqīm, the chief ascetic of the Mountain of Edessa and acquired profound knowledge of the scriptures and philosophy. About 970 or 975, he moved to the Monastery of Sargisiyya, which had been built in the plains of Jubas in the year 958. There he taught the monks of this monastery. As a result of his teaching, the monastery acquired wide scholarly fame and also claimed several writers. In 987, Anba John,

[1] Brit. Mus. MS. 258 in the hand of his disciple Romanus.

urged by Prince Eutychus, moved to the Monastery of Bar Jaji. He completed its building, which had been started by the abbot Elijah of Takrit. He called it the Monastery of the Forty Martyrs. For twelve years, Anba John taught religious sciences at this monastery to many of its priests, who numbered about one hundred and twenty. Later, he retired to a life of solitude in the Monastery of Mar Aaron on the Blessed Mountain in the year 999, where he died, an old man, on the twenty-fourth of June, 1003.[1]

Besides his deep penetration of the sciences, Anba John was a man of holiness and many virtues, who excelled his contemporaries in wisdom. On this account he earned the names "The *Malphono*" and "The Ocean of Wisdom." He expounded the *Book of Ecclesiastes*[2] and also wrote an excellent treatise in seven pages on the incarnation of the Word of God and the orthodox belief of the holy fathers.[3]

188. ʿIsa Ibn Zurʿa (1007)

Deacon Abu ʿAli ʿIsa Ibn Zurʿa Ibn Marcus, one of the well-advanced men in the sciences of logic and philosophy, was also an excellent translator. He was born on September, 942, and raised at Baghdad and became a companion and follower of Yaḥya Ibn ʿAdi. ʿIsa was a good conversationalist, sociable and dedicated to teaching, translation and writing. He also traded with the Greeks, but had many opponents among the Syrian traders. They slandered him to the Sultan who confiscated his property. He also suffered several calamities. At the end of his life he worked meticulously on a treatise on the immortality of the soul, spending one year thinking it out and then writing it.[4] According to Bar Hebraeus, Ibn Zurʿa wrote five books[5] and excellently translated six books on

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[1] Michael the Great 2: 552; Bar Hebraeus, *Ecclesiastical History*, 2: 304 and 407.

[2] Mentioned by Bar Hebraeus in his book *The Treasure of Secrets* where he criticized John for a term in which he misplaced the vowel point 'a'.

[3] Copies of which are at the patriarchal library in Ḥomṣ, Brit. Mus. MS. 14684 and Jerusalem MS. 42.

[4] Ibn Abi Uṣaybiʿa, *Ṭabaqāt al-Aṭibbaʾ*, 1: 236.

[5] Bar Hebraeus, *Ecclesiastical History*, 2: 277.

logic and medicine from Syriac into Arabic.[1] Ibn al-Nadīm mentioned five of these books as follows: *Historia Animalium* by Aristotle, the text of *De Sophisticis*, also by Aristotle, the benefits of *The Parts of Animals* with the commentary of John the Grammarian, a treatise on ethics which has been lost and five treatises from the book of Nicolaous on the *Philosophy* of Aristotle.[2] He died on September 16, 1007.

189. Bar Qiqi (d. 1016)

Ignatius Marcus Bar Qiqi, from a wealthy family of Baghdad, was the archdeacon of the church of Mosul. According to another opinion he was a monk at the Monastery of Bar Jaji, perhaps it was in this monastery that he was consecrated a Maphryono of the East in 991. Twenty-four years later, in 1016, he renounced the Christian faith. Later he came back to his senses and repented. He was the most eminent poet of his time, with powerful rhetoric, natural poetical disposition and charming style and themes. Of his choicest poetry is his lengthy dodecasyllabic panegyric of self-lamenting which would move even inanimate beings. This panegyric, which is comprised of one hundred sixty-four lines, demonstrates artistic beauty and talent. It begins thus: "Through his cunning, Satan held a feast for wickedness to which he invited the generations, tribes and kindreds." We have copied this panegyric from the single extant manuscript in the village of Arbo in Tur ʿAbdin.[3] He also composed a passionate alphabetical heptasyllabic song which is still sung by the clergy. It begins thus: "I shall weep and weep and make the people weep,"[4] and a funeral song for repentance which begins with: "When I remember my sins,"[5] and a few polished rhymed heptasyllabic poetical lines which he addressed to a friend, beginning with: "When I received your letter, noble friend." He then goes on complaining against the heavy yoke of the rulers and finally rebukes himself.[6] He died an aged man.

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[1] Bar Hebraeus, *Tārīkh Mukhtaṣar al-Duwal*, 315.
[2] *Al-Fihrist*, 370.
[3] MS. dated 1749.
[4] At our library; Berlin MSS. 165 and 166.
[5] To be found in the *Beth Gazo* at the church of Damascus.
[6] Birmingham MS. 387.

190. The Monk Lazarus (d. 1024)

Lazarus was a monk of the Monastery of Sarjisiyya and a nephew of master David, a man of letters. He entered the monastery in 979 and in 1024 he wrote the recent history of the monasteries of Sarjisiyya and of Bar Jaji, from the date of their founding in 958, to the year 1003. Michael the Great incorporated this account into his *Chronicle.*[1]

191. John, metropolitan of Tur ʿAbdin (d. 1035)

John was born at the village of Basibrina in Tur ʿAbdin. He studied and became a monk in the Monastery of Qarṭmin in 998, and not in 988, as has been erroneously mentioned in history. He studied ancient manuscripts and made fame by reviving the Estrangelo script after nearly a hundred years of neglect in Tur ʿAbdin. He began by teaching the Estrangelo script to his nephews, the monks Emmanuel, Peter and Yaʿish. The first one, Emmanuel, transcribed seventy volumes, containing the different translations of the Holy Bible, particularly the Pshiṭto, the Syro-Hexapla, and the Heraclean, as well as the writings of the doctors of the church. He bequeathed these volumes to the Monastery of Qarṭmin. His handwriting was magnificent and beautiful. According to Bar Hebraeus, the manuscripts written by Emmanuel were unique and matchless. Two of these volumes are in the Jerusalem Library,[2] and another copy is in Berlin.[3] John is said to have died around the year 1035.

192. The Monk Joseph of Melitene (d. 1058)

The monk Joseph of Melitene was a poet and man of letters. He was taken captive by the Turks when they invaded the city of Melitene and tortured its inhabitants for the purpose of pillage in the year 1058. He was able to escape from his captivity with others and in three panegyrics[4] lamented the city and its people for all the misfortunes which befell it. He was most likely a monk of the

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[1] Michael the Great, 2: 551-554.

[2] Jerusalem MS. 1.

[3] Berlin MS. 304 containing a copy of the Gospels.

[4] Michael the Great, 2: 574, and Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 238.

Monastery of Bar Jaji and brother of John, son of the priest Mawdyana and metropolitan of Melitene, for in 1061 this John mentioned his two brothers, the monks Joseph and Ḥabib.[1]

193. John Bar Shushan (d. 1072)

He was Yeshuʿ the scribe, born in Melitene, where he studied the philological, religious and philosophical sciences. He also became a monk in one of the monasteries and studied under the Patriarch John IX and achieved fame for both piety and eloquence. He was consecrated a Patriarch of Antioch in Amid in 1058 and assumed the name John. He is the tenth to assume this name, after the consecration of Athanasius V. He then relinquished his post and was reinstalled after the death of his opponent [Athanasius V] in 1063. He administered the church efficiently, consecrated seventeen metropolitans and a bishop. He died on November 6, 1072.

Bar Shushan, who had a beautiful handwriting, copied many splendid books and collected in one thick volume the *memre* of St. Ephraim and St. Isaac, but left it incomplete. He did an excellent job in dividing the *memre* of St. Isaac into chapters, vocalizing them and commenting upon them.[2] He also wrote a five page treatise, refuting the Malkite doctrine, which opens with the Creed of Faith;[3] a lengthy polemical treatise on the bad customs which had crept into the Armenian congregation, contradictory to church customs,[4] which he sent to the Armenian Catholicos; and a disputative argument with Gregory II the Armenian Catholicos (1065-1069), who was deposed and then reinstalled. Bar Shushan's other writings are a liturgy which begins with: "Fountain of love and goodness;" he is also said to have written another liturgy which we could not find, a short order of baptism in ten pages used in the event of a child's imminent death;[5] seven *ḥusoyos* for the Sunday preceding Christmas, for the evening and morning services of the

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[1] Basibrina.

[2] Vatican MS. 119 dated 1210.

[3] See the *Didascalia.*

[4] Berlin (Sachau) MS. 60, also Bar Salibi's book *Disputations* in Mosul, Zaʿfaran MS. dating 1502 consisting of twenty pages only.

[5] Jerusalem MS. 121.

commemoration of Mar Severus—his name is appended in the second *ḥusoyo*—for the mornings of the first four Wednesdays of Lent, for the Fridays of the fourth and fifth weeks of Lent, mainly written for pestilences and the stoppage of rain and for the first *qawmo* of prayer on Palm Sunday.[1] He also composed splendid poetry, of which four poems remain, written in the heptasyllabic and the pentasyllabic meters on the calamity of Melitene in 1058.[2] We have it on the authority of the bishop Sergius of Ḥaḥ (1483), that Bar Shushan wrote an excellent four page panegyric[3] in praise of Jacob of Sarug, which begins with: "Jesus, the light whose shining brought joy to all the earth." He also wrote letters, in some of which He refuted his opponent and many homilies and treatises, all of which are lost; twenty-four canons[4] of which there survives only the one on the obligatory nocturnal prayer for priests and deacons.[5] He also wrote in Arabic a synodical letter to Christodolus the Coptic Patriarch and also refuted those who criticized the Syrians for using salt, leavened bread and little oil in the bread made for communion.

194. The Monk Sergius

At the two churches at Ḥbob and Beth Manʿim in Tur ʿAbdin[6] we found a letter of good composition in twenty-five pages written by an author named Sergius, who kept his clerical rank secret, out of humility. This letter, an answer to eleven problems, was delivered to a monk-priest named Yeshuʿ in refutation of the Armenians' criticism concerning the Syrians placing the night before the day in their rituals and the reason why they use oil and salt in the bread for the Divine Eucharist. It explains their rejection of the sacrifices used by the Armenians and discusses whether the reception of the Holy Mysteries should be practiced a few times a year. It also discusses whether Christ ate meat while on earth, the reason why

[1] The *ḥusoyos* of Tur ʿAbdin.

[2] Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 238.

[3] Jerusalem MS. 156.

[4] At our library.

[5] The scrapbook of Basibrina.

[6] A copy of this letter is at our library which we transcribed from the copy of Ḥbob written in 1485.

the tables (on which the Divine Eucharist is offered) and altars are sanctified but the Cross is not, why we receive The Divine Eucharist from the cup with a spoon, why we celebrate the feast of the Nativity before the Epiphany and not on the same day, why we do not kneel down in prayer from the Sunday of Resurrection to the Pentecost and whether we should confess our sins to a priest. Sergius excellently answered these questions relying on testimonies of doctors of the church. And as he has made no allusion to the captivity of the Christians during which they were forced to eat horse meat when they were invaded by the Turks and also made no reference to the books of the fathers, Bar Shushan, Bar Andrew and Bar Ṣalibi, who disputed with the Armenians, we were inclined to believe that he wrote his epistle shortly after the year 1058 or, after 1084, during which the Turks invaded the countries of al-Sham [Syria] and the Greeks and destroyed them completely. As a result, seventy monks from the Syrian monasteries moved to our monastery in Egypt.[1] As we see, Sergius was a monk-priest.

195. Ignatius III, metropolitan of Melitene (d. 1094)

In commending Ignatius III, Mar Michael (the Great)[2] and Bar Hebraeus[3] said: "Ignatius, who came from the Monastery of Mar Aaron al-Shaghr, was deeply versed in the books of the two Testaments as well as in both the Greek and Syriac languages, grammar, rhetoric and philosophy. He was a unique person of his generation, belonging to the same category as Thomas of Harkel. Moreover he was kind-hearted, meek, compassionate and ascetic with no earthly possessions. He was consecrated the metropolitan of Melitene by his uncle Athanasius V on the fifth of April, 1063. He was the third metropolitan to be called Ignatius. During the reign of Constantine X Ducas (1059-1067), he and his uncle were persecuted by the Greeks, and Ignatius was imprisoned in the Monastery of Ebdocos for five months. Upon the death of the Patriarch, they (most probably his congregation) took Ignatius to Constantinople where he valiantly defended the orthodox faith. He was banished to the mountain of Gauis in Macedonia, where he

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[1] Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 256-257.
[2] Michael the Great, *Chronicle*, 2: 575.
[3] Bar Hebraeus, *Ecclesiastical History*, 2: 439.

patiently remained three years, enduring all kinds of misfortunes. Upon the king's death, he was released and returned to his diocese in 1067. He composed an epistle in about ten pages, in which he related the humiliation which had befallen him in his exile.[1]

This learned man was engaged in translations from the Greek following the method of Jacob of Edessa. He also wrote a brief profane history[2] and an ecclesiastical one after the manner of the two histories Jacob of Edessa and Dionysius of Tell Maḥre, while adding to their histories many events which he copied from Greek histories, beginning with Constantine the Great until his time. He restricted his chronicle to the dynasties of Byzantine kings as well as Syrian church dignitaries, while excluding the kingdoms of the Arabs and of the Turks, which began either during his lifetime or shortly before that. He also excluded other churches. In his introduction he said, "I have written whatever I could write with brevity and simple style, acquiring historical information mainly in the Greek language. I have found no history written in our language after that which was written by Tell Maḥre." This means that he was not familiar with the two histories of Bar Kepha and Simon of Nisibin. This history of Ignatius has been lost. However, Michael the Great quoted from it and it was his main source in writing the thirteenth chapter of his *Chronicle.*

This genius died in September 1094 after he had adorned the See of Melitene for more than thirty-one years.

196. Saʿīd Bar Ṣabuni (d. 1095)

Saʿīd was one of the few eminent men of rhetoric, well versed in theology and philosophy. He was born and raised in Melitene, became a monk of the Monastery of ʿArnīsh and acquired a great deal of Syriac, Greek, and other philosophical sciences. He was consecrated metropolitan of Melitene by the name of John in the year 1095. He had not been in his new position forty days when he was murdered unjustly and arbitrarily by Gabriel the Greek governor on the fourth day of July. He died in the prime of his

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[1] Translated badly into Arabic by some half-breed Syrian writers. We read it in Mardin.

[2] Michael the Great, 2: 544-546.

youth but divine justice took revenge on the tyrant, who was ignobly murdered six or seven years later.[1]

Bar Hebraeus said; "Saʿīd and his brother Abu Ghālib were the most distinguished of the people in their time." He also nicknamed Saʿīd as "The Writer of *Sedros* " and "The saint and doctor who is most astonishing."[2] Following is a list of his writings:

1. Fifteen most eloquent *ḥusoyos* in one hundred twenty pages of medium size. Two of the *ḥusoyos* for the feast of Mar Barṣoum, one for the evening, alphabetically written backward and forward. It also includes a supplication, each verse of which begins with a letter of the author's name; a *ḥusoyo* for each one of the mornings of the Sunday of the Dead, the Wednesday of King Abgar, the Thursday of the fourth week of Lent; two *ḥusoyos* for the forty martyrs; four dialectical *ḥusoyos*, one for the evening of the feast of St. George, beginning thus: "Unceasing praises," one for the Dispensation of our Lord, one for the mornings of the eighth Sunday after the Resurrection, as well as the Transfiguration, beginning thus: "Praise Him who does exist" and one for the festival of the Cross, in which he achieved a great degree of excellence.[3] The introductory phrases of the first three *ḥusoyos* show their philosophical style. In the last two *ḥusoyos*, he incorporated Greek words. The remaining *ḥusoyos* are: one for the morning of the feast of the Nativity of the Virgin, one for the evening of Tuesday of the fifth week of Lent and one for Pentecost.[4]

2. Hymns known as the Canons, for the assumption of the monastic habit, composed on the second melody of the canons of the festival of Epiphany beginning thus: "Good Lord, Thou has strengthened our weak nature." In this one, he mentioned his own name.[5]

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[1] Michael the Great, 2: 586, 587 and 590.

[2] Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 262.

[3] Michael the Great mentioned the *ḥusoyo* of the Cross in his *Chronicle*, 2: 587.

[4] The copies of the service books of the *ḥusoyos* in all of the Syrian churches in which the name of the author is mentioned, are mostly found in Tur ʿAbdin.

[5] *Beth Gazo* at the Monastery of Mar Abraham in Midyat.

3. The order of blessing of the branches on Palm Sunday. Also he vocalized and corrected the order of the Prostration for Pentecost.[1]

4. Revision of the annual calendar of the festival of saints by Jacob of Edessa, to which he added feasts such as those of John Bar ʿAbdun the Confessor, Patriarch of Antioch, in the year 1030.[2]

5. A resounding ode which he composed on the twelfth meter, in which he mentioned the virtues of the saint and *malphono*, Jacob of Sarug and elaborated on his praise, in an answer to a request of ʿAbda, bishop of Kharshana, who was a virtuous old man and who had resigned from his diocese. This ode, comprising two hundred twenty-nine lines and filling forty-two pages, is excellently composed and since the composer followed the same style of preceding excellent poets, turned out to be one of the finest odes. The lines of this ode are alphabetically arranged with repetition in the beginning. In the copy of the Jerusalem MS. it begins thus, "O storehouse of treasures from which all those in need shall be enriched," while in the copy of Basibrina it begins thus, "O munificent God from whom all the needy shall be enriched." In this copy, this ode has no rhyme except in some places where rhyme has been perfunctorily and seldom used. This copy comprises eight pages, the rest of which is imperfect. The first copy is complete and was written in the twelfth century. In it the name of the composer is mentioned as "a stranger poet." On its margin is fixed the following statement in the handwriting of Metropolitan Sergius of Ḥaḥ, "This stranger is Bar Ṣabuni, the author of magnificent *ḥusoyos*, as I have read in an ancient manuscript." The copiest, however, erroneously mentioned that the author composed this ode in November of the year of the Greeks 1405, corresponding to 1143, to which he undoubtedly added fifty years. The correct date is 1405 of the Greeks, corresponding to A.D. 1093. The evidence can be deduced from the forty-second line of the ode, which states that 570 years have passed since the death of the *Malphono* (Jacob of Sarug). And if you add this number to 522—because the *Malphono* passed away on the twenty-ninth day of November, the total will be A.D. 1092. That John composed this

[1] *Mʿadheʿdhono* at our church in Egypt, dated 1403.

[2] *Beth Gazo* at the church of Mar Moses in Damascus dated 1531 and at our patriarchal library.

ode while in the prime of youth is attested by his statement in the 132nd line, "How could I equate myself with the rank and knowledge of this great doctor, since I am insignificant, weak, young and of little knowledge." Therefore, we are of the opinion that when he was murdered he was not exactly forty years of age but he was in the fourth decade of age. He also denied that one of his disciples eulogized Jacob of Sarug, as is stated by him in the forty-second line, "570 years have passed since the time of the *Malphono* (Jacob of Sarug); how many erudite masters have shone and how many wise men have achieved fame but they dared not eulogize him because they found him far above their praise. Following is a part of the content of this excellent ode.

> The *Malphono* (Jacob of Sarug) was the one who invented the dodecasyllabic meter, which is the longest meter in Greek as well as Syriac poetry (line 80); he received the gift of the Holy Spirit in his youth (line 94); Severus the Patriarch of Antioch examined his learning ability (line 140); he informed him about Simon the Potter and the Patriarch encouraged both of them to compose poetry (line 145)

In line 158 and the lines following it, he said:

> God caused the springs of wisdom to erupt through the tongue of Mar Jacob and he poured forth his *memre.* From these *memre* you would learn the profound secrets of the language, the miraculous classes of beings and their governor-man, the mysteries of the doctrines of monotheism, the Trinity and the Incarnation. You would also know about the description of prophets, apostles and martyrs.

And if you were someone who is stricken by sins you will find in his songs thousands of remedies and consolation. Those who read his poems will be awed, yet they are so excellent that people cannot emulate them. You will also discover that in his poems he admonishes worshipping men not to leave the church before the end of the divine liturgy and from beautifying themselves. He also admonishes noble women to carry with their own hands the flour for making the eucharistic bread to church and not send it with their maids. He also taught people to say grace before meals and composed poems about the most important events in both Testaments, the annunciation of the apostles, the councils of Nicaea and Constantinople, the Queen Helen and seven poems of refutation of the Jews.

197. Dionysius Bar Mawdyana (d. 1120)

He was John the son of the priest Mawdyana, "the confessor" of Melitene. He was still a deacon in the year 1061. I have seen an account written in a pleasant Estrangelo script by him at Basibrina in which he mentioned his name and genealogy as well as those of his two brothers, the priests Joseph and Ḥabib, who were monks at the Monastery of Bar Jaji. It was in this monastery that John studied and became a monk. He also studied under Patriarch John Bar Shushan, who consecrated him bishop of Jubas and gave him the name Dionysius in the year 1070. When the Turks destroyed Jubas, John took residence in the Monastery of Mar Barṣoum, then moved to Melitene in 1102. He was relieved from being the bishop of this city in 1113 after he enriched it with knowledge, especially the searching of the scriptures, the writings of the fathers as well as oratory and writing. Patriarch Athanasius VI studied under him. Mar Michael (the Great) said about him, "He was a *malphono* and to him credit is due for the awakening of learning in Melitene until this day."[1] After spending fifty years in the service of the church as a Patriarch he died, a revered old man, in the year 1120 and was buried at the great church of Melitene. We have read an excellent *ḥusoyo* by him which he wrote for the ritual of the Maccabees martyrs. It begins thus: "Thanks be to the Lord of strife [for faith] and the one who crowns the champions [of faith]."[2]

198. Athanasius VI (d. 1129)

He was Abu al-Faraj of Amid of the Kamra family. He became a monk at the Monastery of Mar Barṣoum and studied under Dionysius Mawdyana both Syriac and religious sciences. He also studied and mastered the Arabic language, in which he could write skillfully.[3] He was consecrated Patriarch of Antioch in 1091 and died in 1129, after having consecrated sixty-one metropolitans and bishops. He was handsome, dignified and venerable, deeply in love with learning. He collected precious books and carried them with him wherever he went. He gave the office of the patriarchate the

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[1] Michael the Great, *Chronicle*, 2: 593 and 601.

[2] The manuscripts of Tur ʿAbdin.

[3] The Anonymous Edessan, *Chronicle*, 2: 302.

dignity which is worthy of it. He is criticized for nothing except his harsh treatment of his subordinates.

199. Basilius Abu Ghalib Ibn al-Ṣabuni (d. 1129)

He was the brother of John Saʿid Ibn al-Ṣabuni, metropolitan of Melitene. Like his brother, he was a learned man, well versed in Syriac, Greek, philosophy and theology. He resided at the ʿArnīsh monastery. Athanasius IV consecrated him a bishop for Edessa in 1101 but he suspended him in the same year. He was then excommunicated for his show of stubbornness, rebellion and arrogance. He remained excommunicated until the death of the Patriarch. He was re-instated by Patriarch John XI in a local synod. But he soon died in 1129 and perhaps the troubles which beset him prevented him from utilizing his knowledge. Therefore, we do not know whether he composed anything.

200. The Monk Michael of Marʿash (d. 1138)

The monk Michael came from the country around Marʿash. He became a monk at the Monastery of Mar George Kasliyud in the Black Mountain. Later he moved to the Monastery of the Magdalene in Jerusalem where he wrote a service book for the whole year. At the end of this service book he appended a useful account in eleven pages containing the history of some of the metropolitans of Jerusalem particularly Ignatius III, from the Kaddana family and his restoration of the two villages Beth ʿArīf and ʿAdasiyya from the usurping commander Godfrey through the effort of King Fulk.[1] This account has been translated into French by Abbé Martin in 1889, who greatly praised the author for filling a gap in the history of the See of Jerusalem.[2]

201. The Priest Ebdocos of Melitene

Ebdocos [Eudochos] was a righteous and venerable man. It is most likely that he studied and graduated from the school of Ibn

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[1] Lyons library MS. 1.

[2] L'Abbé Martin, "Les Premiers Princes Croises et Les Syries Jacobites se Jerusalem," *Journal Asiatique*, 1888-1889, 33-79.

Mawdyana. He took a position at the school of Melitene to teach Syriac, perhaps in the middle of the twelfth century. Both Jacob of Barṭelli in his book, *The Dialogue*, and Bar Hebraeus, in the commentary on his versified grammar, have referred to him. Ebdocos wrote a book whose subject matter is based on the discussions that took place in learned circle, called *Rules of Reading*. This book is a philological collection of the irregular terms and their derivatives which occur in both Testaments as well as the writings of the fathers of the church. Based on the writings of ancient learned men it is amplified with his own additions. However, this book is not properly organized. Adding to its disorganization are the random marginal notes added to it by later writers. The book is found in many libraries. Anton Baumstark, who upon reading a copy of this book in Paris MS. 251, in which a certain transcriber named Yeshuʿ added to his name the epithet "Sīlūba" meaning "wretched," erroneously thought that the name of this transcriber is Yeshuʿ Sīlūba.[1]

202. Timothy, metropolitan of Karkar (d. 1143)

He was known as Ibn Basil. He became a monk and studied in the Monastery of Sarjisiyya where he also became reputed for his virtue and godliness. He was consecrated a metropolitan for Karkar in 1109. He went to Jerusalem to perform the pilgrimage. He died in 1143 according to Michael the Great[2] and Bar Hebraeus[3] and not in 1169 as some writers have thought.[4] He was a proficient poet whose poetry is distinguished by the beauty of its style, rhythm, naturalness and profound themes. This is attested by his excellent long poem on the Assumption of the Virgin, which is considered one of the gems of poetry. This poem has been published.[5] He also composed another poem in the dodecasyllabic meter in thirty-five pages in which he described the piety of the ascetics Macarius and

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[1] Anton Baumstark, p. 295.

[2] Michael the Great, *Chronicle*, 2: 626.

[3] Bar Hebraeus, *Ecclesiastical History*, 1: 479.

[4] Assemani, Cardahi, and Duval.

[5] It was published by Cardahi in his *Liber Thesauri*, 154-159.

John, Bishway the Egyptian, and Maximus and Domatius, the Greeks.[1] He also wrote a *ḥusoyo* for their festivals.

203. John Bar Andrews (d. 1156)

A proficient writer and poet, he was born at Farzman in the vicinity of Raʿbān. He mastered both the Syriac and the Armenian languages. He became a monk, was ordained a priest and joined the service of Patriarch Athanasius VI who consecrated him a metropolitan for Mabug around 1124. He was an eloquent and a very efficient disputant who had retorted to many opponents and envious men. However, he was arrogant and bragged about his knowledge. He thought little of the Patriarch, who dismissed him from his diocese for his arrogance and treated him harshly. After three lonely years of estrangement he realized that eminence in knowledge is no substitute for obedience to the head of the church. He then humbled himself and returned to the fold and was welcomed by the Patriarch, who treated him kindly and restored him to his diocese. Afterwards, he was transferred to Kharshana and finally to Tur ʿAbdin in 1155. He died at the beginning of the following year.

Of his writings are the following:

1. An excellent dodecasyllabic poem consisting of five hundred and five lines in seventy pages. He composed it in 1155 and addressed it to his friend the monk Michael in Acre. He began it with the aphorism, "There is a time to speak and a time to be silent." Each distich of its lines begins with letters of another poem in the pentasyllabic meter. It begins thus: "To our brother Michael in Palestine" and ends with a letter of a third poem of the same meter beginning thus: "John, residing in parts of Syria." In this poem, he criticized acrimoniously the policy of the clergy in his time, namely those priests and deacons who rebelled against their bishops. He rebuked the monks who violated their monastic rules by spending their time making money rather than by laboring in vineyards and olive groves. He particularly rebuked the monks of the Monastery of St. Barṣoum for their high-handedness and greed in collecting taxes in the name of the saint, their disobedience to

[1] Mardin MS, thirteenth century; Ḥbob MS. dated 1485; and Birmingham MS. 83.

their superiors and simony practiced by some of them. He also composed and addressed to the same monk a symbolic poem in the pentasyllabic meter covering five pages beginning thus: "In reply to your quest not your expectation." He then goes on to say that his right hand has become tired because of the many letters he has written and sent in vain to Palestine. Moreover, he reprimanded a friend who turned against him and described love most beautifully, demonstrating that he is a powerful and efficient poet who has the ability to manipulate both form and content. There are two copies of these letters, one in London[1] and the other in our library.

2. A testimony of Bar Andrews' natural and beautiful poetry is his *madrosho* (metrical song) entitled, "Eulogies composed and chanted about himself in repentance." This *madrosho* is sung in the melody: "Grant us, Lord, to see our departed ones in the kingdom of Heaven on the day of resurrection." It begins thus: "How great my need is, my son John, for an eloquent tongue and clear thoughts to cry and bewail myself bitterly." One hundred and twenty-seven lines of this *madrosho* have been preserved and entered in his lifetime in the book for the burial of priests and church dignitaries. It was spread throughout the countries where there were Syrian churches, as we read in a vellum manuscript in the Boston library.[2] One finds in it smooth words and profound and inventive themes. Indeed, it is a poem of tears and compassionate sentiment exquisitely composed.[3]

3. Ten lines of a *madrosho* in the melody of *Qum Phawlos* on repentance. It is the most tender and touching religious poetry. It begins thus: "I have contemplated deeply on this world." Two of it entered the *Beth Gazo*.[4] These poems, which demonstrate that their composer is an able, natural and imaginative poet, consist of one hundred pages.

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[1] Brit. Mus. MS. 1017, transcribed by a member of the Khayrun family about the year 1330; and MS. at our library.

[2] MS. 4013.

[3] Brit. Mus. MS. 4407, transcribed in 1575. A compendium of this copy is at our library.

[4] At our library dated 1471; and Barṭelli dated 1486. There were also two *madroshos* by him at the Seʿert Library MS. 81 dated 1473.

4. A lost book in which he refuted John, metropolitan of Mardin, for his claim that calamities do not afflict men by the order of God.[1]

5. A polemical treatise in which he disputed with learned men of the Armenians for blaming some customs of our church. It consists of nine chapters of fifty-one pages.[2]

6. He translated from the Armenian into Syriac those portions which he was able to obtain of the treatise of Gregory II the Armenian Catholicos,[3] which he wrote in reply to the Patriarch John X Bar Shushan. He gave this translation to Bar Ṣalibi, who wrote a refutation of the same.[4]

7. He wrote a *memro* in Armenian in refutation of the Armenian Catholicos Gregory III.[5] This Gregory apparently criticized some customs of the Syrians and when he read his refutation he burned the two *memre.*[6] It is likely that the pen of this learned man yielded more poems and fragments of prose which have been lost to us.

204. The Priest Ṣaliba of Qarikara (d. 1164)

Ṣaliba was born at Qarikara, a village of Melitene, and was ordained a priest. When he became a widower he became a monk and devoted his efforts to learning. He taught at Melitene where he also became renowned for his knowledge. He wrote a treatise in reply to John, metropolitan of Mardin,[7] and was engaged in vocalizing the irregular terms in the hymns of St. Ephraim.[8] He was the one

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[1] Bar Hebraeus, *Ecclesiastical History*, 1: 501.

[2] Zaʿfaran MS. 5; the *Didascalia* and the *Disputations* of Bar Ṣalibi in an old copy in Mosul.

[3] The son of an army commander. He was forced to become a Catholicos in the year 1065. But he did not care for his new office and spent time in reading and traveling, after he had ordained bishops and invested them with wide authority. He died in 1105. See Ormanian, *The Armenian Church*, 142.

[4] Zaʿfaran.

[5] He was ordained in 1113 at the age of twenty. He died in 1166. See Ormanian, p. 176.

[6] Bar Hebraeus, *ibid.*, 1: 487.

[7] Bar Hebraeus, *Ecclesiastical History*, 1: 501.

[8] Zaʿfaran MS. 142, containing the vocalized text of the Holy Bible.

who requested Bar Ṣalibi to write most of his books. He died in 1146.

205. Ignatius II, Maphryono of the East (d. 1164)

He is Lazarus, son of the priest Ḥasan. He was born at the village ʿIbra in the environs of Jubas and studied at Melitene. He became a monk at the Monastery of Sarjisiyya and was distinguished for his intelligence, knowledge and piety. He was consecrated a Maphryono of the East and was given the name Ignatius in October, 1142. He proved worthy of this position, since he was an able man in word and deed. In 1161, he was delegated by Jamāl al-Din the governor of Mosul to go on a mission to the king of the Georgians to free the Muslim captives. The king went out to receive him, honored him and answered his quest.[1] He wrote an anaphora beginning thus: "O, Judge of judges and God of gods the hope of every human being."[2] He died on June 14, 1164.

206. John, metropolitan of Mardin (d. 1165)

He is Joseph of Edessa. He became a monk in the Mountain of Edessa and in 1125, was consecrated, for his virtuous life, a metropolitan of Mardin and its environs: Dara, Khabur, Kafrtut and Tālbsam. At his consecration he was given the name John and worked hard to improve conditions in his diocese. He renovated the Monastery of Mar Ḥananya together with twenty-four more monasteries and churches, some of which were newly constructed. He filled the monasteries with monks and enacted for them canons in a council he convened in the former monastery presided by Maphryono Ignatius II in 1153. He was distinguished for his proficiency in architectural engineering and he spent his life following the most commendable principles of architecture. He became focus of attention and left behind a praiseworthy record. He died on July 12, 1165. Patriarch Michael instituted a day in his commemoration and eulogized him in a poem.[3]

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[1] Bar Hebraeus, 2: 353-355.

[2] Mosul and at Cambridge MS. 2887.

[3] See his biography in our book *Nuzhat al-Adhhān fī Tārīkh Dayr al-Zaʿfarān* (*Excursion of the Minds in the History of al-Zaʿfaran's Monastery*), 52-75.

When Zangi conquered Edessa in 1144 and calamities afflicted its inhabitants, John wrote a book in which he maintained that these calamities have afflicted the city for temporal reasons. He argued that if there was an army in the city nothing would have happened to it. Therefore, the will of God has nothing to do with these calamities. He reached this conclusion arbitrarily and for this reason it was refuted by four of his contemporary learned men.

He enacted forty canons in the formerly mentioned council and followed them by forty-one more for the monks of his own diocese.[1] Shortly before the year 1155 he composed a treatise about the mystery of the holy Chrism and its composition, addressed to a certain Yeshuʿ. In this treatise, which covers thirty-six pages, he discussed some ritualistic subjects.[2] His style is mediocre and he himself is considered a mediocre writer. Some Orientalists have erroneously attributed to him the anaphora of John Jacob Bar Shakko, dated 1231.

207. Basilius Bar Shumanna (d. 1169)

He is Abu al-Faraj of Edessa, a descendant of the noble Shumanna family. His brother Michael was a minister of Joscelin, the Frankish prince of Edessa.[3] Abu al-Faraj studied church and literary sciences, became a monk and was elevated to the priesthood. He went to Constantinople in 1122, was consecrated a metropolitan of Kesum in 1129 and then transferred to Edessa where he witnessed its destruction twice as a result of wars. Therefore, he traveled throughout the countries seeking aid for Edessa. He obtained from the Patriarch the diocese of Sibaberk and its environs to the north which until then was part of the diocese of Edessa. He was an intelligent and indefatigable dignitary. He knew Arabic besides Syriac and was highly respected by the great men of his generation. He died an old man in 1169.

Of his writings are the following:

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[1] MS. at our library dated the sixteenth century. A portion of these canons is at the Zaʿfaran library.

[2] Sharfeh MS. 4-1 dated 1223, Constantinople dated 1574 and our library.

[3] Joscelin II of Courtenay, Count of Edessa (1119-1131). (tr.)

1. The history of Edessa from ancient times to his own time, which was quoted and used by Michael the Great and the Edessene chronicler.[1]

2. A historical tract about the invasion of the Comans by John II Comnenus (1118-1144) the Byzantine emperor which he wrote at Constantinople in 1122.

3. A treatise in which he defended himself for transferring from the diocese of Kesum to Edessa, proving that he did not do so except by the approval of the Patriarch and the council.

4. A refutation of those who maintain that the blessing of the Lord to King Abgar and his city is no more.

5. Three poems in the dodecasyllabic meter on the calamity of Edessa and its aftermath. He composed these poems while he was detained at the Byzantine citadel for three years by order of Joscelin because some Edessenes slandered him to Joscelin.[2] These poems are lost.

208. Elijah, metropolitan of Kesum (d. 1171)

Elijah comes from the Shakkukum family. He became a monk at the Mādhīq Monastery and became the secretary of Patriarch Athanasius VIII. He was one of the most learned men in his time. He was consecrated a metropolitan of Kesum and was given the name John in the year 1143. Mar Michael said the following about him: "John was well versed in the divine books. He was sweet in conversation and his word was heard in the church." The Patriarch sent him on a mission to the Emperor Manuel I Comnenus (1143-1180), who was attempting to unite the Syrians, the Armenians and the Byzantines. He died at the Monastery of Mar Barṣoum on September 24, 1171. He wrote a refutation of John, metropolitan of Mardin and a brief history of the contemporary events in his time. He mentioned that he collected his information from many sources for the benefit of writers of later generations. This history was incorporated by Michael into his own chronicle.[3]

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[1] Michael the Great, *Chronicle*, 2: 633, and the Anonymous Edessene, *Chronicle*, 2: 30.

[2] Michael the Great, 2: 600, 628 and 639.

[3] Michael the Great, 2: 627.

209. Dionysius Jacob Bar Ṣalibi (d. 1171)

A unique and distinguished Syrian dignitary, the pride of Melitene and a staunch defender of Christianity as well as of those who have been converted to orthodoxy. A very learned man and writer, Bar Ṣalibi excelled in his commentary on the Holy Scriptures, based on the ideas of former commentators but adorned with his own conclusions. Indeed, his commentary is the best and most popular of his writings. It is sufficient proof of his keen mind, industry, amazing fortitude and profound scholarship. He continued to work with zeal and patience despite hardships and the ill-will of envious men.[1] He was kind in speech, upright, God-fearing and respectful of church canons. He was a true Syrian who loved his own people and defended them with his tongue and writing, until he went to his reward, leaving behind him a magnificent legacy. Michael the Great and Bar Hebraeus had this to say about him, "Bar Ṣalibi was a master and logician. He was the star of his time. He wrote many books and commentaries, all of which are well-written. The church was overwhelmed with sadness over his loss." The former described him as a champion like Jacob of Edessa, while the latter made his commentaries mandatory for study by the clergy.[2] His prose writings show him to be powerful in explaining things in detail. In his polemics, he is expansive to a boring degree. His style is natural and clear. But we received nothing of his poetry so that we might relish its taste.

Bar Ṣalibi was born in Melitene where he also studied the sciences of language, literature, history, jurisprudence, philosophy and theology under the masters in that city. He was ordained a deacon and spent some time studying religious sciences until he was counted as one of the eminent theologians. When the Patriarch and the Holy Synod saw his refutation of the book of Metropolitan John of Mardin in which he maintained that the will of God had nothing to do with the calamities which afflicted Edessa, they found it the best refutation ever written about this subject and one which is in conformity with church belief. As a result, Patriarch

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[1] See his allusion to this point in his exposition of The Gospel according to St. Luke 4:21.

[2] Michael the Great, 2: 699 and Bar Hebraeus, *Ecclesiastical History*, 1: 599, and by the same author, *Hudoye* (*Nomocanon*), p. 106.

Athanasius VII rewarded him by ordaining him a priest and then a metropolitan for the diocese of Marʿash in October, 1148, giving him the name Dionysius. This is evident from a marginal note by one of his contemporaries who commented on his book *Disputations* in 1197.[1] This is also confirmed by Bar Ṣalibi himself, who stated in his book, *A Commentary on Logic*, that he finished the *Prior Apodictics* in October 1460, of the Greek calendar, which is equivalent to the formerly mentioned year when he was a bishop.[2] The sequence of events also proves that he was consecrated in 1148. The year 1154 which Orientalists fixed for his consecration, based on the chronicles of Michael the Great and Bar Hebraeus is erroneous. In 1155, the diocese of Mabug was annexed to his own diocese and in the following year an Armenian band treacherously attacked Marʿash, robbed and expelled the people including Bar Ṣalibi, showing no respect for his position. He was able to free himself and walk to the Kasliyud Monastery.[3] However, it is most likely that he remained in Melitene writing until 1167, when he was transferred to Amid. He showed a great ability in running the diocese aided by his secretary, the deacon Abraham who also studied under him. He renovated the church of Amid[4] and departed from this life at the end of November 1171. He was buried in the great church of Amid and was succeeded by his secretary.

Following is a list of his writings:

1. A commentary on the Books of the Old Testament. This is a literal as well as a mystical commentary. It is a very detailed and unique commentary consisting of several volumes. More than once he alluded to it in his medium-sized commentary.[5] It is likely that

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[1] Zaʿfaran MS. 5.

[2] Cambridge MS. 14-2 Gg, 306.

[3] Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 324.

[4] Michael the Great, 2: 697.

[5] In the introduction to his medium-sized commentary is a summarized account of what he wrote. He said, "When I, Dionysius, Metropolitan of Amid, studied the books of the two Testaments, together with the writings of the doctors of the church as well as those of the sages of other nations (pagan nations) and compiled a compendium commentary in answer to the request of a group of authorities who have suggested that I undertake such work and also completed the commentary

copyists made no effort to transcribe it because of its massive size and, therefore, it was lost.

2. The medium-sized commentary on the Old Testament. This commentary is extremely voluminous consisting of four volumes. It covers the commentary on Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, Job, Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Kings, Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, the Song of Solomon, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Daniel, the twelve minor prophets and the Wisdom of the son of Sirach. The commentary on the Book of Susanna is contained in one copy only.[1]

Each book has two commentaries, literal and spiritual. Some of them are based on the Pshiṭto version and others on the Syro-Hexapla. To the Psalms he added yet a third symbolic commentary and prefaced it with thirty-two chapters by Bar Kepha with the effect that this commentary alone totaled one hundred twenty-seven. His sources were the commentaries of St. Ephraim, Athanasius, Basilius, Gregory the theologian, Gregory of Nyssa, John Chrysostom, Cyril, Hysichius of Jerusalem, Jacob of Sarug, Philoxenus of Mabug, Severus, Daniel, Andrew of Jerusalem, Jacob of Edessa, Moses Bar Kepha, and the deacon Zurʿa of Nisibin. He made use of these sources in his commentary on the first Books of the Scripture until the Psalms.

There are six copies of this noble book. Four of these are in the library of Zaʿfaran transcribed between 1189-1594, all of which are deficient except the last one.[2] Another copy is in our bishopric library in Mosul, transcribed in the first or the third decade of the fifteenth century. It contains the chapters of Bar Kepha and a good tractate in five pages of the hymn of Hippolytus the Roman about Susanna. It is written in beautiful handwriting and consists of 1220 large-size pages. Another copy is in Paris[3] and there are seven more

on all of the books of the two Testaments in a short time, you have now got me interested, dear brother, in abridging this commentary and explaining it even in a more detailed manner. You have also suggested that I should begin with the literal commentary and follow it with the spiritual one, which I did."

[1] Zaʿfaran dated the fourteen century transcribed by the Monk Ṣaliba at the Monastery of Shiro.

[2] Zaʿfaran MSS. 246 and 251.

[3] Paris MS. 66 dated 1354.

recently transcribed copies, one of which is in our library.[1] We have translated into Arabic twenty-nine chapters of the commentary on Isaiah and added unto it comments from Bar Hebraeus's *Storehouse of Secrets* and published it.[2]

3. A commentary on all of the New Testament, that is, the four Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, the Epistles and Revelation. His sources were the writings of St. Ephraim, St. Chrysostom, Cyril of Alexandria, Philoxenus of Mabug, Severus of Antioch, Jacob of Edessa, John of Dara, and Bar Kepha. Occasionally he mentioned Hippolytus, Africanus, Eusebius of Caesarea, Athanasius, Gregory Nazianzen, Gregory of Nyssa, Epiphanius, Antiochus, bishop of Acre, Theodotus, bishop of Ancyra, Mar Isaac, George, bishop of the Arabs, David Bar Paul, Jacob, bishop of ʿĀnah, and Lazarus Bar Moses. The commentary on the Gospels has seven copies, the oldest of which is in our library. It is a very old copy of small size and slightly imperfect at the beginning and at the end. It is written in a pleasing handwriting and contains many marginal notes, comments, revisions and additions, all in the original handwriting. It is likely that this copy is the original draft of the author. The remaining copies are in Paris,[3] Dublin,[4] London,[5] Ṣadad,[6] and Jerusalem.[7] Sedlacêk and Chabot translated into Latin and

[1] At our library dated 1889.

[2] *Al-Majalla al-Baṭriyarkiyya* (*The Patriarchal Magazine*) (Jerusalem, 1934-1940).

[3] MS. 67 dated 1174 and MS. 68 dated 1457.

[4] MS. 1512 dated 1179.

[5] MS. 12143 dated 1229.

[6] Dated 1470.

[7] MS. 48 dated 1471. The copy of the commentary on the Pauline Epistles is in London MS. 7185 dated fourteenth century, Jerusalem MS. 50 dated 1890 and our library. G. Diettrich claims that the commentaries of Theodore of Mopsuestia (d. 429) have reached us through Yeshuʿdad of Merv, the Nestorian bishop of Ḥaditha (840-853). Following him, R. Harris claims that Bar Ṣalibi copied his commentaries from Bar Kepha and Yeshuʿdad. Mrs. Gibson has gone even farther to the other extreme by accusing Bar Ṣalibi and others of sheer plagiarism. Chabot erroneously made Bar Kepha later than Bar Ṣalibi. We may refute their ideas by the following:

1) Seven commentators preceded Yeshuʿdad of Merv. They are Ana the pupil of St. Ephraim, Dada of Amid, Philoxenus of

published half of the commentary on the Gospel according to St. Matthew, the Acts, the Epistles and Revelation. The monk ʿAbd al-Nur of Amid translated the commentary on the Gospels into Arabic in 1755 but his translation is of mediocre quality.

4. A commentary on the book attributed to Dionysius the Areopagite. It is a medium-sized volume consisting of four hundred seventy pages. We found a unique and ancient copy of this book in Aleppo, completed about the thirteenth century.[1]

5. A commentary on the *Hundred Aphorisms* (Six Centuries) by Euagrius Pontius which he wrote in 1165.[2]

Mabug, Marutha of Takrit, Jacob of Edessa, George, bishop of the Arabs, and John of Dara. Undoubtedly, the great number of their lost writings was available to these two masters along with the writings of those about whom no information has reached us. How did these critics learn that they copied from them in form and content? How could they conclude that Yeshuʿdad of Merv followed their course while he enumerated many sources without mentioning the names of their authors?

2) Why should these two, that is, Bar Kepha and Bar Ṣalibi have need of Theodore of Mopsuestia and Yeshuʿdad while they had available the writings of ancient eminent commentators like Hippolytus, Chrysostom and Cyril of Alexandria? Although accidental identity of ideas and the quoting of later authors from those who preceded them is accepted by speculative thinkers, we have not heard one of them accuse later writers of plagiarism.

3) The commentaries of Theodore of Mopsuestia were neither central nor unattainable so that they would cheat their way into acquiring them. Even Bar Hebraeus did not mention Theodore in his commentaries, except three times and only for the purpose of falsifying some of his insipid ideas.

4) Bar Salibi's commentary on the two Testaments is three times as long as that of Yeshuʿdad. Is it then credible that a great and brilliant scholar like Bar Ṣalibi would confine himself to the commentaries of Yeshuʿdad in both form and content while the historians of his own denomination only mentioned him accidentally? Regarding the commentaries of Bar Kepha we do not possess them at present in order to draw a comparison between them and those of Bar Ṣalibi.

[1] Birmingham MS. 539 dated 1929.

[2] Berlin MS. 26 (186) dated 1565.

6. A commentary of the book of *Literature* by Basilius of Caesarea.

7. A commentary on the writings of Gregory of Nyssa.

8. A commentary on the writings of Cyril of Alexandria.

9. A commentary on the writings of Gregory the Theologian.

10. A commentary on the writings of Severus of Antioch.

11. A commentary on the book of the Patriarch Peter of Callinicus. These six books are lost.[1]

12. The book of *Theology*. He mentioned this book in his introductions to his *Disputations* and *Commentary on the Gospels* and called it *The Compendium*. It deals with the Trinity, the mystery of the Incarnation, the Tree of Life, celestial beings like angels and devils, the rational soul, priesthood, the sun, the moon, the stars, the clouds, the elements, springs and rivers, tangible paradise, human bodies and resurrection and judgment, all in twenty chapters. He writes of faith, the Cross, the mysteries of the church and the Chrism in fifty-three chapters; Baptism in nine chapters; the Eucharist in fifteen chapters; and ecclesiastical habits, procession and pictures. In our library, there is an old copy of this very sizable book, transcribed in about 1207, with forty pages missing from it. Parts of it are included within the Mosul copy. Michael the Great referred to it.[2]

13. The book of *Disputations* containing thirty chapters against the Muslims and parts of the Qur'an in Syriac,[3] nine chapters against the Jews, two treatises in eighty chapters against the Chalcedonian Greeks (in another copy they are hundred and three chapters), two treatises in thirty-eight chapters against the Nestorians and nine chapters against the Armenians. He began writing it in Marʿash, worked on it in Melitene and completed it in Amid. He intended it as the second volume of his book of theology, although he included disputations against the Greeks and the Armenians in the chapter on the divine incarnation.

This book has four copies: 1) our own copy which has already been mentioned, consisting of 726 large-size pages. 2) A copy in Mosul transcribed in the fourteenth century consisting of 900 pages of which 220 pages are missing, largely from the beginning and a

[1] Mentioned in the list of his writings.

[2] Michael the Great, 2: 699.

[3] Published by Mingana.

few at the end. It begins with the resurrection, judgment, faith, the Cross, the Chrism and Baptism. 3) The Zaʿfaran copy[1] transcribed in 1502 consisting of 938 pages. In 1197, an anonymous scribe wrote an interesting introduction to it and classified it into chapters. 4) The Birmingham[2] copy which is copied from the Mosul version in 1873. A portion of it exists in the Vatican library.[3] However, there is some difference in the number of chapters between the second and the third copies.

14. A book similar to the book of the *Six Days*.[4]

15. A commentary on the Liturgy which he wrote in Amid in response to the request to Ignatius IV of Melitene, metropolitan of Jerusalem. There are two copies of this book; one is written in detail and covers eighty-two large pages.[5] It was published by Labourt in 1903.

16. A book on *Divine Providence* in which he refuted the writing of the Metropolitan of Mardin. Michael the Great reproduced two tracts of it in his *Chronicle*.[6]

17. The book of *Letters* which he mentioned in his *Disputations*, which he wrote, as he says, against the opponents. Few letters of it in three pages were found in Mosul.[7]

18. A commentary on *Logic* which he wrote in 1148. It contains a commentary on the *Isagoge* in three chapters, followed by a commentary on the *Categories* after he abridged the lengthy commentary of expositors, a commentary on *Interpretation* in five chapters, a commentary on the *Analytica Priora* which he added many chapters about the difficult parts and a commentary on the *Analytica Posteriora*. Bar Ṣalibi states that George, bishop of the Arabs, considered the *Analytica Priora* and the *Analetica Posteriora* as the first book of the *Apodictics*, because the themes of the two treatises are intertwined. He did not comment on the second treatise of the *Apodictics* because of the weak sight of its transcribers and expositors in the two languages as he had discovered. Also

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[1] Zaʿfaran MS. 5.

[2] Birmingham MS. 215.

[3] Vatican MS. 28.

[4] The index of his writings.

[5] MS. at the Church of the Forty Martyrs in Mardin.

[6] Michael the Great, 2: 631 and 651.

[7] Birmingham MS. 152.

scholars were not in need of it because its meaning has been known to the students of philosophy. He added, "If we found a sound exposition of it we will then summarize it." Bar Ṣalibi went on to write a commentary on eight books of Aristotle beginning with *Physics* until the *Theology* which has been compiled by Nikolaus the Orator. This book has a unique copy written in fine handwriting consisting of 770 pages. The commentary on *Animals* followed by a treatise on geometry.[1]

19. Ten chapters in reply against the deacon Yeshuʿ who preferred the Byzantine ritual. It is a cogent and well-written treatise demonstrating the author's profound knowledge in church rituals. It was published by Mingana, according to an old copy in the *Didascalia.*

20. A refutation of the heresy of the Phantasiasts which had a trace among the Armenians. Also a polemical argument with the Armenian Catholicos Kiwark III, in which he tried to refute the letter of John Bar Shushan, Patriarch of Antioch. The treatise of Kiwark reached our author through Basil, abbot of the Monastery of Mar Barṣoum, when he was attending the Council in 1169. This refutation consists of seventy-two pages and half of it is missing.[2] It is the same refutation translated by Metropolitan Bar Andrew into Syriac.

21. A treatise he wrote at Mabug in nine chapters in reply to Narsis IV Shinurhali the Armenian Catholicos of the Byzantine Citadel, refuting the Catholicos's claims. Another copy mentions that Nerses was a bishop and a brother of the Catholicos. Yet another copy mentions that he wrote this letter in Marʿash and addressed it to the Catholicos.[3]

22. A compendious history he wrote in response to the request of some people. It contains the church events beginning with the biography of Basilius Bar Shumanna, metropolitan of Edessa. The world events begin with the death of John II Comnenus and the rise of Manuel I Commenus to power in 1144 until the end of his

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[1] Cambridge MS. 2016.

[2] Zaʿfaran MS. 5. Kiwark (Gregory III), was a bishop and assistant to the Catholicos Akim in the year 1069. He was dismissed in 1072.

[3] Mosul MS.

life. Michael the Great quoted profusely from it.[1] But the original is lost.

23. A short chronicle of the lives of church fathers and martyrs.[2]

24. A compendium of Apostolic canons and the canons of the councils which he presented to the Patriarch Michael.[3]

25. Two treatises on sins, vows, oblations and atonement. They contain forty-five canons; according to another copy, seventy-four canons. He wrote these treatises in response to the request of Habakkuk, abbot of the Fusqin Monastery and the monk Simon[4] while he was at a certain monastery in the Karkar country. They also contain a prayer service to be recited over the penitents.[5]

26. A large collection containing church hymns.[6]

27. A homily he delivered at the installation ceremony of Patriarch Michael at the Monastery of Mar Ḥananya. It begins thus: "Beloved, today is the day of delight and joy." This homily entered the book of ordinations. It was published by Chabot.[7] He also composed a homily on the Chrism and a tract which he appended to Bar Kepha's homily on the monks' assumption of the habit.[8]

28. Two odes in the dodecasyllabic meter on the two invasions and calamities of Edessa in 1144. They were mentioned by Michael the Great;[9] three odes on the destruction of Marʿash in 1156;[10] two odes in the heptasyllabic and the dodecasyllabic meters on the anecdote of a young woman from Talafar who openly proclaimed her conversion to Christianity amidst brandished swords and threats. They also tell how this courageous young woman saved her life and that of the Maphryono Ignatius Lazarus and then became a nun in 1159.[11] These seven odes are lost. He also composed two

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[1] Michael the Great, 2: 627.
[2] The list of his writings.
[3] The list of his writings and Baumstark, p. 297.
[4] Basibrina MS. dated fourteenth century and our library.
[5] Jerusalem MS. 107 and Zaʿfaran.
[6] The index of his writings.
[7] Paris MS. 113.
[8] Book of the Order of Ordination.
[9] Michael the Great, 2: 532.
[10] Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 2: 324.
[11] Bar Hebraeus, *Ecclesiastical History*, 2: 351.

odes on the Passion of our Lord in body[1] and those who did not partake of the Divine Eucharist in forty days.[2]

29. Two liturgies. The first one begins with: "Grant us Lord at this time love and harmony." The second begins with: "Lord, who thou art true and ultimate love grant us. He also wrote two prayers for the kiss of peace for the two divine liturgies of Maundy Thursday and the Sabbath of the Annunciation; a beautiful liturgy in description of the Divine Eucharist and a profound tract to be recited during the administration of the bread of the Eucharist, which has become a constitution for the divine liturgy.[3]

30. Six *ḥusoyos* he wrote in 1159 for the sanctification of the church, the third hour of the Christmas festival, the festival of Mar Barṣoum, the Wednesday of the commemoration of King Abgar and the commemoration of the Forty Martyrs. These *ḥusoyos* have entered church services.

31. A commentary on the Apostles' Creed.[4]

Michael the Great had composed a tract or an ode on the works and achievements of this eminent doctor of the church,[5] whose loss we regret.

210. Abu Ghalib, bishop of Jīhān (d. 1177)

Abu Ghalib, the famous ascetic, tells us that he spent seventy years practicing the ascetic life.[6] In 1137, he resided in the Monastery of the King's Table, which later was called the Monastery of Abu Ghalib[7] after him. Because of his piety he was twice among the candidates for the patriarchate. In 1169, Patriarch Michael consecrated him a bishop of Jīhān and gave him the name Athanasius. He died in 1177, having passed eighty years of age.

Abu Ghalib wrote twenty-five books on monasticism and asceticism. Nothing remains of them except a large volume which

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[1] Florence MS. 40.

[2] Baumstark, p. 298, quoting Florence MS.

[3] Paris MS. 75.

[4] Oxford MS. 101 and Boston [Houghton Library at Harvard] MS. 2973.

[5] Michael the Great, 2: 699.

[6] P. 175 of his book.

[7] Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 302.

we copied from an only copy in Mosul, transcribed in the sixteenth century. This copy had been bought by the Metropolitan Karas for the monks of the Monastery of Mar Bahnam in 1728. This work is without title but it is known as the *Book of Athanasius, bishop of Jīhān, Containing Homilies and Exhortations for Monastic Life.* The book consists of three hundred fifty-seven large-size pages. He wrote it in the same year in which he died and alluded to it in the introduction to his other twenty-four books.[1] His style is simple but mediocre and is not free from extreme ideas and scathing criticism. He also composed two odes in the dodecasyllabic meters, scolding lazy monks. I believe that he obtained knowledge through private reading, for his formal education was little. I have also found three chapters by him in the Zaʿfaran,[2] Mar Matthew and Berlin libraries.

211. Ignatius Romanus, metropolitan of Jerusalem (d. 1183)

Romanus was a native of Melitene. He became a monk-priest at the Monastery of the Magdalene in Jerusalem in 1138. At this monastery he transcribed a Gospel for the use of the church in the Estrangelo script, to which he appended an historical tract in eight pages. In it, he discussed the achievements of his predecessor Ignatius III of the Kaddana family and his restoration of the church endowments according to the writing of the monk Michael of Marʿash. He also mentioned the year of the death of the metropolitan. These two tracts reached Abbé Martin, the Orientalist, who appreciated them tremendously, for their connection with the history of the Church of Jerusalem. Martin translated them and published them in French. The next year, that is 1139, he was consecrated metropolitan of Jerusalem and was named Ignatius, the fourth one to assume this name. After performing many good works, he died in 1183. He also composed a creed of faith mentioned in the margin of the list of bishops.[3]

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[1] Another copy is in Birmingham MS. 118 dated 1919.

[2] Zaʿfaran MS. 15.

[3] Cambridge MS. 82-3 DD.

212. The Monk Aaron

Aaron was born in Mesopotamia and became a monk in the Monastery of Mar Barṣoum in Melitene. He was a contemporary of the Patriarch Michael. About 1180-1183 he composed in the name of the abbot and of the monks of the monastery a letter in twenty pages addressed to Theodosius II, Patriarch of Constantinople (1178-1183) and Alexius II Comnenus (1180-1183), in reply to their invitation for the unity of the churches. This invitation was addressed to him by a certain old monk named Bartholmew. In this letter, he proved the orthodoxy of the faith of the Syrians and refuted the invitation in a pleasant and profound manner. The original Syriac of this letter is lost but it survives in a weak and colloquial Arabic translation.[1]

213. Bar Wahbun (d. 1193)

He was Theodore the son of the priest Sahdo, the son of Wahbun of Melitene. In his youth he went to Edessa and then to Jerusalem seeking an ecclesiastical career, but to no avail. Then he joined the Patriarchal residence of the Patriarch Michael and studied under him. He was intelligent and excelled in the Syriac, Greek, Arabic and Armenian languages. He was also well versed in philosophy. He became a monk at the Monastery of Mar Barṣoum, was ordained a priest and became the Patriarch's secretary. The Patriarch delegated him to Qalʿat al-Rum to discuss the question of unity carried by the philosopher Theorianus the emissary of Manuel I, Comnenus. He spoke for the Armenians who found it difficult to challenge the philosophical argument of Theorianus.[2]

Despite his learning Bar Wahbun was wicked and had no piety or humility. Although he enjoyed the Patriarch's favor yet, arrogant and ungrateful, he connived with four troublemaking expelled bishops who consecrated him an anti-patriarch, naming him John in 1180. A council met and divested him of the false position he had assumed and denied him the use of his priestly functions. When he continued his disobedience the Patriarch finally

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[1] Sharfeh MS. 9-32 and at our library.

[2] Bar Hebraeus, *Ecclesiastical History*, 1: 553-555.

excommunicated him. He spent the rest of his life wandering until he died in 1193.

Bar Wahbun's writings are as follows:

1. A short commentary on the Eucharistic service in twenty-nine chapters covering fifty pages which he compiled from the writings of the fathers. It is arranged in the form of questions and answers. It also contains eighteen treatises of the exposition of the mysteries of the church, its rituals, officials and objects such as the bell, the altar, the censor, the table of life, the paten and the cup, the anaphora, the *tablitho*, the church, the pulpit, the canopy, the procession, the spoon, the deacon, the archdeacon, the hypodiacon, the priest, the bishop, the monk, worshipping the Cross and the Chrism.[1]

2. A liturgy which he compiled from liturgies of the fathers beginning thus: "Almighty and incomprehensible Lord and God." This prayer is by Philoxenus of Mabug.[2]

3. Two detailed letters: the first in eight pages addressed to John, metropolitan of Tarsus, defending himself. It is full of falsification.[3] In the second letter, addressed to the Patriarch Michael, he feigns repentance and reconciliation. He wrote this letter in five pages from Jerusalem.[4]

4. Two odes in the dodecasyllabic and the heptasyllabic meters: one addressed to the Patriarch and the other to his nephew the monk Yeshuʿ. He began and ended the latter with the first letter of the name of his addressee.[5]

The prose writing of Bar Wahbun is smooth but lacks efficiency. His poetry is mediocre and tends to be weak and forced, as in the case of his second ode. Sometimes he titled his writings by stating, "This is written by the oppressed and the persecuted Theodore" or simply "The persecuted person." We found in Basibrina three dodecasyllabic and heptasyllabic odes with this title in praise of the two martyrs, Catholicos Simon and Barbashmin, in the handwriting of the monk-priest Malke Sāqo (d. 1490). Perhaps, they are of Bar Wahbun's composition.

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[1] Sharfeh MS. 4-1, Constantinople and our library.

[2] Our library, Kaʿbiyya and Fayruza dated 1486.

[3] *Didascalia.*

[4] Basibrina dated the fourteenth century and at our library.

[5] *Ibid.*

214. Mar Michael the Great (d. 1199)

A great father of the church and the choicest of the Patriarchs of Antioch and a famous historian, Michael was born at Melitene in 1126. His father, the priest Elijah, was from the Qandasi family. Michael's uncle was Athanasius Zakka, metropolitan of ʿAyn Zarba (d. 1166). He became a monk at the Monastery of Mar Barṣoum where he also was educated. He was ordained a priest and became the abbot of the monastery. The Holy Synod unanimously elected him a Patriarch for the Apostolic throne, but he did not accept his election until the bishops promised to adhere to the canons of the church. He was consecrated on October 18, 1166, and fulfilled the duties of his office competently for thirty-three years and twenty days. He died on November 7, 1199. He was good looking, energetic and had a beautiful handwriting. He spent the day in looking after church matters and in transcribing significant manuscripts; he devoted the night to the writing of letters. He transcribed a Gospel on vellum in the Estrangelo script, gilded its pages and bound it with a silver cover.[1] He compiled all the hymns of St. Ephraim and Jacob of Sarug in several copies, which he transcribed personally. Also, he marked the service books of ordinations, principal festivals and prayers with diacritical points with great care and preserved them in one huge volume.[2]

Following are his writings:

1. A well-known universal history containing both world and ecclesiastical events from the creation until 1193. He wrote it in Syriac in several volumes, each page containing three columns: one for the ecclesiastical history, one for world history and the third for strange events and natural phenomena. His sources were many histories, some of which are known, but the majority are lost. Some of these are the histories of Julius Africanus, Andronecus, Eusebius of Caesarea, Valianus the Alexandrine monk (middle of the fourth century), Socrates, Sozomen, Zachariah of Mitylene, Qura of Baṭnan, John of Asia, Jacob of Edessa, John of Atharb, Dionysius of Tell Maḥre, Ignatius of Melitene, Elijah of Kesum and Bar Ṣalibi. He also used Arabic sources. This history consists of eight

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[1] *Chronicle* of the Anonymous Edessene, 2: 315, and the story of the monk Abraham at our library.

[2] Zaʿfaran and Vatican MS. 51.

hundred large-size pages, written in fine handwriting. It is a very important history. A single copy of it was found at the library in Edessa in the handwriting of the Metropolitan Michael of ʿUrbīsh, which he completed while still a monk in 1598. Only nineteen pages of it are missing. It was translated into French and published by Chabot in five volumes in 1899-1918. It was also translated into colloquial Arabic by John Shuqayr of Ṣadad, metropolitan of Damascus, in 1759. There are five copies of this translation.[1] In 1245 the priest Yeshuʿ of Ḥiṣn Kifa resident of Qalʿat al-Rum, translated an abridgement of it into Armenian. This translation was revised by the monk Vartan and published in Jerusalem in 1870-1871. The same was translated into French and published by Laglois.[2] The greatest benefit of this history is that it contains the lists of the names of the Patriarchs of the four major Sees, particularly the See of Antioch, together with the dioceses of Takrit, Jerusalem, Edessa, Melitene and Amid as well as the list of the bishops of the Syrian church from 793 to 1199, numbering 950 with information about their monasteries. There is another copy of these lists which have enriched ecclesiastical history transcribed at the beginning of the sixteenth century[3] at Cambridge.

2. A confession of faith he wrote at Antioch and addressed to the Emperor Manuel I in 1169.

3. A treatise or an ode in which he described the traits and writings of Dionysius Bar Ṣalibi.[4]

4. A recommendation for Bar Wahbun when he sent him to meet with the Byzantine delegate to discuss the unity of the churches in 1172.[5]

5. Twenty-nine canons which he enacted at the Monastery of Mar Ḥananya, followed by twelve more canons he enacted in 1174.[6]

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[1] Zaʿfaran, Ṣadad, Amid, Jerusalem MS. 210 and the Brit. Mus. MS. 4402. Another abridged copy is at the Borgia Museum in Rome.

[2] V. Langlois, *Chronique de Michel le Grand*, 1868. (tr.)

[3] Cambridge MS. 82-3.

[4] Michael the Great, *Chronicle*, 2: 699.

[5] The Anonymous Edessene, *Chronicle*, 2: 312.

[6] Bar Hebraeus, *Hudoye* (*Nomocanons*), 112, and by the same author, *Ecclesiastical History*, 1: 543.

6. A treatise he wrote in 1178, refuting the Albingensians, whose heresy had appeared in France.[1]

7. A liturgy in sixteen pages arranged according to the letters of the alphabet. It begins thus: "Almighty God and Lord of all, make us worthy to draw near to this great divine mystery."[2]

8. Homilies for feasts and Sundays. The Edessene Chronicler stated, "He (Michael) transcribed in his own handwriting a huge volume containing homilies for the whole year and added unto it his own homilies for festivals and Sundays, which were not included in it."[3]

9. Two *ḥusoyos*, one of them for Mar Barṣoum; both have entered the church rites.

10. He revised the life story of Mar Abḥai the ascetic bishop, in 1185. This life story and other narratives which he had abridged and recorded in his history were written by John Rufus. They contain unsubstantiated information.

11. A heptasyllabic ode he composed in 1159 on the innocent young woman from Talʿafar already mentioned in the biography of Bar Ṣalibi.[4] Two more dodecasyllabic odes, one of them in praise of the achievements of John, metropolitan of Mardin (d. 1165), which he composed in 1167;[5] the other in praise of Mar Barṣoum. We came upon a copy of the latter of which six pages were missing and twenty-eight pages extant.[6]

12. A treatise against the falsifications of Mark, son of Qanbar the Copt, which he mentioned in his history.[7] He might have written it in Arabic.

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[1] Michael the Great, *ibid.*, 2: 701.

[2] Two copies are at our library. There is also a copy in Fayruza together with eleven *ḥusoyos* in the handwriting of Jurjis, son of Qarman, metropolitan of Ḥardīn, Ḥama and Tripoli dated 1486.

[3] Michael the Great, *ibid.*, 2: 314-315.

[4] Bar Hebraeus, *Ecclesiastical History*, 2: 351.

[5] Zaʿfaran MS. 206 dated the fourteenth century and at our library.

[6] At the church of Azekh and at our library.

[7] Michael the Great, *ibid.*, 2: 72. [On Michael the Great, see Dorothea Weltecke, *Die Beschreibung Der Zeite von Mor Michael Dem Grossen*, 1126-1199 (Louvanni: Peeters, 2003.) (tr.)]

Assemani has erroneously attributed to him an Arabic book on receiving the Divine Eucharist and confession which, in fact, belongs to some Coptic writer.

Michael's style is smooth but his verse is mediocre and lacks creativeness.

215. The Physicians of the Twelfth Century

In the twelfth century several physicians flourished. Of these the Edessene chronicler[1] mentioned the pious deacon Abu al-Yusr, the church treasurer in 1100 and the physician and philosopher deacon Abu Saʿd of Edessa, whom Michael the Great criticized in 1138, saying that his knowledge of astrology did him no good to ward off danger and save him from being captured by the Turks when they invaded Edessa. He also mentioned the Deacon Sahdo of the Shumanna family in 1170, stating that, "He was a proficient physician and logician well versed in both Syriac and Arabic." Athanasius Denḥa, metropolitan of Edessa, a proficient physician, was a pious man who took care of poor people. He was also greatly concerned with the church and its endowment and had great position among the rulers and the people. He died in 1191.

216. Bishop John David of Amid (d. 1203)

This bishop was well versed in the Syriac language. He was a contemporary of the Patriarch Michael who probably consecrated him a bishop for Shalabdin about 1174. But he resigned his position and resided in the Monastery of Mar Elijah known as the Qanqart Monastery near Amid, where he devoted his time to the study of philology. In 1203, he added to a volume on the accentuation of the Holy Scriptures and the writings of the doctors of the church eight large appendices containing the accentuation and interpunction of the hymns of St. Ephraim, numbering 203; the hymns of Mar Isaac and Mar Jacob, 172 hymns; the homilies of the church fathers for the whole year, 155 homilies; the life stories of the ascetics, the doctors of the church and martyrs, 127 stories, according to the copy at Mar Barṣoum Monastery; the book

[1] The Anonymous Edessene, *Chronicle*, 2: 295, and 308-309.

Paradise by Palladius; the life stories of the Egyptian ascetics by Jerome; *The Six Days* by Jacob of Edessa and his letter to John of Atharib; the two books of *The Six Days* by Basil and Gregory of Nyssa; and the lexicon of the physician Ḥunayn Ibn Isḥaq. We found this information in a manuscript at Basibrina which was lost during World War I.

217. Ignatius Sahdo, metropolitan of Jerusalem

He was Sahdo of Edessa, who together with his brother Faris, became a monk in the Monastery of Barbara in the Edessa Mountain, where they studied the science of language, literature and religion. Shortly before 1149, Sahdo went to the Monastery of the Magdalene in Jerusalem for a time, then returned to his former monastery only to go back once more to the Monastery of the Magdalene to become its abbot. In 1192, Faris was consecrated a metropolitan of Edessa under the name Basilius. He was a competent man. In the following year Sahdo was consecrated a metropolitan for Jerusalem under the name Ignatius, the fifth to have assumed this name. He most likely died in the first decade of the thirteenth century. In 1149, he had written a Gospel in the Estrangelo script to which he appended an eight-page tract about the calamities which befell Edessa in 1144-1146, the events of the second Crusade, the fate of the victims of Edessa and the noble works and assistance of the metropolitan Romanus for these victims.[1]

218. Abraham, bishop of Tālbsam (c. 1207)

Abraham was one of the bishops who were consecrated by Patriarch Michael around 1180. For a time he headed the dioceses of Amid, Tālbsam, and Edessa. He was excommunicated and then restored. He died shortly after 1207. Despite his changing loyalties he was a man of learning. He composed eight eloquent *ḥusoyos* which have entered the rites of the church. Two of them are for the apostles. He also wrote *ḥusoyos* for the Sabbath of Lazarus, St. Stephen and one for the New or Low Sunday. He arranged the

[1] Jerusalem MS. 27, our library and the Anonymous Edessene, *Chronicle*, 2: 308 and 325.

ḥusoyo for the evening of the commemoration of St. Stephen according to the letters of the alphabet and excelled in the description of the apostles in the *ḥusoyo* devoted to them.

219. Gregorius Jacob, Maphryono of the East (d. 1214)

Gregorius Jacob was the son of the priest Abraham, who was son of the priest Elijah Qandasi of Melitene. He studied religious sciences at the residence of his uncle, Patriarch Michael. He became a monk and then was ordained a priest. When he became renowned for his learning, his uncle consecrated him Maphryono of the East in 1189. But he was not successful in his new position because of the opposition of some of the eastern bishops who consecrated another person in his place. In the end Gregorius Jacob triumphed over his opponent. What aggravated his troubles is that he supported his brother Yeshuʿ to succeed his uncle as a Patriarch for sheer greed and love of power in 1200. He is to blame for his action despite his honesty and eloquent preaching. He died in 1214. He composed a lengthy liturgy beginning with: "Almighty and all powerful Lord," which was approved by his uncle.[1]

220. Yeshuʿ Saftana (d. 1214)

Yeshuʿ was a brother of Maphryono Jacob. He is nicknamed Saftana because his lower lip was big. He studied at the Monastery of Mar Barṣoum where he also became a monk and a priest. When the Patriarchal throne became vacant by the death of his uncle, Patriarch Michael, he was made an anti-patriarch through the effort of his brother who supported him. He was named Michael in 1200 after the consecration of Athanasius VIII as the legitimate Patriarch. Yeshuʿ did a lot of harm to the church due to his aspiration for the patriarchal position while the bishops and the believers detested him. After the death of Athanasius some people tried to install him as a Patriarch but his mishandling of the matter precluded the realization of this goal. He spent the rest of his life with little peace and died forlorn in 1214. Despite his chastity and learning he was criticized for his haughtiness and stinginess. He

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[1] Berlin MS. 151, Jerusalem, Ḥomṣ, Tur ʿAbdin, and other libraries.

compiled a book in twenty-one chapters on the reasons for festivities, that is, the reason for the festival of the Annunciation of the Virgin, the reason for Christmas in one hundred twenty-five chapters, the causes of the Entrance of our Lord into the Temple in twenty-five chapters, the cause of Lent and Maundy Thursday in sixteen chapters, a homily on the washing of the feet and Good Friday in fifty chapters. A copy of this book is in Paris.[1] There are also fragments of it in Tur ʿAbdin and eighty-seven chapters of the homily on the Nativity at the Sharfeh Monastery.[2] It was translated into mediocre Arabic. Yeshuʿ also wrote a lengthy liturgy beginning with: "O Lord, Who art the master of all and the first righteous who has no equal."[3]

221. Patriarch John XII (d. 1220)

He was Yeshuʿ, son of the priest John. He was born at a Roman village in Karkar and became a monk at the Monastery of the Stranger Ascetics in the Edessa Mountain. He was elevated to the priesthood shortly before 1191 and became renowned for his asceticism. He moved to the Shiro Monastery where he studied Syriac and excelled in calligraphy. He transcribed many manuscripts on vellum in the Estrangelo script. Manuscripts of the Gospels, are in Paris[4] and the Edessene library in Aleppo. He was known as Yeshuʿ the Scribe. When his piety became well-known he was elected as a Patriarch of Antioch, was consecrated on August 31, 1208 and named John. He administered the church for twelve years until his death in 1220. He was short and his body withered from ascetic practices. Frequently, he was referred to as John the Stranger Scribe, after his monastery, the Monastery of the Strangers. We have read his four odes in the dodecasyllabic meter on repentance. The first ode is arranged according to the letters of the alphabet. It begins thus: "I shall rise and return to my father like the prodigal son and be forgiven;"[5] the second one begins with:

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[1] MSS. 206 and 209.

[2] Paris MS. 4-3.

[3] It had two copies, one at Basibrina dated 1552 and the other at Beth Manʿim dated 1574.

[4] Paris MSS. 40 and 54.

[5] Jerusalem MS. 161.

"Everlasting God, Whose state is concealed from the heavenly beings;"[1] the third, in four pages, begins with: "Brethren; woe to me, a miserable sinner."[2] It is a profound ode. The fourth one begins with: "I am knocking at your door, Merciful Lord." There is a copy of the last two odes in Paris[3] in which his name is mentioned as Ḥananya the Stranger. John has also a lengthy liturgy beginning thus: "O Lord and God of peace and safety and love between the heavenly and earthly beings." This liturgy is clearly ascribed to him, in the Paris copies[4] for in it he is referred to as John the Scribe, the Stranger and the "Short One." In the Jerusalem copy he is referred to as "John the Patriarch and the Stranger Scribe."[5] In the Rome copy, transcribed in 1484, he is referred to as "Patriarch John who is Ḥananya the Stranger."[6] This is also how he is referred to in the copies of Basibrina and Diyarbakir. This liturgy has been mentioned by Baumstark. However, our contemporaries like Raḥmani have erroneously attributed it to the Patriarch John Shay' Allah.[7] In fact, Alphonse Mingana attributed his poems to this latter Patriarch.

222. John of Tiflis (d. 1221)

John was the son of the priest Joseph the Syrian from the city of Tiflis in southern Russia. He was versed in both the Syriac and Persian languages. He was mentioned by the monk David of Ḥomṣ in his comments on the book *Cause of all Causes*, which we found at the Monastery of the Cross in Tur ʻAbdin in 1911. David said, "John of Tiflis translated the Gospels into Persian from a revised Syriac copy in the handwriting of the Patriarch John Bar Shushan.

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[1] Jerusalem MSS. 160 and 161, Paris, MSS. 16 and 178, Birmingham MSS. 77 and 423.

[2] Zaʻfaran MS. 15, St. Matthew Monastery MS., Berlin MS. 511, Birmingham MS. 77 and Diyarbakir MS.

[3] Paris MS. 16.

[4] Paris MS. 76.

[5] Jerusalem MS. 97.

[6] Rome MS. 26 dated 1484.

[7] Rahmani, *Les Liturgies Orientales et Occidentales* (Sharfa, Lebanon, 1924).

He also explained the difficult parts of it. He undertook this task according to the order of the Sultan ʿAlaʾ al-Din Kaykubadh."[1]

223. Ḥasnun of Edessa (d. 1227)

Ḥasnun was a corpulent old man, well versed in medicine. He also had some knowledge of philosophy. He was delightful company because of the many stories he told about old and contemporary kings and sages. He went to the land of the Byzantines and entered the services of Sayf al-Din the prince of Akhur, Ikhtiyar al-Din Ḥasan and then the Banu Shah Armen Moses Ibn al-ʿĀdil Ayyub in Diyarbakir and afterwards Hazar Dinari and the sons of al-ʿĀdil Ibn Ayyub. At the end of his service he returned to Edessa. He died at the church of Barbara in Aleppo in 1227.[2]

224. Gabriel of Edessa (d. 1227)

Gabriel was a proficient physician. He was a contemporary of Ḥasnun the Physician. He wrote many books on medicine and philosophy in Syriac which are lost to us.

225. Theodore of Antioch, the Philosopher

Bar Hebraeus stated, "Theodore mastered Syriac and Latin. He studied philosophy under Kamal al-Din Ibn Yunus and medicine under some physicians in Baghdad. Under him studied Jacob Ibn Saqlan al-Maqdisi the Malkite. Theodore entered the service of some kings, particularly Frederick II (1215-1250), then emperor of Germany."[3] He is thought to have died about 1235-1240.

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[1] He is ʿAla al-Din, son of Kaykhosru, son of Kilij Arslan, Sultan of Rum (1219-1238). He was also called the "Sultan of the World" for his determination, power, chastity and awe-inspiring appearance. See Bar Hebraeus, *Tārīkh Mukhtaṣar al-Duwal*, 407 and 437. George Warda mentioned in some of his odes that the city of Tiflis suffered a calamity in the year 1226. See Cambridge MS. 1983.

[2] Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 456, and by the same author *Tārīkh Mukhtaṣar al- Duwal*, 442.

[3] Bar Hebraeus, *Tārīkh Mukhtaṣar al-Duwal*, 477-478. [See Matti Moosa, "Theodore al-Antaki: ʿĀlim wa Faylasūf Suryānī min al-Qarn al-Thālith

226. Metropolitan Jacob Bar Shakkoko (d. 1231)

Jacob became a monk and studied at the Monastery of Mar Ḥananya. He became a bishop of Mardin, Nisibin, Khabur and Ḥarran in 1220 and was named John. In 1220 he drew up a firm liturgy beginning thus: "Almighty and everlasting God." Although his real name as well as his nickname "Shakkoko" or "Shakko," clearly appears in the majority of the many copies of this liturgy, yet Assemani has erroneously ascribed it to John, metropolitan of Mardin, who died in 1165. Contemporary writers still repeat Assemani's error.[1] Jacob was still living in 1231.

227. The Edessene Chronicler (1234)

A proficient writer and historian. His history indicates that he was a monk at the Monastery of Mar Barṣoum. He was born at Edessa about 1160 and died shortly after 1234. His anonymity is to be regretted. What is known about him is that he witnessed the occupation of Jerusalem by Salaḥ al-Din (Saladin) in 1187 and that he accompanied Gregorius Jacob, Maphryono of the East, to his diocese, including Takrit and Sinjar in 1190. He was a partisan of the family of Michael the Great.

This anonymous Edessene wrote a detailed and fine history in two volumes, consisting of more than eight hundred thirty-one pages. In the first volume he related world events from the creation to the year 1234; and in the second one he discussed church events from Constantine the Great to the year 1207. He also related at length the chronicles of the Crusaders and the events of Edessa especially the events after 1075, in a manner which had not been followed by other historians. However, the first volume is slightly imperfect, especially for the events after 1234. A substantial part of the second volume is missing. Even what has remained, that is, the

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ʿAshar fī Balāṭ al-Imbarāṭor Frederick al-Thānī," *Beirut Times* (Los Angeles, no. 355, June 17-24, and no. 356, June 24-July 1, 1993). (tr.)]

[1] Assemani, *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, 2: 23, Wright, p. 246, Duval, 399 and Chabot, 122. Msgr. Raḥmani has erred in fixing his date in the year 1161. See Rahmani, *Les Liturgies*, 397. Baumstark has correctly related his name and date but not his nickname. See Baumstark, p. 294. There are many copies of this liturgy.

part covering the events from 575 to 1207, is imperfect and consists of only one hundred thirty-four pages. The whole book is divided into two hundred sixteen chapters and is full of unique and beneficial information not existing in any other history. However, the Edessene Chronicler is to blame for weak authority and for information contrary to the truth, but these defects are slight. It is not unlikely that the original of this history consisted of a thousand pages. A single copy of this history was found in the possession of Paul the Edessene in Constantinople, transcribed at the beginning of the fourteenth century. In 1904, Msgr. Raḥmani published the first volume, but because of haste, many mistakes were left in it uncorrected. We undertook the task of recollating it with great care with the original and made a photographic copy of the second volume for the Orientalist Jean Chabot. Chabot translated it into Latin and published it in its entirety in a fine form in 1916, acknowledging our assistance.

This same anonymous Edessene Chronicler also wrote other histories, as he openly states at the end of his biography of Athanasius Denḥa, metropolitan of Edessa (d. 1191). He stated, "We have related at length in other books[1] the hardships which befell him, those who provoked them and were their cause."

228. Jacob of Barṭelli (d. 1241)

Jacob is son of ʿIsa, son of Mark Shakko. An outstanding philologist and theologian, he was born at Barṭelli near Mosul and became a monk at St. Matthew Monastery. There he studied religious sciences by himself and was elevated to the priesthood.

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[1] The Anonymous Edessene, *Chronicle*, 2: 324. [J. B. Chabot published the Syriac text in two volumes in *Corpus Scriptorum Orientalium* (Catholic University of Louvain, 1916). The part of the *Chronicle* relating to the Crusades was translated into English by A. S. Tritton and annotated by H. A. R. Gibb and published in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1933), in two parts, 69-101 and 102-305. Rev. Albert Abouna translated the second volume of the *Chronicle* into Arabic with useful annotations and published it under the title *Tārīkh al-Ruhāwi al-Majhūl* (Baghdad, 1986). A very loose Arabic translation mingled with the chronicles of Michael the Great and Bar Hebraeus was undertaken by Rev. Ishaq Aramala and published under the title *al-Ḥurūb al-Ṣalībiyya fi al-Āthār al-Suryāniyya* (Beirut, 1929). (tr.)]

He studied grammar and logic under John Bar Zuʿbi the Nestorian monk and later logic and philosophy in Arabic under the philosopher Kamal al-Din Ibn Yunus of Mosul. He became famous for his knowledge. Bar Maʿdani, Maphryono of the East, consecrated him a metropolitan for his own monastery and named him Severus in 1232. He died in 1241 and was buried in his monastery. Bar Hebraeus praised his intelligence and learning.[1]

Following are his writings:

1. *The Book of Treasures*, in four parts, which he wrote in 1231 in response to the request of Matthew the monk. It is a concise theological book containing a discussion of the Trinity, the Incarnation, opposition to heresies, the mysteries of the church and its rituals, the substantiation of the true Christian religion, Divine Providence, fate and destiny, the angels, the creation of the world, the soul, paradise, the resurrection and eternal punishment. It also contains profound information on geography and the shape of the universe. This book has many copies in the libraries of Zaʿfaran, St. Matthew's Monastery, the Vatican, London, Paris, Cambridge, Sharfeh and our library.[2] Of the latter, chapter thirty-seven of part four is missing. An abridgement of its scientific, astronomical and natural chapters has been made by Nau.

2. An exposition of church offices, prayers and church mysteries.

3. *The Book of Evident Truth on the Authenticity of Christianity* in which he expounded the Nicene Creed.

4. *The Book of Church Music* in which he discussed hymns, church melodies, their types, composers and the dates they were used by the church. These three latter books are lost but they were mentioned by the author in chapters thirty-one, thirty-nine, forty and forty-one of part two of his *Book of Treasures.*

5. *The Dialogue* proposed to him by the monk ʿIsa, which is the best of his writings. It is divided into six treatises on grammar, rhetoric, poetry, language, logic and philosophy, written in the form of questions and answers. In the part pertaining to physics he discussed briefly the sciences of mathematics, music, geometry and astronomy. The whole book consists of two volumes covering

[1] Bar Hebraeus, *Ecclesiastical History*, 2: 411.

[2] Vatican MS. 154 dated 1622 and MS. at our library dated 1612.

eight hundred pages. In the introduction to the first volume the author stated, "In this volume, I restricted my discussion to the ideas and doctrines of philosophers. If I live longer, God willing, I shall refute what should be refuted of their ideas in another book." He followed the first treatise on grammar with a discourse on the same in the twelve-syllable meter in reply against Ḥunayn Ibn Isḥaq and Yeshuʿyahb Bar Malkun, the Nestorian metropolitan of Nisibin. In the treatise on language he recorded terms obsolete in the Syriac language but preserved in the Arabic language. He also added much new information to this treatise, which indicates his proficiency and mastery of the many aspects of the Syriac language. Furthermore, he adorned his treatise on rhetoric (in which he quoted profusely from the monk Anton Rhetor of Takrit) with the introductions from many letters, which are highly rhetorical. There are complete copies of this work in London,[1] Berlin,[2] Oxford,[3] Göttingen,[4] Boston,[5] Birmingham,[6] Zaʿfaran,[7] Jerusalem,[8] our library,[9] and Diyarbakir.[10] Portions of it have been published by Merx Martin, Julius Ruska, and Chorepiscopus Isḥaq Armala. There is also an old copy of this book at the Sayyida Monastery MS. 63 completed in 1255 and two new copies MSS. 64 and 65, the latter imperfect and a copy at the Edessene library.

6. The book of rhymed prose to which he gave the Greek title *Helicaus.* He mentioned this book in the tenth problem of the second treatise of his *Dialogue.*

7. Twenty-two letters arranged according to the alphabet, in which he discussed the rhymed terms at length. He mentioned

[1] Brit. Mus. MS. 21454. The first part is old and the second part is commented on by the Patriarch Pilate according to an old copy in the handwriting of Bar Hebraeus.

[2] Berlin MS. 331.

[3] Oxford MS. 199 dated 1594.

[4] Göttingen MS. 18.

[5] MS. 4059 containing rhetoric, poetry and language.

[6] MS. 371 containing four treatises of the first volume.

[7] MS. 105 the first volume only.

[8] MS. 233 containing the metrical grammar and the second volume.

[9] Containing two volumes dated 1910.

[10] Containing the fourth treatise and the second volume.

these letters in the tenth problem of the second treatise of the *Dialogue.*

8. Two metrical letters in the hexta-syllabic meter appended to his *Book of Treasurers* in praise of the two physicians Fakhr al-Din[1] Mari and Taj al-Dawla Abu Ṭāhir, sons of Amin al-Dawla Abu al-Karam Saʿīd Ibn Thomas, the Syrian physician of Baghdad and secretary to the Abbasid Caliph al-Naṣir (d. 1223). They are embellished with metaphorical terms while the rhyme ends with the first two letters of the names of these two men. They are unquestionably poor and the forced verse has marred the second letter.

Stephen al-Duwayhi has ascribed to him a liturgy beginning with: "O Lord and God who art of the beautiful name,"[2] but we could not find it. Assemani has erroneously ascribed to him the exhortation for the priests written by Jacob, metropolitan of Miyapharqin.[3]

Jacob's prose is smooth and clear except for the Greek terms which have marred it. Bar Hebraeus corrected him in one term only, which is the passive of the verb 'to err'.

229. The Priest Yeshuʿ Thomas of Ḥiṣn Kifa (1248)

He was the priest Yeshuʿ, son of the deacon Jacob Thomas of al Tama the Easterner. He was born at Ḥiṣn Kifa about 1185 and traveled to Melitene and the lands around it. He studied under John, bishop of Raʿbān, and became well versed in the Syriac language and mastered its calligraphy. Ignatius III consecrated him a bishop and sent him to Qalʿat al-Rum to take charge of building the Church of the Virgin on February 25, 1235.[4] He resided in Qalʿat al-Rum and studied the Armenian language and medicine. His son, the priest Simon studied under him and became the chief physician of Hulago (1260-1289). In 1248 he made an abridged translation into Armenian of the history of Michael the Great at the request of Constantine I, the Armenian Catholicos. His translation

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[1] His name appears elsewhere as Fakhr al-Dawla. (tr.)

[2] *al-Manāra*, 2: 166.

[3] See biography no. 179.

[4] According to a liturgy in Beirut and Bar Hebraeus, *Ecclesiastical History*, 1: 665.

was revised by his friend the monk Vartan the Armenian.[1] But it is also reported that he made two translations of this history, one full length and one abridged. This translation is published. I think that he died shortly before 1252. He is the grandfather of the Patriarch Philoxenus Nimrud (d. 1292).

230. Gregorius John, bishop of St. Matthew's Monastery

John was born in the village of Barṭelli and most likely became a monk at St. Matthew's Monastery. He was consecrated a metropolitan of this monastery and Azerbayjan after 1241 and was named Gregorius. He stands in between Jacob Shabbo who died in that year (1241) and Ignatius of Barṭelli, who was still living in 1269.

Gregory was a learned man who wrote a fine liturgy beginning with: "Immortal and Graceful Lord." This liturgy is to be found only in the diocese of Mosul; the Cambridge copy is a transcription of it.[2] Some later scribes attributed it erroneously to Bar Hebraeus. The name of John is mentioned as a metropolitan in a manuscript in London containing the homilies of Bar Kepha, which he finished in 1242.[3] There is a statement in this manuscript that it belongs to his nephews or brothers, one of whom is called the deacon Abu al-Faraj of Barṭelli. A manuscript in Paris also contains the names of Abu al-Faraj and his son Taj al-Din of Barṭelli.[4]

231. Basilius of Basibrina (1254)

Basilius was born at Basibrina and was consecrated a metropolitan for the Qarṭmin Monastery about 1249. He is the second metropolitan of this monastery to bear this name. He died about 1254. He wrote two *ḥusoyos*: one is recited at the third hour of the Sunday of Mary's visit to Elizabeth. It begins with: "Praise be to the Lord who made miracles by his manifestation." The second

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[1] The introduction to the *Chronicle* of Michael the Great published in 1870-1871.

[2] Cambridge MS. 2887 and No. 37. It is also mentioned in Rahmani, *Les Liturgies*, 398.

[3] No. 841.

[4] The Books of the Prophets, No. 11.

one is in praise of the Virgin. It begins with: “Praise to the one nature.”[1]

232. Maphryono Ṣaliba the Edessene (d. 1258)

Ṣaliba was the son of Jacob Wajīh. He was born at Edessa and studied at the diocesan home of Dionysius, metropolitan of Melitene. Together with Bar Hebraeus, he studied logic and medicine under master Jacob the Nestorian in Tripoli and became proficient in both disciplines. He also mastered the Arabic language and was consecrated a metropolitan for Aleppo at the end of 1247. Later, he was elevated to the dignity of the Maphrianate of the East and was named Ignatius in December, 1252. However, he had a troubled life. After two and a half years in his position as Maphryono, he resigned and resided first in Aleppo and then in Tripoli. He died a middle-aged man in 1258. He was pleasant company and an eloquent and entertaining conversationalist. He had a sweet voice and was one of the most proficient men in church music. However, he had little knowledge of the sciences of Holy Scripture.[2] He left no writings.

233. Patriarch John Bar Maʿdani (d. 1263)

He was Aaron, nicknamed “Bar Mʿadani,” a proficient poet and writer in both Syriac and Arabic. He was also of noble character. He was consecrated a metropolitan for Mardin in 1230 and was named John. He was then elevated to the Maphrianate at the end of the following year. He spent his time between the country of Nineveh (Mosul) and Baghdad, when he studied the Arabic language and became able to write his letters and sermons in it. When the Patriarchal throne became vacant, he was ambitious to fill it and consequently he became a Patriarch on December 4, 1252, after the consecration of Dionysius VII. He was the only Patriarch for two years prior to his death in 1263 at the Baqismat Monastery.[3] He was eulogized in a masterful ode by Bar Hebraeus.

Following are his writings.

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[1] The *ḥusoyos* of Tur ʿAbdin.

[2] Bar Hebraeus, *Ecclesiastical History*, 2: 411.

[3] Bar Hebraeus, *Ecclesiastical History*, 1: 699-743 and 2: 407-415.

1. An anthology in forty-seven pages, containing his poems, largely rhymed, in the twelve-syllabic meter. The most famous of his poems is the one on the soul, entitled "The Bird," in one hundred twenty-two lines. The second one in twenty-five lines is on the high origin of the soul, its fall and degradation. He began it with: "She descended to you from the highest holy," is emulation of Ibn Sina's ode, "She has descended to you from on high." A one hundred twenty-six line poem on the excellent path of the perfect and their categories is one of his most excellent poems. Besides these, he wrote a fifteen-line poem on the death, resurrection and judgment of people according to their deeds and a forty-two line rhymeless poem on the invasion of Edessa by the Byzantine emperor in July, 1245. He also composed some fifty-two short poems, one of which was translated into Arabic. They demonstrate his fertile imagination, techniques and good taste. His ode in praise of Aaron the ascetic is lost. His anthology has a vocalized copy in Oxford.[1] In 1929, the monk Yuḥanon Dolabani the Syrian, published his anthology in Jerusalem based on recent copies.

2. Four magnificent homilies in Syriac on Palm Sunday, the Cross, the Presentation of our Lord in the Temple and New or Low Sunday. He composed these homilies when he was a Maphryono and translated them into Arabic with some liberty into classical rhymed prose. He opened his homily on the feast of the Cross with: "Beloved, let us pluck out the fruit of immortality from the blessed wood," and followed it by supplication and invocations, particularly an invocation of God in favor of the Caliph and his heir apparent. In his supplications he lauded the wealthy Syrian dignitaries, Taj al-Dawla, Fakhr al-Dawla and Shams al-Dawla of the Thomas family of Baghdad. There is a copy of these homilies in good handwriting finished at the end of the thirteenth century or the beginning of the following century.[2] From this copy we published the Arabic homilies, except the first one,[3] as well as a fourth homily on the Assumption of the Virgin.[4]

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[1] Oxford MS. Hunt 1.

[2] In West New York and at our library.

[3] *Al-Majalla al-Baṭriyarkiyya* (*The Patriarchal Magazine*), 2: 172, 201 and 268.

[4] *Ibid.*, 2: 108 after a copy in Azekh.

3. A liturgy compiled from the liturgies of the fathers, beginning with, "Immortal and Everlasting, whose existence is imperative."[1]

4. Seven canons, six of which he issued at the Monastery of Mar Ḥananya while still a Maphryono. The seventh one he incorporated into one of his early Patriarchal proclamations and it is mentioned in an ancient collection at our library.

* Dionysius Ṣalība, bishop of Claudia (d. 1273)[2]

Dionysius Ṣalība, nicknamed *Ḥaripho* ("Intelligent"), studied at the Mādhīq Monastery, where he also became a monk shortly before 1281. He was ordained a priest and then a bishop for the diocese of Claudia about 1230. He accompanied Ignatius III on his visit to Jerusalem in 1235. Upon his return he ran the diocese of Melitene on Ignatius's behalf for a short period, then returned to his own diocese. He died at the end of 1273 while he was about eighty. He was eloquent and wrote a treatise on the soul.[3]

234. Dioscorus Theodorus, metropolitan of Ḥiṣn Ziyad (1275)

Dioscorus Theodorus was the son of the priest Michael, son of Basil. He was born at Ḥiṣn Ziyad and became a monk at the Virgin Monastery known as the Monastery of Bani Baʿūth before 1224. He studied Syriac and mastered its calligraphy. He was diligent in procuring and transcribing church books. Besides the Estrangelo script he also mastered the art of color illumination. He was consecrated a metropolitan of Ḥiṣn Ziyad before 1238. In 1264, he was made an anti-Maphryono but soon he declared his allegiance to the Patriarch and adhered to his diocese. He was still alive in 1275 and perhaps lived until 1282. We found in his handwriting six manuscripts including *ḥusoyos* in Amid, a liturgy in Kharput and a pictorial Gospel at Zaʿfaran. Appended to this Gospel are nine rhymeless lines of poetry in the twelve-syllabic meter on

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[1] MS. at our library.

[2] This biography appears in an addendum in the original. (tr.)

[3] MS. 63 at the Sayyida (The Virgin) Monastery.

supplication. He began and ended it with the letters of his name.[1] Bar Hebraeus said about him that he was a famous doctor of the church.[2]

235. Mar Gregorius Bar Hebraeus (d. 1286)

Abu al-Faraj, nicknamed Jamāl al-Din, son of the deacon Taj al-Din Aaron the physician, the son of Thomas of Melitene, known as Bar Hebraeus[3] was a very famous learned man and one of the great philosophers and theologians of the Orient as well as the world.[4] Certainly, he is the most luminous star that ever shone on the firmament of the Syrian nation[5] and his encyclopedic knowledge makes him all the more unique and unequalled.

He was born at Melitene in 1226 to a noble Christian family.[6] In an article[7] written by us we have refuted the allegation of Orientalists who claimed that the term *ʿEbroyo* [Hebraeus] is evidence that he was of Jewish origin and that his father was a convert to Christianity. The truth is that he was called *ʿEbroyo* [Hebraeus] because either one of his forefathers or he himself was born during a crossing of the River Euphrates. It is sufficient proof to cite a line of poetry which he composed about this, his nickname. He stated:

> If our Lord (Christ) called Himself a Samaritan,
> Do not be ashamed if people call you Bar ʿEbroyo.

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[1] A book containing a general collection of *ḥusoyos* at the church of Diyarbakir in the handwriting of Dioscorus transcribed in 1225, a Gospel at Zaʿfaran MS. 3 and Bar Hebraeus, *Ecclesiastical History*, 1: 725 and 757-759.

[2] Bar Hebraeus*, ibid.*, 1: 695.

[3] See his metrical biography by the metropolitan Gabriel of Barṭelli and Haji Khalifa, *Kashf al-Zunūn*, 380-381.

[4] Baumstark likened him unto the famous German philosopher Albertus Magnus (d. 1280); indeed, he preferred him to Magnus.

[5] Zaʿfaran MS. 240 containing Bar Hebraeus', *Storehouse of Secrets.*

[6] See his metrical biography and a tract about him by the Deacon Bahnam Ḥabbo Kanni in the Florence MS. 208.

[7] *Majallat al-Kuliyya al-Amerikiyya*, Beirut, 1927. [On this point, see Matti Moosa, "Studies in Syriac Literature," *The Muslim World* 58: 4 (1968) 322-323. (tr.)]

For the origin of this appellation is the River Euphrates
And not a disgraceful doctrine or the Hebrew language.

Let then those who arbitrarily hold this view change their traditional mistake.

Bar Hebraeus studied Syriac, church rites, the Holy Scripture and the commentaries of the church fathers on them, under proficient masters in his own country. He also studied medicine under his father. At the end of 1243, his father left with his family for Antioch because of civil disturbances in his own country. Abu al-Faraj took this opportunity to study whatever he could of sciences under other teachers he found. In 1244, he became disenchanted with worldly things and became a monk renowned for his piety. He pursued his study of medicine, rhetoric and logic under Jacob the Nestorian in Tripoli. When he achieved fame, Patriarch Ignatius III liked him and ordained him a priest and then a bishop for Jubas in 1246 and called him Gregory. Later he was transferred to the diocese of Laqbin and then Aleppo where he completed his philosophical and theological studies and mastered the Arabic language. On January 19, 1264, he was elevated to the Maphrianate of the East. He spent the next twenty-two years and few months traveling between Nineveh, St. Matthew's monastery, Baghdad, Mosul, Maragha, and Tabriz, ministering to the believers and treating favorable circumstance for the church in both religious and secular domains. He had great favor with the kings of the Mongols because of his knowledge, competence and his excellent handling of things and people. He chose pious and qualified monks and consecrated twelve of them bishops. He built two churches, two monasteries and two diocesan homes for the bishops and an inn. Nevertheless, he never stopped learning and entering into discussions with the learned men of his time. Wherever he went, he became the focus of attention for the educated. At the library of Maragha he studied philosophical commentaries in Arabic. He also read all of the philosophical and medical writings of Ibn Sina [Avicenna] and used them as his authority after the writings of Aristotle. They had a great influence on his own writings. Then he studied the Persian language thoroughly and found time to look into the different books of asceticism. Through God's providence he was successful in everything he did until his death at Maragha on July 30, 1286, at sixty years of age. All Christian sects were stunned by his death and mourned his passing. His holy body was

transferred to the Monastery of St. Matthew, where his grave is still the object of reverence. He was described as "The Ocean of Wisdom," "The Light of East and West," "The King of Learned Men," "The Greatest Sage," "The Holy Father" and "The Most Learned Man Possessing Divine Knowledge."

Following are his writings:

1. *Awṣar Roẓe* (*Storehouse of Secrets*) which is a large and significant book containing a philological, literal and spiritual commentary on the books of the Old and New Testaments. He wrote it after thorough study of the Scriptures based on the Pshiṭto and the Syro-Hexapla translation, the translations used by Origen, the Harklean, the Coptic, Armenian, and Nestorian translations, together with the Qarqafta vocalization of the Scriptures. He also mentioned his preference of the Syro-Hexapla to the Pshiṭto version. His commentary covers all the books of the Old Testament including the apocryphal books of Wisdom and the Maccabees and the New Testament except Revelation. In his interpretation he cited as authorities Hippolytus, Africanus, Origen, Julius, Eusebius, Athanasius, Ephraim, Basil, Gregory Nazianzen, Gregory of Nyssa, Epiphanius, Chrysostom, Cyril, Hesychius, the Areopagite, Jacob of Sarug, Philoxenus of Mabug, Severus of Antioch, Daniel of Ṣalaḥ, Jacob of Edessa, and George, bishop of the Arabs. He mentioned only once Didymus, Theodore of Mopsuestia, David Bar Paul (in his commentary on the Gospel according to St. Matthew) and Patriarch Michael. In these commentaries he produced ideas of his own, criticizing some ideas of the fathers. He finished this book on December 15, 1271. In a second copy, which was transcribed from the original written by the author in 1354 and which I believe is today in London, it is stated that he finished this book in 1277. However, the first date is more correct. Martin Sprengling, the American scholar said, "Bar Hebraeus is the greatest writer in all the history of Syriac literature and surely the most learned man of his age. In his *Storehouse of Secrets* he devoted all his knowledge to the Holy Scripture. The theologian, the historian, the anthropologist and the philosopher will find a wealth of his research in this comprehensive work written by this notable man of the thirteenth century."[1]

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1 See his English introduction.

There are more than twenty copies of this magnificent book, the oldest of which is one transcribed in 1275 in the lifetime of the author.[1] Another copy is in Berlin transcribed in 1298,[2] and one other at our library is thought to have been transcribed at the beginning of the fourteenth century. The Orientalists, Sprengling and Graham, gathered photographic copies of these manuscripts and published the first volume in three hundred ninety-three pages of the book ending with Second Samuel in 1931.

2. *Mnorath Qudshe* (*The Lamp of the Sanctuaries*) is a very profound and large book in five hundred large-size pages. In it he dealt in great detail with the positive and negative theological sciences, supported by testimonies from Holy Scripture, Christian authorities and the natural sciences (by citing the writings of Aristotle and Galen). He defended the truth of Christianity, refuted the falsehood of misleading men, destroyed the arguments of Sophists and challenged the ideas of Aristotle when they contradicted the orthodox faith. He divided this book into twelve parts or sections as follows: knowledge, the existence of God, the creation of the world, the Trinity and the Oneness of God, the mystery of the Incarnation, angels, devils, the human soul, priesthood, fate and destiny, resurrection, and paradise. He made it mandatory for theology students. In 1909 we found an old copy of this book at the bishop's residence in Jazirat Ibn ʿUmar in the handwriting of the deacon John Saru of Barṭelli, the pupil of the author, completed in 1275. This copy was lost in the calamities of World War I. There are ten old copies of this book.[3] In 1930 Jean Bacchus translated the first two sections into French and published them. In 1661 the deacon Sergius, son of Bishop John Ghurayr of Damascus

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[1] Florence library.

[2] Sachau MS. 326 and a second magnificent copy MS. 110 dated 1645 and yet a third copy MS. 134 dated 1626; London MS. 12589; Oxford MS. 1 dated 1498, Birmingham, Mingana MS. 469 dated the fifteenth century; Zaʿfaran MS. 147 dated 1569 and our library dated 1567.

[3] Florence MS dated 1388; Vatican MS. 168 dated the fourteenth century; Beirut dated the fourteenth century; Paris MSS. 210 dated 1404 and 212 dated the sixteenth century; Ḥasaka (Jazira) MS. dated 1405; Berlin MSS. 81 dated 1403 and 1579; Cambridge MS. 2068 dated the fifteenth century; Jerusalem MS. 135 dated 1590; Zaʿfaran which is both Syriac and Garshuni (Arabic in Syriac script) MS. 4 dated 1674.

translated it into Arabic, a translation which is a mixture of good and bad quality. Afterwards many copies of it were spread throughout the countries.[1]

3. *Kthobo d-Zalge* (*The Book of Rays*) is a compendium of the *Lamp of the Sanctuaries* in ten parts. They are as follows: the creation in six days, theological science, the Incarnation of the Word-God, the angels and evil spirits, the soul, priesthood or offices of ordination, Baptism, the Chrism, the Eucharistic service, free will and fate and destiny, the end of the two worlds (the small and the big), together with the beginning of the new world and Paradise. His sources were the Doctors Athanasius, Ephraim, Basil, Gregory Nazianzen (the theologian), Gregory of Nyssa, Evagrius, Chrysostom, Cyril, the Areopagite, Jacob of Sarug, Philoxenus of Mabug, Severus of Antioch, Jacob of Edessa and Moses Bar Kepha. Occasionally, he quoted the two books of the Testament of our Lord, Clement of Rome, Methodius, Gregory Thaumaturgus, Julius, Titus of Bosra, Epiphanus, Theophilus, Proclus, Sergius of Rish ʿAyna, Severus Sabukht and Bar Sobto. Of the non-orthodox he quoted Theodore of Mopsuestia, Theodoret and John of Baysan. If, in these two books, he had avoided detailed treatment of some subject matter of physicians copied from Aristotle, he would have been much better. This book consists of three hundred thirty-eight small-size pages. There are nine old copies and a new one at our library.[2] It has been translated into very poor Arabic by a belated translator.

4. *Hewath Hekhemtho* (*The Cream of Wisdom*) on philosophy (comprising the whole Aristotelian discipline). It is one of his best writings. It consists of two huge volumes covering nine hundred

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[1] It was not translated by Daniel ibn al-Ḥattab as Rev. Cheikho has erroneously thought. [For a recent Arabic translation of this work, see Mar Dionysius Bahnam Jajjawi, *Manārat al-Aqdās* (Aleppo: Dar Mardin, 1996). (tr.)]

[2] Vatican MS. 169 dated 1330, transcribed by the monk-priest Yeshuʿ al-Najjār al-Bulaydiri of Ḥiṣn Kifa and Vatican MS. 145 dated the fifteenth century; Paris MS. 213 dated 1353; London MS. 1017 dated 1364; Zaʿfaran MS. consists of a new and neat copy in the handwriting of the Maphryono Sulayman dated 1509; Oxford MSS. 467 dated 1575 and 521 dated 1590 in the handwriting of Patriarch Pilate; Berlin MS. 327 of the sixteenth century and Cambridge MS. 2[ ]7 dated 1603. [The number of this MS. is not clear in the original text. It could be MS. 2007. (tr.)]

and fifty-one pages. The first volume contains the *Logic* in nine books as follows: the *Isagoge*, *Categories*, *On Interpretation*, *Prior Analytics*, *Posterior Analytics*, *Topics*, *Sophistical Refutations*, *Rhetoric* and *Poetics*. The volume consists of three hundred sixty-five pages. At the end of it he stated: "This is all that we could find of the teaching of our great master, the philosopher Aristotle, *On Poetry*. It seems to me that some part of it is still missing but extant. Either that part was not translated from the Greek or from Syriac or from the Arabic or has been translated but did not reach us. If God wills and I live long enough I will write a comprehensive book on this art with full treatment of the different techniques of rhetoric such as harmonizing between two opposites, paranomasia, metaphor, analogy and others." The second volume on *Physics* consists of two sections. The first section is in eight books: 1) *The Physics*, in five parts, dealing with the natural body in general such as element, form, the nature of motion, the condition of change, the finite and the infinite, the connection of motions and the infinity with a first mover at rest and infinite which has no parts nor magnitude. 2) *On The Heavens*, in five parts, viz., the heavenly bodies and the sub-luminary bodies, the four elements, their nature, movements and fixations and a definition of wisdom. 3) *On Generation and Corruption*, in four parts, in which he discussed the condition of the universe, corruption, the courses of coming-into-being and passing away, and absolute alterations and the number of the eternal bodies subject to alteration. 4) *The Book of Minerals* in which he discusses the condition of solid objects, minerals, mountains, springs, the movement of the earth and the position of the universe. 5) *The Book of Meteorology*, in four parts, in which he discussed the conditions and motions which influences the four elements before they come together, also the influence of the heavens, meteors, clouds, thunder, wind, earthquakes, oceans and mountains on these elements. 6) *The Book of Plants*, in four parts, on living plants. 7) *The Book of Animals*, in six parts, in which he discusses the nature of animals and the condition of the animal world. 8) *The Book of Soul*, in fours parts, discussing the knowledge about the soul, the faculties of the soul, the movement of the soul, especially in man. He also discusses other related subjects, such as medicine, the discipline of stars, astrology, talismans and alchemy.

The second section of the second volume is in five books, viz., *On Philosophy*, in eight parts, *Theology* or *Metaphysics* in six parts,

which constitute the theoretical subjects of this part. They are followed by the practical subjects, viz., the *Nicomachean Ethics*, *Economics*, in three parts and *Politics*, in three parts. In Chapter Three of part two he discussed the characteristics of nations. This volume consists of two hundred thirty-three chapters in five hundred eighty-six pages.

There are two old copies of the first volume, one in Florence,[1] slightly imperfect and the other in Oxford,[2] and four new copies: one in Kandanad (Malabar), the second one in Aleppo, the third one in the Sayyida Monastery[3] and the fourth in Birmingham.[4] There are also two old copies of the second volume: one in our library completed in the lifetime of the author. It is the first copy to be transcribed from the author's copy which he finished at the end of 1285 or the beginning of 1286. The second copy is at the Chaldean library in Amid.[5] There are also two new copies: one in Birmingham[6] and the other one at our library.

5. *The Book of Tegrath Tegrotho* (*Mercatura Mercaturarisum*) a medium-size book on dialectics and philosophy in three books.[7] It is an abridgement of his book *The Cream of Wisdom*. He compiled it before 1276. There are six copies of it[8] the oldest transcribed on May 20, 1276. There is a statement in a copy transcribed by the Metropolitan Ephraim Qawimi that this book was translated into Arabic but we do not have a book by this name in Arabic.[9]

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[1] Florence MS. 186 dated 1340, in the handwriting of the monk Najm.

[2] Oxford Hunt MS. 1 dated 1498, in the handwriting of the monk-priest Yusuf al-Gurji (the Georgian).

[3] MS. 47 dated 1818.

[4] Birmingham, Mingana MSS. 281 and 326, containing the first three books.

[5] MS. 33 dated 1389, in the handwriting of the priest David son of Abu al-Muna of Qellith.

[6] Birmingham MS. 23.

[7] Baumstark called it *Buch der Ware der Waren (The Merchandise of Merchandises)*. [See Baumstark, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur*, 317. ed. Janssens called it *The Treatise of Treatises*. For the French translation see Herman F. Janssens, *L' Entretien de la Sagesse* (Paris, 1937). (tr.)]

[8] Cambridge MS. 2003; Florence MS. 200 dated the fourteenth century; Jerusalem MS. 231 dated 1574.

[9] Birmingham MS. 45.

6. *Kthobo da-Swodh Sophia* (*Book of the Speech of Wisdom*), a small book, in four parts, on dialectics and philosophy. He wrote it after 1275. Herman Janssens published it based on twenty-four copies: the oldest are two, one in Chicago transcribed in 1299 and the other is in London transcribed about 1330.[1] He translated it into French and published it in 1937. In 1940, we published an excellent Arabic translation of it which we think was made shortly after the author's death, according to a copy transcribed in 1608,[2] after we revised and collated it with the original and corrected some of the errors of the French translator.

7. *Kthobo d-Bobotho* (*Book of the Pupils of the Eyes*). It is a small book on the art of logic and philosophy, in seven parts comprising no more than forty pages.[3]

8. Two treatises *On the Human Soul*, one short and the other long, which he wrote in excellent Arabic. The first one consists of sixty-two chapters in twenty-six pages,[4] the other, twenty-six chapters in seventy-four pages.[5] He wrote the latter in response to the request of Dionysius ʿAnjur, metropolitan of Melitene before 1252. It was first published in 1928. We found in West New York a magnificent accentuated copy of it completed at the end of the thirteenth century and the beginning of the following century. We republished it in Ḥomṣ in 1938, commented on it and corrected the mistakes of the first publisher, who relied on recent copies.

9. *Kitab al-Isharāt wa al-Tanbihāt* (*The Book of Indications and Prognostications*) by Ibn Sina, on the art of logic and philosophy. He translated this book into excellent Syriac in response to the request of the priest Simon Thomas the Easterner, chief physician of Hulago before 1278. It indicates his mastery of the Syriac language as well as of translation. He mentioned it in his *Chronography* in

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[1] Brit. Mus. MS. 1017 in the handwriting of Bar Khayrun and not in the year 1364 as thought by Janus.

[2] We found it in Mardin and from it we copied our own version.

[3] He wrote this book after 1275. There are three copies of it: one at the Rockefeller University in Chicago, transcribed in 1290; the other in London: MS. 1017 and Cambridge MS. 2005 dated 1579; and two recent copies: one at our library and the other at Sharfeh.

[4] Published by the monk Louis Cheikho in 1898.

[5] Published by the priest Bulos Sbat.

Syriac.[1] This noteworthy translation has not been alluded to by contemporary writers on Arab philosophy. There is an old copy of this translation at the Florence library transcribed by John Bacchus of Barṭelli in 1278.[2] There are also five more copies.[3] This manuscript consists of two hundred eighteen large-size pages written in fine script.

10. *Kitab Zubdat al-Asrār* (*The Cream of Secrets*) on philosophy, by Athir al-Din al-Abḥāri (d. 1266), which he translated from Arabic into Syriac. It has been lost.

Know that Bar Hebraeus studied philosophy by himself. He comprehended Aristotle's philosophy thoroughly and followed his method in the first volume of his *Cream of Wisdom* according to the sequence of his writings. He concentrated on the text rather than on the additions which were made by writers during the fifteen centuries after Aristotle. Unlike all of our learned men who treated physics, he studied the texts of Aristotle's writings along with the new systematic collections of writings whether in their original or in translation. Some Orientalists are of the opinion that he studied Aristotle's book *On the Soul* in its original Greek because he accentuated several Greek terms, in a manner that has never been done by our writers.[4] It is not unlikely that he knew Greek, although evidence for this is lacking. However, it is not improbable that such a brilliant man could have learned Greek during his long stay in Syria. In Arabic he studied, other than the works of Ibn Sina, those by the philosophers Fakhr al-Din al-Razi (d. 1210) and his contemporaries, al-Abḥāri, Najm al-Din al-Qazwini, Naṣīr al-Din al-Ṭūsī (d. 1276), who discussed these subjects with him. The ideas of Ibn Sina had tremendous influence on him, as we have already mentioned. Praising Ibn Sina he stated: "When Ibn Sina took Aristotle's talent, he not only increased it five times but more than fifty times."[5] In the *Organon* and *Physics* as well as in the

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[1] Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 220.

[2] Florence MS. 185.

[3] MS. at Kandanad (Malabar) dated 1547, in the handwriting of the monk-priest Thomas of Klaybin; Paris MS. 249 dated 1633; Vatican MSS. 51 dated 1654 and 191, and a copy at our library dated 1907.

[4] Furlani, *The Psychology of Bar Hebraeus*, (1931), p. 51.

[5] Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 219. This is based on the parable of the taLents in the Gospel according to St Matthew 25:14-28.

Metaphysics he followed in the footsteps of Aristotle. He did not deviate his course except when he followed Ibn Sina's doctrine. In fact, he preferred Ibn Sina's ideas on the soul and its relations to the body. In the second volume he treated subjects in more conformity with the principles of theology as they were known in the thirteenth century. We have already mentioned that death did not give him a chance to write a philosophical book which would contain his creative ideas.

11. *Kthobo d-Hudoye* (*Nomocanon* or *Book of Directions*), is one of his books famous for its excellence. It consists of five hundred forty-one pages in forty parts: 1) the church and its administration, 2) Baptism, 3) the Holy Chrism, 4) the Eucharist, 5) fasting and feasts, 6) funerals, 7) office of priesthood, 8) property and marriage, 9) wills, 10) inheritance, 11) selling and buying, 12) credit, 13) mortgage, 14) damages, 15) reconciliation, 16) transmission of money, 17) bail, 18) partnership, 19) power of attorney, 20) admission, 21) deposit materials, 22) loaning of objects, 23) gifts, 24) religious bequests, 25) pre-emption, 26) loans, 27) sharecropping, 28) desolate lands, 29) leans, 30) the finding of lost things, 31) the finding of lost children, 32) the liberation of slaves, 33) larceny, 34) felonies, 35) the slaughtering of game, 36) oaths, 37) vows, 38) litigations and legal powers, 39) testimony and witnesses, 40) the case without exception. This book consists of one hundred forty-seven chapters. His sources were the canons ascribed to the apostles and which are reproduced in the eight books of Clement, the Doctrine of Addai, the Councils of Ancyra, New-Caesarea, Nicea, Antioch, Gangara, Laodicea, Constantinople, Seleucia and Chalcedon as well as the works of Clement, Dionysius of Athens, Cyprian, Dionysius of Alexandria, Eustathius, Athanasius, Basil, Theologos, Evagrius of Constantinople, Rabula, Cyril of Alexandria, Timothy, Philoxenus of Mabug, John of Tella, Severus of Antioch, a letter of certain bishops to the abbots of two monasteries in the village Linsus in Cilicia, Theodosius of Alexandria, Quryaqos of Amid, Jacob of Edessa, from whom he took forty-two canons, our Patriarchs of Antioch George I, Quryaqos, Dionysius I, John IV, Ignatius II, Michael I and the Decrees of Byzantine emperors and finally unknown sources

together with his own ideas. He called it the book of *Hudoye*[1] which became the constitution of the church. This book indicates the wide authority the bishops had in trying the civil cases among their parishioners. It has been praised by European authorities like Cardinal Mai.[2] There are eight copies of this book: the oldest is at the Jerusalem library and was finished at the beginning of the fourteenth century.[3] In 1895 Bedjan published it according to the Paris manuscript transcribed in 1488. A long time ago it was translated into Latin but the translation is marred with mistakes. At the end of the sixteenth century it was translated into poor Arabic.

12. *The Ethikon* (*Ethics*) containing religious obligations which he began with the obligations of prayer and adorned with eight supplicatory prayers, the different kinds of behavior supported by testimonies from Holy Scripture and the wisdom of Egyptian ascetics and their chronicles. It is a satisfying source for pious men. He finished this book at Maragha on July 15, 1279. It consists of four treatises subdivided into parts and chapters. The first treatise is on the training of the body, the second on the methods of maintaining the body, the third on the purification of the soul from improper affections and the fourth which is by far the longest, in sixteen chapters, on the adorning of the soul with virtues. The book consists of four hundred twenty pages. There are four old copies of this book, the oldest of which is at the Chaldean library in Mosul. It was completed in 1292.[4] This book was published by

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[1] He is criticized for incorporating in this book a canon allegedly attributed to the Council of Nicea. See part 7, chapter 1, canon 1.

[2] *Script. Yet. nova coll.* Vol. X. Bedjan quoted Mai in the introduction to the *Hudoye*, 3-4.

[3] MSS. 207 and 208 dated 1391. Other copies are in Mar Eugene Monastery dated 1354; Berlin, Peterman MS. 23 dated 1373, in the handwriting of the monk Daniel of Mardin; the diocesan home library in Mosul dated 1483; Paris MS. 226; Oxford MS. dated 1498; Sharfeh MS. 4-4 dated the fifteenth century; Birmingham MS. 1 dated 1573; and Edessa MS. dated 1575.

[4] MS. 99; Oxford MS. 490 dated 1323, in the handwriting of the monk Saliba Khayrun and MS. 681 dated 1332 in the handwriting of the monk Yeshuʿ from the Shab village; and MS. at our library, in the handwriting of the monk Bahnam of Arbo [a village in Tur ʿAbdin]. There is also a copy at the library in Edessa in a neat handwriting dated the sixteenth century.

Bedjan in 1898 and was translated into poor Arabic by the monk David of Ḥomṣ. A copy of this translation is at Oxford.[1]

13. *Kthobo d-Yawno* (*The Book of the Dove*). A compendium in the training of ascetics. He wrote it at the suggestion of some lovers of asceticism after he had written the *Ethikon*. It consists of four parts, the first one on the bodily service in the monastery, the second one on the psychic service which is accomplished in the cell, the third on the spiritual quest of the perfect and the fourth on the author's progress in knowledge. Some terms communicated to him in revelation (which are about eighty in number). The whole book consists of eighty pages. The author states that he called it *The Dove* as a symbol of the Holy Spirit. This book was translated into Arabic about 1299 under the title *Kitab al-Warqa fi Ilm al-Irtiqa*. I saw its well-written introduction in the handwriting of Abu al-Ḥasan Ibn Maḥruma of Mardin. There is an old copy of it at the University of Chicago, written in 1290 and another copy at Oxford. To it was appended a chapter on the *Youthfulness of the Mind*, which is the beginning of a story the author was writing on his way to Maragha, but death precluded its completion.[2] The book was published by Bedjan and then by the monk Yuḥanon Dolabani in 1916.[3]

[The *Ethikon* was translated into beautiful classical Arabic by the late Mar Gregorius Bulos Bahnam, metropolitan of Mosul and Basra and published by the Gharb press in Qamishli, Syria, in 1967. The translator wrote a very lengthy introduction in ninety-five pages, in which he discussed mysteries in the East, especially in the Syrian Church. He showed the influence of the *Book of the Holy Hierothios* on Bar Hebraeus and other Syrian writers. What is important is Bahnam's attempt to show that many mystical ideas in *Hierothios* have parallels in the philosophy of Ibn Sina, although Ibn Sina (d. 1037) preceded Bar Hebraeus in time and that there is no evidence that the book of *Hierothios* was available to medieval Muslim philosophers like Ibn Sina. It is probably that the ideas contained in *Hierothios*, which date back to the sixth century, must have been known by Christian scholars in the East and, in turn, influenced Muslim scholars (tr.).]

[1] Oxford MS. 561 dated 1479.

[2] MS. dated about 1498 and another copy at the Edessene library dated 1360.

[3] It was translated into Arabic by the two monks Mubarak al-Mazraʿani and Mubarak al-Dirani. [There is also an English translation of this book

14. *The Ecclesiastical History* in two volumes. The first one contains the history of the Patriarchs of Antioch from Peter, the head of the apostles, till the year 1285. The second contains the history of the Catholicii and Maphryonos of the East, beginning with St. Thomas the Apostle and ending with his lengthy autobiography to the year of his death. He also recorded in it the chronicles of the Nestorian Catholici according to their historian Mari Ibn Sulayman.[1] At the beginning of this history he included biographies dating back to the first three centuries, which cannot be substantiated. This book has old copies in the Vatican,[2] Oxford[3] and Jerusalem.[4] It consists of six hundred thirty-three pages. It was translated into Latin and published by Abbeloos and Lamy in 1877-1879 with an introduction full of mistakes and falsifications.

15. *Makhthbbonuth Zabne (Chronography)*, beginning from the creation till the year 1285. In it he incorporated the history of the world, states and learned men, with great precision and accuracy. His sources were the histories of Jacob of Edessa, Michael the Great and Syriac, Arabic and Persian histories which he found at the library in Maragha. Copies of this history are found in the

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with portions of the *Ethikon*. See A. J. Wensinck, *Bar Hebraeus' Book of the Dove, Together with Some Chapters from His Ethikon*, Brill, Leiden, 1919. Wensinck wrote a very comprehensive and extremely important introduction in which he showed the influence of Ibn Sina and Abu Ḥamid al-Ghazzali on Bar Hebraeus. He even produced statements and terms from Bar Hebraeus' *Ethikon* and al-Ghazzali's *Iḥyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn* to show this influence. The *Book of the Dove* was also translated into Arabic by Metropolitan Zakka Iwas (later Patriarch) with the Syriac text facing the Arabic translation and published in Baghdad, 1974. His introduction is a summary of Wensinck's introduction. (tr.)]

[1] In the first half of the twelfth century.

[2] Vatican MSS. 166 and 167. They contain both the *Chronography* and the *Ecclesiastical History* and their appendages. The first one was written before 1357.

[3] MS. Hunt 1 dated 1498, whose narrative extends to the time of Bar Wuhayb. It is in the handwriting of the monk Denḥa Sayfi of Salaḥ. Also, it contains the *Chronography* MS. 211 dated at the end of the fifteenth century and containing the world history.

[4] Jerusalem MS. 211 dated at the end of the fifteenth century. It contains the *Chronography*.

aforementioned libraries. It was published by Bedjan in 1890 and was also translated into English and published by Budge in 1932.

16. *Tarikh Mukhtaṣar al-Duwal*, is a compendium of his world history which he translated into Arabic shortly before his death in response to the request of certain Muslim learned men in Maragha. He finished it—except for three pages—in one month. He incorporated into it useful information concerning Arab learned men drawn from Arabic histories, some of which he quoted verbatim, excluding events of concern to Christian learned men. He arranged his work according to the histories of ten Kingdoms, i.e., the ancient Patriarchs, the judges and kings of Israel, the Chaldean kings, the Persians, the Greeks, the pagans, the Christianized Romans and Greeks, the Muslim Arabs and the Mongols. The book consists of five hundred twenty-two pages and has six copies: in Florence,[1] Paris,[2] London, and Oxford. It was first published by Pococke, who also translated it into Latin in 1663. It was also translated into German by Bauer in 1783 and was published by the monk Anton Salḥani in 1890.

17. *Kthobo d-Ṣemḥe* (*The Book of Lights*), undeniably the best written Syriac grammar. He wrote it at the request of certain students of grammar and arranged it according to the grammatical principles of both the Eastern and Western Syrians, incorporated into it new principles as well as ones adopted from the Arabs. He divided it into four parts: on the noun, on the verb, on the article and on the collective. It became a constitution for the grammarians and students. It consists of three hundred fifty-two pages and has many copies, the oldest one in Florence.[3] Other copies are in Zaʿfaran,[4] London,[5] New Jersey,[6] Jerusalem,[7] Oxford,[8] Boston,[9]

[1] Florence MS. 93 dated the fourteenth century.

[2] Paris MS. 297.

[3] Florence MS. 208 dated 1292.

[4] Dated 1298.

[5] MS. 3335 dated 1332, in the handwriting of the deacon Nisan the Nestorian.

[6] May 22, 1336, transcribed by the monk Najm.

[7] MS. 218 dated 1477.

[8] MS. Hunt 1.

[9] MS. 3963 dated 1548.

and our library.[1] It was published by Martin and then by Axel Moberg in Paris in 1922.

18. *Kthobo da-Gramatiki* or *Introduction to Grammar*, is written in verse in the heptasyllabic meter. He composed it in Baghdad in two weeks, with comments and marginal notes. It has many copies, the oldest is at the University of Chicago.[2] One is at Florence in the handwriting of the monk Daniel[3] and one is at our library.[4] These copies do not contain the Arabic comments which were made by later grammarians. Other copies are in Birmingham,[5] Zaʿfaran which is an invaluable copy,[6] Paris,[7] and Jerusalem.[8] This book has been published by Martin.

19. *Kthobo d-Balṣuṣitho* (*The Book of the Spark*), which is a third book on grammar left unfinished by the author. It is said that it was a large book. However, in his list of books it is called a compendium. This book is lost, but the author mentioned it at the end of his former book.

20. *Kthobo d-Ṣuloqo Hawnonoyo* (*Ascent of the Mind*), on astronomy and cosmography. He wrote it in 1279 in response to the request of the priest Simon Thomas the Easterner. In it he discussed astronomy scientifically and illustrated it with pictures and geometrical diagrams. This book is in two parts: the first one consists of eight sections and the second, of seven sections. It covers two hundred fifty-seven pages. It was translated into French by François Nau according to four copies in Paris, Oxford, and

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1 Dated about the year 1550.

2 MS. dated 1290. In his French book *The Key to the Aramaic Language*, 1905, which he wrote in his youth and motivated by arrogance, Alphonse Mingana criticized all the (Syriac) grammar books lumping *Ṣemḥe of* Bar Hebraeus with them. It would have been better for him not to denigrate the excellence of the masters and preservers of the Syriac language from whom he picked up the gleanings which gave him fame.

3 MS. 298 dated 1360.

4 MS. dated 1371.

5 MS. 33 dated 1473, in the handwriting of the monk Nuḥ who later became Patriarch. Also MS. 325 dated 1584, in fine script, and the Edessene MS, written in clear script dated 1589.

6 MS. 133.

7 MS. 261 dated 1585.

8 MS. dated 1586.

Cambridge in 1895. The oldest of these copies was transcribed in the fourteenth century.

21. A commentary on Euclid's book on geometry which he completed in 1272 and mentioned in his *Ecclesiastical History*.[1]

22. A commentary on the *Megiste* of Ptolemy,[2] on astronomy and the movement of the celestial bodies, which he completed in Maragha in 1273. He commented on it after he informed Muhyi al-Din Ibn Muhammad Ibn Abi al-Shukr al-Maghribi the Andalusian (Spanish) of a summary of its themes and contents and added into it an explanation of the neglected introduction of the book. He also unraveled its obscure passages. He mentioned the name of the author at the beginning of the book with great praise.[3]

23. A book containing a set of astronomical tables, an astronomical almanac for fixing the movable feasts. This book is lost.

24. A translation from Arabic into Syriac of Dioscorides's *De Medicamentis Simplicibus*, simple medicines, their potency and perfection. It is lost to us also.

25. Another large but lost book containing all of the medical theories known at the time.

26. An unfinished Syriac translation of four tracts of the *Canon (al-Qanun fi al-Ṭibb)* by Ibn Sina which is also lost.

27. A selection in Arabic of *Al-Adwiya al-Mufrada* (*Book of Simples*) by Abu Jaʿfar Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Khulayd al-Ghafiqi the Andalusian (d. 560 A.H./A.D. 1164). It is stated in it that: "This book has been selected by the unique man of his age, the most learned and pious holy father, the revealer of truths, the unraveler of intricate matters, Gregorius, Maphryono of the East. May God complete his happiness and confirm his eminence."

Bar Hebraeus selected this book from three volumes to make the knowledge about drugs more accessible. At the end of the book he stated, "Gregorius the Maphryono, a humble servant in need of the mercy of God said, 'Therefore, in this abridgement I decided to restrict myself to the selection and description of medicines, particularly the most famous and potent, with the exclusion of oral medicines and ointments. Despite the small size and

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[1] Bar Hebraeus, *Ecclesiastical History*, 2: 443.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] Haji Khalifa, *Kashf al-Zunūn*, 380-381.

comprehensiveness, it turned out to be beneficial and far-reaching in this art.'" A copy of this book in one hundred forty-six pages was found in Dar al-Kutub (The National Library) in Cairo No. 1032, written in an ordinary script in the time of the author at the end of Rabiʿ al-Awwal, 684 A.H./A.D. 1285. Dr. Max Meyerhoff and George Subḥi translated forty-three pages of it into English and published them in 1932, covering only the letter A. We have spotted eleven mistakes in their introduction. How better it would be if they had vocalized the text. This book has a second copy.[1]

28. A book *On the Benefits of the Members of the Body* in Arabic. In it he compiled in details all of the ideas of physicians regarding pharmaceutics. This useful book is lost.

29. A commentary in Arabic on the *Aphorisms* of Hippocrates. A small book, it has a single copy in our library transcribed by the physician Hidayat Allah Chalabi, the Syrian, in 1640, which we found in Damascus in 1938.

30. A commentary in Arabic on the *Medical Questions* by Ḥunayn Ibn Isḥaq the Physician, reaching up to the part on antidotes which is about two-thirds of the book. It was left unfinished because of his death. It is contained in our previously mentioned copy.

31. A brief commentary on the *Book of Hierothios*, whose author is anonymous. It is a small book consisting of one hundred twenty-two chapters in one hundred ninety pages. He wrote a commentary on it in response to the request of certain monks. Bar Hebraeus has nothing to do with some of the pantheistic ideas it contained. This book has copies in London,[2] one of which he used in his commentary. Other copies are in our library, Paris, Berlin[3] and Zaʿfaran.

32. An anthology containing thirty odes together with more than a hundred short pieces ranging between two and ten lines of poetry. Composed in the twelve-syllabic meter, most of these poems are on description, wisdom, communication with friends, praise, satire and eulogies. One of these poems is on the long absence of a friend, apologizing for the delay in delivering his gift

[1] MS. Gotha 9998.

[2] MS. 1017 dated about 1330.

[3] MS. dated 1654, MSS. 227 and 211 and the Edessene MS. containing *The Pupils of the Eyes* dated 1766, together with the commentary on *Hierothios.*

to him. In it, the injustices which befall the Christians are alluded to. Others are on the love of knowledge, the purification of the soul, the vanity of loving this world, a soliloquy on the soul and a ninety-six line ode on the marvelous creation of the heavens, the different ideas of people concerning created beings and the nature of the rational soul. In this ode he apologized for his renunciation of worldly things and pleasure and his content in possessing necessary things such as food, clothes and lodging, for the sake of happiness in the world to come. Other odes are on divine love in sixty lines, which he likened to wine, wisdom's scolding of the ignorant and a three hundred and five line philosophical ode on perfection which he composed in Baghdad in 1277. In response to the desire of a certain prince named Shams al-Din, he composed an ode based on this ode, on perfection. So also did Yeshuʿyahb and other Chaldean writers, but what they wrote was a distortion of this ode.[1] We have already mentioned his odes on the description of spring, praise, eulogy and wisdom, especially his ode on *Divine Wisdom* in one hundred sixty lines. Although his anthology contains many masterpieces, it also contains the poor and weak poems which he composed while still young and perhaps had no time to revise later.

This anthology has two copies, one at Oxford[2] and the other at Birmingham.[3] It was first published by the Maronite monk Augustine Shababi in 1877. The priest Gabriel Cardahi published the ode on *Divine Wisdom*. The monk-priest Yuḥanon Dolabani did well by publishing it in a neat edition in 1929 at Jerusalem. It does not include two odes in the heptasyllabic meter: one on the Trinity[4] and the other, a lengthy historical and dogmatic ode composed about 1282, at the behest of the Catholicos Denḥa I. This ode was published by Chabot.[5]

33. A liturgy beginning with "Merciful thou art O Lord and thy mercy is for all the peoples." This liturgy which bears his name is

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[1] Cardahi's ode is at our library and the second one by Yeshuʿyahb is at the Monastery of al-Sayyida MS. 309-313, Cambridge MS. 2814 and Mosul MS. 85.

[2] MS. 1 dated 1498.

[3] MS. 365.

[4] Oxford MS. 155.

[5] MS. at our library.

obviously his.[1] Another liturgy which begins thus: "O, Immortal and Gracious" is in fact not his, but belongs to Gregory of Barṭelli as has been already mentioned. In 1282, Bar Hebraeus also abridged the liturgy of St. James, the brother of the Lord, which is known as the short liturgy. On January 29, 1282, he also wrote a commentary on the service of the Blessing of the Water on the Epiphany.[2]

34. *The Book of Humorous Stories* in twenty chapters covering forty pages, contains the chronicles of some sages, kings, teachers, ascetics, physicians, rich men, misers, artisans as well as tales told through animals. There is an imperfect copy of this book at Constantinople, transcribed in 1605.[3] The monk Louis Cheikho published an old Arabic copy of this book, transcribed in the same year.

35. An insignificant treatise on the interpretation of dreams which he wrote in his youth.

36. An eloquent homily in Arabic on Palm Sunday. We found a copy of it in Azekh and published it.[4] According to information given in the book it seems that he wrote many treatises, propitiatory prayers and letters,[5] all of which have been lost except his letter to the Patriarch Nimrud.[6]

Bar Hebraeus was also proficient in the Armenian and Persian languages[7] and a master of the Syriac language, comprehending all of its aspects. Furthermore, he was proficient in the Arabic language. His Syriac style is very powerful, lucid and attractive. Whenever his reader dives into his books he finds unique and precious pearls. He would end his reading by bowing his head in great reverence to the prince of writers, the king of learned men and without exception, the most famous Syrian scholar.

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[1] Paris MS. 71 dated 1454.

[2] The service book, *Supplications for Principal Feasts*, at the Zaʿfaran Monastery and also at our library.

[3] Sharfeh MS. 20-18 dated the fifteenth century; Paris MS. 274 dated 1670. This book was translated into English by Ernest A. Wallis Budge in 1897.

[4] *Al-Majalla al-Baṭriyarkiyya* (*The Patriarchal Magazine*), 2: 228.

[5] MS. at our library.

[6] See his *Ecclesiastical History*, 2: 457.

[7] See his metrical biography by Metropolitan Gabriel of Barṭelli.

CHAPTER THREE

BIOGRAPHIES OF LEARNED MEN AND WRITERS OF THE THIRD PERIOD 1290-1931

Orientalists describe the period following the times of Bar Hebraeus as a period of decline in learning. They ruled that sciences and literature deteriorated to the extent that they no longer attracted attention. Of these Orientalists, only Anton Baumstark mentioned a group of later writers who are not of much worth. Indeed, they have exaggerated their judgment, because most of the writings of men after Bar Hebraeus did not reach them. Furthermore, it should be realized that all of the Middle East began to decline after the fall of Baghdad in 1258. And the misfortune of the Middle East reached its culmination in the last decade of the thirteenth century, as a result of the intensive wars and successive invasions which destroyed it. Consequently, the sword wrought havoc and killed innumerable people where once there were prosperous countries. The darkness of calamities was further lengthened by the rise of states and petty states, the majority of whose rulers were ruthless and tyrannical and destroyed civilization. As a result, many people fell into captivity or were forced to leave their country. Learning declined even in the Ottoman period, except for restricted religious Islamic sciences. Even the Arabic language itself became weak and Arabic writing, except for a few authors, became abjectly poor. Not until the middle of the nineteenth century did factors collaborate to create an awakening of learning.

In spite of these vicissitudes, there appeared among the Syrians learned men and writers who, to the limits of their ability, held fast for a time to their religious science and literature. But they were soon to lose their institutions of higher learning. And no sooner had the fourteenth century dawned upon them that they were plagued by cruel times. They found most of their monasteries ruined, their dioceses destroyed, their schools in shambles and their books scattered. For the next three centuries, they were victims of

the sword, plunder, massacre and eviction, with the result that their number diminished drastically. Under these circumstances, no learned men shone among them, nor was it possible for learned men, who would be a match for their learned men of the past, flourish. They were not the only ones to suffer adversities; other denominations and sects also did. Nevertheless, you will still find viable Syriac literature among a small group of these writers. The following pages will uncover the names of fifty-six writers of elegant style, although they could not reach the literary level of their predecessors; therefore, they are counted among the second and the third classes of writers. You will also find sixteen of these writers who wrote on language, poetry, rhetoric, interpretation, divine subjects, history and worship. Of these we may mention Abu Naṣr and Gabriel of Barṭelli, al-Ṣafiy, brother of Bar Hebraeus, Yeshuʿ Bar Kilo, Joseph Bar Gharīb, Bahnam Ḥidli, Bar Maʿdani, Isaiah, Yeshuʿ and Addai of Basibrina, David of Ḥomṣ, Nuḥ the Lebanese, Masʿud of Zāz, ʿAbd al-Ghani al-Manṣuri, Simon of Manʿim, and Jacob of Quṭrubul. We have omitted others either because of their insignificant output or because we did not like their writing.

Because the history of literature should cover all periods of its existence, it was necessary to close our book with these writers and evaluate their writings in order that the discerning reader might observe the progress of the Syriac language and its literature in all its periods. May he spare us his indulgence for writing about an author of little output or a poet who composed few lines only and who did not achieve his desired fame. For our intention is not to ignore any writer if he proved to be excellent in most of his writings, mediocre in some and poor in others. Let no critic form the impression that by mentioning these writers we are intending to elevate them to the class of proficient writers. What we have done is to afford every one of them the description he deserves. The reader should not forget that among the writers from the ninth to the thirteenth centuries are those who are not more proficient than some of the later ones. On the other hand, linguistic critics find the composition of these writers of no less quality than that of some of the medieval learned men. Nevertheless, the Syriac language, whose history, literature and sciences have spanned one thousand and eight hundred years, still occupies a firm place in the hearts of our clergymen, who know how to read and write it. We hope that our

clergymen will be faithful protectors of its precious legacy and endeavor to propagate it.

236. Abu Naṣr of Barṭelli (1290)

Abu Naṣr was one of the few writers and poets [of this period]. He was born at Barṭelli to an old and noble family known as Ḥabbo Kanni. He was called Nicolaus and in Syriac, Zokhe. He became a monk at St. Matthew's monastery where he also studied the sciences of language, religion and rhetoric. He chose the life of the anchorites and was ordained a priest. He may have become the abbot of St. Matthew's monastery in 1260[1] and studied under Bar Hebraeus. He was still alive in 1290[2] and probably died shortly after that date. One of his contemporaries was the deacon Bahnam Ḥabbo Kanni, the physician and man of letters. In a lucid and smooth style he wrote ninety-four *ḥusoyos* whose index we gathered from ancient manuscripts. They indicate his proficiency in literature and the different forms of rhetorics. His name appears on these *ḥusoyos* in many copies at Tur ʿAbdin, Diyarbakir, Jerusalem, and Barṭelli. Of these *ḥusoyos* are thirty-five alone for Lent. Seven of them are alphabetic acrostic. He particularly excelled in the *ḥusoyos* on the festival of St. Jacob which begins thus: "Praise be to the eternal one," the morning service of the festival of St. Stephen written in rhymed-prose and beginning thus: "Praise be to the eternal one who is without beginning and without end," the first prayer of the night of Pentecost which begins thus: "Praise to the Prince of Peace." Other excellent *ḥusoyos* are those on the festivals of the Virgin Mary on the crops and on the ears of corn, Golden Friday (the first Friday after Pentecost), the commemoration of the apostles, St. Severus of Antioch, the martyrs, St. Barbara, St. Bahnam, St. Stephen, the Forty Martyrs, the Eastern Confessors, St. George, St. Quryaqos, Beth Sahdo the Stylite and the Maccabees.

He also composed a heptasyllabic rhymeless ode in thirty-six pages on the life of Matthew the Ascetic in which he praised him and mentioned what happened in his monastery. It is a beautiful and graceful ode. We found an extant copy of it in Diyarbakir in

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[1] Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 517.

[2] Zaʿfaran MS. 213.

the handwriting of the Maphryono Barṣoum II Bar Maʿdani[1] and another imperfect copy in Barṭelli.[2]

237. Abu al-Ḥasan Ibn Maḥruma (d. [c.] 1299)

He was Abu al-Ḥasan Ibn Abraham Ibn Jacob al-Khabbāz (The Baker) known as Ibn Maḥruma of Mardin. He mastered the literature and the calligraphy of the Syriac and the Arabic languages. He was still alive on December 5, 1299. Among his writings are excellent marginal comments on *The Book of the Dove*[3] and another book which is a reply against the book of ʿIzz al-Dawla Saʿd Ibn Kammuna the Israelite of Baghdad entitled *Discourse on the Three Sects*, that is, Christianity, Judaism and Islam.[4] He reproduced the words of Ibn Kammuna and refuted them. This book is one hundred sixty-three pages and has a unique copy at the Angelcia library in Rome transcribed in Mardin in 1354.

238. Metropolitan Gabriel of Barṭelli (d. 1300)

Gabriel was the son of the priest John. He was born at Barṭelli and studied under his metropolitan and uncle Ignatius at St. Matthew's Monastery. He became a monk and then a priest. He had a good knowledge of architecture and as a result undertook the construction of the monastery of the two martyrs John Bar Najjarin and his sister Sara in Barṭelli in 1284. In it he was consecrated by Mar Gregorius Bar Hebraeus a metropolitan of Jazirat Qardu. He died on September 7, 1300.

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[1] In this ode, he described Abu Naṣr of Barṭelli as a doctor of profound knowledge. From it, we transcribed our copy in 1910.

[2] There is also a new copy at the Berlin library MS. 178 and I do not know whether it is complete or not.

[3] The library of the University of Chicago and at our library.

[4] See Ibn al-Fuwati al-Baghdadi, *al-Ḥawādith al-Jāmiʿa*, p. 441. [The book of Ibn Kammūna has been translated into English and edited by Moshe Perlmann and published under the title *Saʿd b. Manṣūr ibn Kammūna's Examination of the Inquiries into the Three Faiths; a Thirteenth Century Essay in Comparative Religiom* (Berkeley: California University Press, 1967. (tr.)]

At the suggestion of the priest Bahnam he composed two odes in the twelve-syllable meter: the history of the most learned man Bar Hebraeus and his brother al-Ṣafiy, covering one hundred forty-five pages in which he praised them greatly. He composed the first ode, which is the longer, in 1288 and the second one in 1295. There are two copies of the first ode[1] and a unique copy of the second at our library. His poetry is of mediocre quality and in some parts poor.

In 1291, he drew up an eloquent liturgy beginning thus: "O, God who art worshipped by all the worlds" and added unto it an expiatory prayer with a dismissory prayer.[2] He also wrote nine *ḥusoyos* in good style for the fasting of Nineveh, the scarcity of rain, the driving away of calamities and the festival of Mar Malke, all of which entered the church rite. Moreover, he wrote a sermon in eight pages on the observation of Sunday[3] and religious obligations and revised the solar calendar in 1285.[4]

239. The Ascetic Thomas of Ḥaḥ

Thomas, who is known as "the lame," was a stylite. He lived probably at the end of the thirteenth and the beginning of the fourteenth century. He wrote an appropriate propitiatory prayer for the divine liturgy in rhymed-prose, beginning thus, "Praise to the one who has a hidden glory in an eternal manner in the high holy of holies."[5] He composed also two more propitiatory prayers for the commemoration of the martyr ʿZazaʾel of Samosata, which in some copies was ascribed to Thomas of Tella the Stylite (d. 699) and another propitiatory prayer for the Monday preceding the festival of the Assumption of the Virgin.[6]

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[1] Oxford MS. 74 dated 1673 and MS. at our library transcribed from the Bartelli copy.

[2] Berlin MS. 152, Vatican MS. 33, Leeds MS. 2353, Jerusalem MS. 94, the Diocesan home in Ḥomṣ and the Church of the Virgin in Qaraqosh. It is translated into French by Renaudot.

[3] MS. at our library.

[4] Brit. Mus. MS. 1017 dated about 1330 and a MS. in West New York.

[5] Jerusalem MS. 100.

[6] The *ḥusoyos* of the saints at the Monastery of Mar Malke.

240. Barṣoum al-Ṣafiy (d. 1307)

Gregorius Barṣoum al-Ṣafiy was the younger brother of the celebrated Bar Hebraeus. He was brought up by his father in an environment of learning and fear of God. He served his brother as a deacon during his long stay in the East and studied under him. After his brother's death, the Easterners chose him to fill his brother's position. Accordingly, the Patriarch Nimrud dressed him in the habit of a monk, ordained him a priest and then a Maphryono on July 3, 1288. He administered the church most properly even humiliating himself for its good at a time when misfortunes and calamities frequently befell Christendom, until his death on December 1, 1307.

He was pious, energetic and of good character. He abridged the liturgy of St. John the Evangelist,[1] completed the biography of his brother, listing his writings. Besides, he wrote a short autobiography[2] and continued his brother's chronicle in a good style to the year of his death. It consists of forty pages and has been published.

241. The Monk Yeshuʿ Ibn Kilo (1309)

He was the monk-priest Yeshuʿ, son of the priest David Bar Kilo, known for his letters. He was born at Ḥaḥ in Tur ʿAbdin and studied the Syriac language and became well versed in its literature. He is said to have become known toward the latter days of Bar Maʿdani and was still alive in 1309.[3] He most likely died shortly after that year. He became a monk and then a priest. When he became a widower he entered the Monastery of Mar Ḥananya and worked on the transcription and binding of manuscripts. He wrote a booklet containing exquisite parables for the composition of letters in Syriac. Also, he wrote a group of letters to some of his contemporaries as well as an introduction of elegant style. He is to blame only for using foreign terms. The Syrian writer Chorepiscopus Isḥaq Armala found a copy of Bar Kilo's booklet

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[1] MS. at our library.
[2] Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 2: 487.
[3] Paris MS. 641.

transcribed in 1290[1] and did well by publishing it in 1928 and appending to it a group of the letters of David Bar Paul together with specimens of the composition of Jacob of Barṭelli.

242. Patriarch Michael II (d. 1312)

He was Barṣoum, abbot of the Kuwaykhat Monastery. He was consecrated a Patriarch and named Michael in 1292. On January 6, 1295, he issued a general proclamation in five pages to the dioceses in the Byzantine territory, namely, Konya, Sivas, Caesarea, Aqsara, Qarshihr, Amasya, Niksar, Semando, Konda and Dawlo and their villages, stating his rise to the patriarchate, excommunicating rebels and warning the believers about the rebel Constantine of Melitene and his faction. We have copied this proclamation from an old manuscript in Tur ʿAbdin transcribed in the fourteenth century.[2] He died on December 7, 1312.

243. Cyril, bishop of Ḥaḥ (1333)

He was Cyril Simon Alini of Tur ʿAbdin, bishop of Ḥaḥ. He was alive in 1333 and may have lived until the middle of the fourteenth century. He wrote a lengthy liturgy in forty-two pages, beginning thus: "O Eternal God who art above all,"[3] and followed it by an excellent *ḥusoyo* beginning with, "Praise to the only Father the holy"[4] and a third *ḥusoyo* for the Thursday of the Palm Sunday week, beginning thus, "Praise to the Almighty and powerful."

244. Bar Wuhayb (d. 1333)

He was Zakhi, or as it is reported, Joseph Badr al-Din, son of Abraham, known as Bar Wuhayb. He was a native of Mardin[5] and by origin from Korinsha in Tur ʿAbdin. He became a monk and

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[1] MS. at the Bzummar Monastery in Lebanon.

[2] MS. at our library.

[3] The diocesan home in Ḥomṣ and Berlin MS. (Sachau) 151, Cambridge MS. 2887, Mosul and others.

[4] *Beth Gazo* at Mar Abraham Monastery in Midyat.

[5] As recorded in a Gospel transcribed in 1314 which we have found in Qellith.

studied at the monastery of Mar Ḥananya. He was consecrated a metropolitan for Mardin assuming the name Ignatius and then consecrated a Patriarch of Mardin in 1293. He died in 1333 after he consecrated twenty metropolitans and bishops. Although ambitious for higher position yet he was a man of great poise and learning.

He wrote a treatise on the dimensions of church prayers,[1] a booklet in thirty pages called *The Fundamentals*, at the request of the monk Joseph al-Kalshi, in which he interpreted the letters of the Syriac alphabet and included some spiritual themes. He wrote a similar book in Arabic in thirty-six pages,[2] a tract on the six letters of the Syriac alphabet which are affected by hardness or softness. He also issued ten short canons in a council he held in 1303[3] and in this same year he drew up a lengthy and eloquent liturgy in twenty-eight pages beginning thus: "O God the invisible and incomprehensible, the high and graceful who are above test,"[4] and followed it by a *ḥusoyo* beginning thus: "Praise to the divine nature, the high and invisible."[5]

245. The Monk Yeshuʿ Bar Khayrun (d. 1335)

Yeshuʿ was son of Master Ṣaliba, son of the priest Isḥaq Bar Khayrun.[6] He was born at the village of Ḥaḥ around 1275 and

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[1] MS. at our library and Birmingham MS. 100.

[2] Jerusalem MSS. 137 and 138, Diyarbakir, and Birmingham MSS. 92 and 369 and Berlin, p. 795 of the *Catalogue* and the interpretation of the Arabic alphabet in the MS. at Edessa, dated 1588.

[3] MS. at our library.

[4] Jerusalem MSS. 95, 97 and 99, Berlin MS. 152, Zaʿfaran MSS. 37 and 166, Paris MS. 74, Vatican MS. 33, Oxford MS. 66 and MSS. at Basibrina and Beth Manʿim. There are also two copies at Edessa and one at Qaraqosh.

[5] Zaʿfaran MS. 238.

[6] Khayrun not Habrun as read by Assemani and those who copied him. See the Brit. Mus. MS. 1017. At the Vatican library there is an ode in the twelve-syllabic meter of mediocre quality composed in 1329 which we think belongs to the monk Yeshuʿ bar Khayrun and not to the Patriarch Ismail nicknamed Fayd al-Dīn (1333-1366) as has been erroneously thought by its publisher, Cardahi. In this MS., the year of the Greeks 642 (A.D. 331) is the correct one, not 1642 (A.D. 1331). The composer meant

became a monk at the Monastery of the Virgin near the village Sidos in the country of Manazgird shortly before 1299. He was ordained a priest and then accompanied his father to the Sayyida (Our Lady) Monastery, also known as the Qaṭra Monastery, in the mountain of Mardin and died in it on August 19, 1335.[1] He was a man of letters and a poet. He composed a *ḥusoyo* for the night of the Wednesday of King Abgar beginning thus, "Praise be to the Eternal King," and comments on the lexicon of Bar Bahlul, a copy of which is at Zaʿfaran. He also composed four odes in the twelve-syllabic meter, the first unrhymed containing advice to clerics;[2] the second rhymed and perfect;[3] the third on rebuking a treacherous pupil (most of it is good);[4] and the fourth on the pillage of the church of the Forty Martyrs in Mardin and the destruction of the churches and monasteries of the East in 1333.[5] Furthermore, He composed seven lines on flowers, poetical rhymed pieces of mediocre quality[6] and some lines in the twelve-syllabic meter extolling the book *Storehouse of Secrets.*[7]

246. Malphono Ṣaliba Bar Khayrun (d. 1340)

Malphono Ṣaliba Bar Khayrun was well versed in the Syriac language and proficient in its calligraphy. He is the father of the monk Yeshuʿ. He was born about 1253. When his wife died he became a monk and was ordained a priest at the Monastery of the Virgin in Sidos, where he was still living in 1323. At one time he traveled to the Qaṭra Monastery where he taught. Some clerics studied literature under him and his son. He was called the

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that Lent was instituted in 331 and that the adversary of Lent opposed him in the year 1329.

[1] See his father's statement on the margin of the *Hudoye* (*Nomocanon*) at the Monastery of Mar Eugene.

[2] MSS. at Tur ʿAbdin.

[3] Cambridge MS. 2019 dated 1452, in twenty-six pages.

[4] MS. at Midyat, our library and Sharfeh MS. 19 dated fourteenth century.

[5] Paris MS. 276, MSS. at Ḥbob and Azekh, in which this ode is ascribed to him and from it we transcribed our copy.

[6] MS. at Azekh.

[7] Florence MS. 26.

"*Malphono* of the East." He continued to transcribe manuscripts until 1340 and died long after this year an old man.[1] He drew up a *ḥusoyo* for the festival of St. Ephraim, beginning thus: "Praise is due to the teacher of divine wisdom." Also he wrote two prayers appended to some *ḥusoyos* and revised the calendar of the festivals for the whole year ascribed to Jacob of Edessa and added into it the festivals of a group of saints, particularly the ascetics and martyrs of Tur ʿAbdin, drawn from their histories. This calendar has five copies at Diyarbakir and the Vatican[2] and our library. It was translated into Latin and published by Peeters in 1908. He also composed an ode of mediocre quality and a long metrical dismissory prayer in the twelve-syllabic meter.[3]

247. Deacon ʿAbd Allah of Barṭelli (1345)

Deacon ʿAbd Allah, son of Barṣoum, son of ʿAbdo of Barṭelli, was a man of letters and a calligrapher. He was ordained a deacon before 1296. He transcribed two manuscripts of the offices of ordination by Gabriel, metropolitan of al-Jazira, in 1300 to which he appended two precise historical tracts which attest to his good handling of the language. Among other things, these tracts contain the wars between Argon and Qazan Khan the Mongolian kings with the Egyptian army as well as the achievements of the Maphryono Barṣoum al-Ṣafiy.[4] He also served as a secretary of Gregory Matthew I, Maphryono of the East (1317-1354.)[5]

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[1] Brit. Mus. MS. 302.

[2] Vatican MS. 37.

[3] MS. at Midyat. Of the composers of metrical dismissory prayers in the twelve-syllabic meter we may mention the priest Ḥasan ibn Zaruqa of Mosul, who I think, lived at the end of the fourteenth and the beginning of the following century. We found the oldest copy of his dismissory prayers in a *Beth Gazo* at Mar Abraham Monastery written in 1466. See also Berlin MS. 151. It begins thus, "O, God who dwellest in the highest." Other composers are the priest Isaac Shaddad al-Jazri (MS. Diyarbakir dated 1495) and the monk Abdo Qarunq of Ḥaḥ the year 1504. His dismissory prayer, arranged according to the alphabet, is very poor.

[4] Jerusalem MS. 109 and the Edessene library at Aleppo.

[5] Bar Hebraeus, *Ecclesiastical History*, 2: 505.

248. Metropolitan Abu al-Wafa of Ḥiṣn Kifa

Abu al-Wafa was born at Ḥiṣn Kifa and was consecrated a metropolitan for some of the dioceses in Tur Abdin, probably in the middle of the fourteenth century. We have read a *ḥusoyo* by him in the book of *ḥusoyos* at the church of Ḥiṣn Kifa transcribed in 1507, praising Mar Nicolaus, bishop of Mira. It begins thus: "Praise be to Him who glorifies the memory of his heroes in all the ages." This is all that we know about him.

249. The Monk Abraham of Mardin (1365)

Abraham lived in the middle of the fourteenth century. He wrote an eight-page historical tract as related to him by the priest Aaron of Arzenjān and the Metropolitan Jacob Haddad of Hattakh. In this tract he mentioned the family of the former, the church of Arzenjān and the fate of the magnificent church objects, the precious books which were at the Monastery of Mar Barṣoum, the seat of the Patriarch, and the manuscripts transcribed by the monk Zebina of Shabaldīn. He also mentioned the library of the Syrian Monastery in Egypt. We found two copies of this tract in the villages Rizwan and Esther: one copy was transcribed at the end of the fourteenth century and the other at the end of the sixteenth century.[1]

250. Joseph Bar Gharīb, metropolitan of Amid (d. 1375)

Joseph was the son of the noble elder Quryaqos, son of Gharīb of Amid. He became a monk at the Monastery of Mar Ḥananya, was ordained a priest shortly before 1340 and then consecrated a metropolitan of Diyarbakir, assuming the name Dionysius. He most probably died shortly before 1375. A proficient writer, Bar Gharīb wrote six *ḥusoyos* for Lent and Palm Sunday. His name appears on these *ḥusoyos* in ancient copies in Tur ʿAbdin and the Zaʿfaran Monastery. These *ḥusoyos* have become part of the church rite. In 1360 he wrote yet another *ḥusoyo* in seventeen pages,

[1] MS. at our library.

beginning with: "O God the most holy and blessed, the ocean of mercy and spring of good."[1]

251. The Monk Daniel of Mardin (1382)

Daniel, who is also known as Ibn ʿIsa, was an eminent learned man. He was born at Mardin in 1327, became a monk and then was ordained a priest at the Qaṭrah Monastery. He studied and excelled in the Syriac language. Burned by desire to continue his studies, Daniel went to Egypt in 1356, where he spent seventeen years studying Arabic literature, dialectics and philosophy. Later he returned to his own country.[2] He wrote in pleasant Arabic *Kitab ʾUṣūl al-Dīn* (*The Book of the Fundamentals of Religion*) for which he was persecuted by the tyrant ruler, but the people saved him in 1382. In a tract written in Syriac he related his adversity.[3] He also abridged Bar Hebraeus's books *Semḥe* (*The Book of Lights*), *Awṣar Roze* (*The Storehouse of Secrets*) and the *Ethikon*, all of which are lost. He composed nine lines of verse rebuking a morally corrupt priest,[4] and abridged in Arabic seventeen chapters of Bar Hebraeus' book *Hudoye* (*Nomocanon*),[5] and wrote Arabic comments on a Syriac

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[1] MS. in Tur ʿAbdin and at our library.

[2] Berlin MS. 23.

[3] This tract was published by Nau in *The Ascent of the Mind.*

[4] Florence MS. 298.

[5] Vatican MS. 636 in the handwriting of the author. In the introduction, he stated: "I have been asked by some concerned people to abridge for them the book of the Maphryono [Bar Hebraeus]; may God sanctify his soul, in a way which would make it easier to recite and not difficult to comprehend. So I arranged my abridgement in parts and fixed every canon under the name of its author. For, if quoting of sources was supported by evidence, it would be more trustworthy and much sought after. I marked the canon considered to be veritable and made in accordance with (although the name of its author is not known) by the following: "Quoted from Bar Hebraeus," and "From God I ask assistance and success." He closed the book by stating that, "This is how I thought it best to summarize some parts of church canons and civil ordinances. He who seeks further investigation should read the book of *Hudoye* (*Nomocanon*) by our master, the Maphryono." This book contains comments by the monk David of Ḥomṣ. Daniel alluded to this information in his book *Uṣul al-Dīn* in Part II, chapter 1.

version of the same book,[1] as well as dialectical and philosophical comments on the margin of Bar Hebraeus' *The Cream of Wisdom*.[2] Furthermore, he wrote a book in Arabic entitled *'Uṣūl al-Dīn wa Shifā' Qulūb al-Mu'minīn* (*The Fundamentals of Religion and the Healing of the Hearts of Believers*) of which five copies are extant.[3] A commentary on the Nicene Creed has been ascribed to him.[4] Some scribes, however, misidentified him with his namesake and master, Daniel Ibn al-Ḥattab, a contemporary of Bar Hebraeus. It is also reported that he composed two lines of verse against Khamis Cardahi, the Nestorian poet.[5] The scribe who copied the letter of Yeshuʿ Bar Kilo in 1290 mentioned for him a book called *The Verification of Our Belief* which may be the same book written by Ibn al-Ḥattab.

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[1] Berlin MS. 23.

[2] Florence MS dated 1340.

[3] Leeds library MS. 2386 dated 1491; the library of the Coptic Patriarchate MS. 357 dated 1750 and MS. 505. (In this MS. his name is mentioned as Ibn al-Ḥaṭṭab); Jerusalem MS. 136 and MS. at our library.

[4] Leeds MS. 2387.

[5] In our biography of Daniel, we, too, called him Ibn al-Ḥaṭṭab, following the manuscripts. See *al-Majalla al-Baṭriyarkiyya* (*The Patriarchal Magazine*) 1: 242. In his introduction to Bar Hebraeus's *The Lamp of the Sanctuaries* in the Berlin Syriac MS. 81, Daniel stated: "Know that the nobleness of a thing can be gained in some respect from the baseness of its opposite. If the errors in this science regarding the fundamentals of religion are considered blasphemy and heresy, it is imperative that to achieve the truth in it is the most noble thing. If this is established, then we should state that: when man is not in a position in which his life in this world could be wholesome without the veracity of his belief and acting according to the commands of his religious law, it is necessary for him to investigate thoroughly the rectitude of his belief and to act according to the known commands imposed by it, lest he confuses truth with falsehood and wrong with right, with the result that he would be drowned in the vast ocean of error. Consequently, he would lose hope and action as well as the life to come. If this was so, it is a must for the Christian to learn some of the science of logic in order to be able to comprehend this book. And since the science of the fundamentals of religion for the Christian are predicated on the principles of dialectics, it is imperative to know these principles first."

252. Patriarch Abraham bar Gharīb (d. 1412)

Patriarch Abraham was a brother of the Metropolitan Joseph Ibn Gharīb. He became a monk at the Mar Ḥananya Monastery and was ordained a priest before 1355. He loved learning and had a collection of books.[1] About 1375 he succeeded his brother as metropolitan of Amid, assuming the name Cyril. He compiled a liturgy containing anaphoras of the fathers of the church, including one written by his brother in thirteen pages.[2] He wrote a *ḥusoyo* for the morning service of the Saturday of Lazarus.[3] He was installed as a Patriarch of Mardin in 1382 and died in 1412.

253. Philoxenus the Scribe (d. 1421)

Philoxenus was consecrated a metropolitan and then consecrated Patriarch of Antioch in 1387 at the Kuwaykhat Monastery. He is the second Patriarch by this name. He resided in Syria and died in 1421. The writer who continued Bar Hebraeus's *Ecclesiastical History* praised him greatly. He stated, "Philoxenus was an excellent writer and a competent doctor in both religious and secular sciences. He is only matched by the priest Isaiah of Basibrina."[4] However, we have discovered none of his writings.

254. The Priest Isaiah of Basibrina (d. 1425)

The priest Isaiah was the son of the deacon Denḥa, son of Thomas Kughaym of Basibrina. He was a good writer and poet whose poetry is clear and natural. He flourished in the last two decades of the fourteenth and the first quarter of the fifteenth centuries. He traveled to Jerusalem on a pilgrimage, an unusual accomplishment in those times, in 1417 and died in 1425.[5] He was the master of language in his time. He established a school in his town which was the center of the Syriac language. Many studied language and

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[1] See *The Book of Hudoye* (*Nomocanon*) transcribed in 1355 at Mar Eugene Monastery.

[2] MS. at Banimim dated 1584 and at our library.

[3] MS. at Basibrina.

[4] Florence MS. 136.

[5] *The Book of Life* and a tract appended to Bar Hebraeus's *Chronography*; not the year 1400, as Cardahi has erroneously stated.

religious sciences under him. For generations his family inherited and preserved these sciences. He composed two odes in the twelve-syllabic meter describing the calamities inflicted by Tamerlane upon the Middle East in general and Tur ʿAbdin in particular. In one of these odes he criticized those who are not qualified and yet fight for offices of the priesthood. The first one begins thus, "O God who art incomprehensible by mind."[1] It was published by Cardahi.[2] The second one begins thus: "Hear my brethren and marvel."[3] He also wrote a song beginning thus: "I am drunk with sorrow and torment." He drew up a *ḥusoyo* for the festival of the martyrs Addai the Apostle, Abḥai and Mama in 1391 beginning with: "Praise be to the shining sun,"[4] and finally he organized the order for the marriage of widows and wrote an introduction for it.[5]

255. The Priest Sahdo

Sahdo was a poet who lived in the first half of the fifteenth century. He composed a rhymed hymn on the end of the world in the heptasyllabic and pentasyllabic meters.[6]

256. The Priest Simon of Amid (1450)

Simon was ordained a priest by the Patriarch Bahnam. He taught Syriac at the school of the Forty Martyrs in Mardin. He died about 1450. We read in an old manuscript in his own handwriting ten *ḥusoyos* composed by him for the festival of the Cross and the Golden Friday (the first Friday after Pentecost) and for the Sunday of the Dispensation of our Lord, the Saints ʿZazaʾel, Quryaqos, Macarius and a certain martyr.[7] But these *ḥusoyos* did not enter the church rite.

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[1] MS. at our library and the Brit. Mus. MS. 825.
[2] P. 113.
[3] MSS. at Meddo, our library and Paris 276.
[4] MS. at Basibrina.
[5] A copy of it is in Cambridge MS. 1987.
[6] MS. at the village of Masarte dated 1482.
[7] MS. at Zaʿfaran.

257. Qawma, the Patriarch of Tur ʿAbdin (d. 1454)

Qawma was the son of the chieftain Jafal of Basibrina. At the beginning he was consecrated a bishop for the Qarṭmin Monastery, but later was transferred to the diocese of Ḥaḥ and then consecrated a patriarch for Tur ʿAbdin in 1444.[1] He died in 1454. He was knowledgeable in the works of many writers. He drew up a lengthy liturgy in good style, beginning thus: "O God who art the safety and peace of all people," followed by a *ḥusoyo* beginning thus: "Blessed art Thou, O desirable sacrifice."

258. Patriarch Bahnam of Ḥidl (d. 1454)

Patriarch Bahnam was the son of John of the Ḥabbo Kanni family originally from Barṭelli, but he was born at Ḥidl. He became a monk at the Qarṭmin Monastery and was ordained a priest. In 1404, he was consecrated a Maphryono under the name Basilius and succeeded the Patriarch Abraham in the See of Mardin under the name Ignatius on July 24, 1412. After the death of Patriarch Basilius V, he was able, because of his lenient policies, to convince the dioceses which were under Basilius V to proclaim him a legitimate Patriarch of Antioch, in 1445. He died on December 10, 1454. Patriarch Bahnam was one of the best writers and poets of his time. There is no little creativeness in his poetry.

1. He drew up ten *ḥusoyos* in a pleasant style, three of which are alphabetically arranged. They are on the Presentation of our Lord in the Temple, the morning of the festival of our Lady over the crops; three for Lent and four for the festivals of the Saints Asya, Abḥai, Barsohde and Saba. In this latter *ḥusoyo* he used Greek terms.[2]

2. He selected commentaries from the book of Daniel of Ṣalaḥ and fixed them with his reinterpretation on a manuscript

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[1] In 1293, a rift occurred in the church with the result that one Patriarch was installed for Antioch and another one for Mardin. In 1445, the two patriarchates united. In 1364, the Patriarchate of Tur ʿAbdin was established because of a disagreement with the Patriarch of Mardin. In 1495, the Patriarch of Tur ʿAbdin and his bishops offered their allegiance to the Patriarchal See of Antioch only to secede once more until finally they became obedient to the legitimate Patriarch of Antioch.

[2] MSS. at Tur ʿAbdin and Mardin.

containing the Psalms written and punctuated by him in 1425.[1] Chabot thought that these commentaries were written in the tenth century.[2] In 1901, G. Diettrich published the introduction of these commentaries together with two treatises in Giesen.

3. He drew up a liturgy arranged according to the Syriac alphabet, beginning thus: "O God who art the sea of safety and the unfathomable depth of the water of peace." To this he prefixed a *ḥusoyo* beginning thus: "Praise to the bread of life,"[3] and appended to it a dismissory prayer, which he composed in 1405, in the heptasyllabic meter arranged to the alphabet.

4. He composed eleven odes, five of which are in the twelve-syllabic meter. Two of these odes covering sixty pages in praise of the virtues of the martyr Mar Bahnam,[4] one rather lengthy in twenty-eight pages on the outstanding traits of the martyr Mar Basus,[5] published by Chabot and then Bedjan anonymously. The former thought it was composed in the twelfth century,[6] while Baumstark thought it was composed at the beginning of the Middle Ages.[7] He also composed an ode on the martyr Mar Saba which has been lost and another ode in thirteen pages on repentance in which he censures himself. It begins thus: "O Jesus, who art the Light which illumined the world."[8] He also composed three odes in the heptasyllabic meter on supplication to God[9] and repentance, one of which begins thus: "What is it with you my soul that you have gone astray in deception."[10] Furthermore, he composed three songs, one on the passion of Christ, arranged according to the

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[1] Jerusalem MS. 14.

[2] P. 68.

[3] Jerusalem MS. 94, Vatican MS. 23, Cambridge MS. 2887, MS. at Ḥomṣ and MS. at our library.

[4] MS. at the library of the Monastery of St. Matthew, MS. at our library, an imperfect copy at Birmingham MS. 402 and two copies at Qaraqosh dated 1588 and 1725 respectively.

[5] Paris MS. 276.

[6] The story of Mar Basus published by Chabot in 1893.

[7] Baumstark, p. 257.

[8] Brit. Mus. MS. 2308, Berlin MS. 015, Birmingham MS. 77, Jerusalem MSS. 88 and 162, Diyarbakir MS. and at our library.

[9] MSS. at Diyarbakir and Birmingham.

[10] Jerusalem MS. 157.

alphabet,[1] and the second in praise of the Virgin Mary, beginning thus: "I wonder if the mentioning of your beautiful traits." This song is still sung during the festivals of the Virgin before the reading of the Gospel. His third song is on repentance.[2] If his poems were collected they would make a good anthology.

259. Barṣoum Maʿdani, Maphryono of the East (1455)

Barṣoum Maʿdani studied under the priest Thomas and mastered the fundamentals of the Syriac language and its literature as well as religious sciences. He became a monk at the Monastery of Mar Jacob in Salaḥ and was ordained a priest. He became known for his ascetic life and piety and, therefore, was chosen by the Patriarch Bahnam to become the Maphryono of the East. He was consecrated on April 9, 1422, under the name Basilius. He fulfilled responsibilities of his office most appropriately and became reputed for his outstanding virtues and deeds. He died at the beginning of 1455.

In 1417, Maphryono Barṣoum abridged Bar Ṣalibi's *scholia* on the Gospels and added unto them useful information he had gathered from the writing of the doctors of the church. This abridgement in his own handwriting forms a thick volume and is preserved at our library. In it he recorded his genealogy and some aspects of his affairs. Two copies were transcribed from this manuscript, one at the end of the fifteenth century,[3] and the second one in 1713.[4] Both of these copies erroneously referred to Maphryono Barṣoum as a monk, contrary to what is recorded in the margin of the original copy. We have read prose songs he composed, one on the woman sinner[5] and the other on the consecration of the Holy Chrism and a metrical song to the tune of "Rise, O Paul."

[1] MS. at Mar Eugene Monastery.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] MS. at the Syrian Church in Qaraqosh.
[4] Birmingham MS. 480.
[5] Oxford MS. 444.

260. The Monk Gharīb of Manʿim (1476)

Gharīb was son of Barṣoum of Manʿim. He became a monk and then was ordained a priest. He studied at the Monastery of Qarṭmin. In 1470, he wrote an order for the festival of Mar Awgen, into which he incorporated the pseudo story of the saint.[1] He participated with the monk Yeshuʿ in writing *ḥusoyos* for the festival of Mar Barṣoum, bishop of Kafrtut and Khabur.[2] He was still alive in 1476.

261. Patriarch ʿAziz (Bar Sobto) (d. 1481)

Bar Sobto (Arabic, Ibn al-ʿAjuz), also known as Abu al-Maʿānī, was born at the village of Basila near Mardin. He became a monk at the Qarṭmin Monastery and followed a strict life of asceticism and austerity. He studied under Master Yeshuʿ of Basibrina and became reputed for his virtue. He was ordained a priest and then a bishop for the diocese of Ḥaḥ. On Maundy Thursday of the year 1461 he was invited to ascend the See of Tur ʿAbdin. He died in 1481. He was very strict in observing church rules. In a correct but unsophisticated style he wrote the following:

1. A small book in seven chapters (covering forty-six pages) on spiritual revelations which an ascetic saw through the eye of his mind how God dwells in the hearts of the children of light, the earthly paradise and the souls which inhabit it, the creation of angels, human souls, repentance and the fires that burn sin. He called it *The Ascent of the Mind*.[3]

2. A book called *The Path of Truth* in fifty-five pages and slightly imperfect, containing useful knowledge for monks.[4]

3. A treatise on the divine liturgy, on the person who does not deserve to receive the Divine Eucharist and on the priest.[5]

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[1] MS. at Mar Elijah in Ḥbob dated 1474.

[2] MS. at Basibrina.

[3] MS. at the Church of al-Ṭāhira (The Virgin) in Mosul, MS. at our library, Birmingham MSS. 49 and 79, Berlin MS. 196, Brit. Mus. MS. 2308, which is imperfect.

[4] Sharfeh MS. 20-30 and at our library.

[5] MSS. at the Brit. Mus. and Berlin.

4. Two sermons for his parishioners: the first one on the passing away of this world and the immortality of the world to come. The second one contains an exhortation to the clergy and a warning against the evils of magic.[1]

262. The Monk Malke Sāqo (d. 1490)

Malke was son of John Kughaym nicknamed Sāqo. He was born at Basibrina and became a monk at the Qarṭmin Monastery and mastered the Syriac language and literature. He composed in the twelve-syllabic meter a good lengthy ode (25 pages) in praise of the Virgin Mary. In another copy this ode is entitled the Nativity of Our Lord in Human Body.[2] Another ode is against those who deny the virginity of the Virgin Mary.[3] He also compiled an order for the Friday of the White, from old copies and wrote some *ḥusoyos*. We have read in the service book for the principal festivals of the whole year which he completed in 1484, a commentary on the meaning of the procession in the church.[4] According to the *Book of Life* and as stated by the priest Addai, he died in 1490, not 1400 as Mingana has erroneously stated.

263. Rabban Yeshuʿ of Basibrina (d. 1492)

Rabban Yeshuʿ was the son of the priest Isaiah of the Kughaym family. He studied the Syriac language and its literature under his father. He renounced worldly life and entered the Qarṭmin Monastery, where he led an ascetic life. He was ordained a priest before 1439 and for sometime he followed the life of a stylite. Under him studied a group of eminent church dignitaries as well as monks and priests from Tur ʿAbdin. He lived much longer than his own colleagues and died at a very old age in 1492. He wrote the following:

1. Forty *ḥusoyos* for the following: the Golden Friday, the morning service of the Assumption of the Virgin, for the Saints

[1] Oxford MS. 412, Zaʿfaran and at our library.

[2] MS. at Basibrina, Paris MS. 377 and Birmingham MS. 501 dated the sixteenth century.

[3] MS. at Basibrina.

[4] MS. at Mar Eugene Monastery.

Philoxenus, Aaron, Barbara, Simon d-beth Zayte, Shallita, Aḥo, Mary Magdalene, Simon and Qawma the stylites, the Egyptian ascetics, Abraham the ascetic of the high mountain, Daniel, Malke, Dimet, Addai, Sergius and Bacchus and Jareth. He used Greek terms in the *ḥusoyo* of Mar Aḥo and arranged it together with the *ḥusoyo* of the evening of the festival of Mar Daniel according to the alphabet. We found these *ḥusoyos* in Tur ʿAbdin, particularly Basibrina. Yeshuʿ's prose is good but inferior to that of Abu Naṣr of Barṭelli.

2. A complete order for the feast of Mar Dodo.[1]

3. An ode in the twelve-syllabic meter, covering fifty-three pages in praise of Mar Dodo[2] and another ode in the heptasyllabic meter lamenting himself.[3]

4. Organization of the twenty-four Sundays following Easter.[4]

Yeshuʿ's verse is mediocre but he has transcribed manuscripts which testify to his excellent calligraphy and punctuation of texts.

264. Patriarch John Bar Shay' Allah (d. 1493)

Patriarch Shay' Allah belongs to the family of the priest Abu al-Karam, originally from Barṭelli. His father was Shay' Allah, son of Saʿd al-Din, who was also called Ibn al-'Aṣfar. Patriarch Shay' Allah was born at Mardin in 1442 and studied Syriac literature under the priests Simon of Amid and John of Mardin as well as the monks Yeshuʿ of Basibrina and David Bar Qashafo of Qalʿat al-Imra'a.[5] He also studied astronomy, dialectics, philosophy and also theology in Mardin, Syria, and Egypt. He was ordained a bishop of al-Ṣawar and Amid in 1471 and was elevated to the Patriarchal throne in 1483 with the name John XIV. He died in his middle age in 1493,

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[1] MS. at Basibrina.

[2] MS. at Basibrina, dated 1477.

[3] Birmingham MS. 77.

[4] According to the service books of the churches of Kaʿbiyya and Qellith dated 1504 and 1553 respectively. Commenting on these orders, he stated that when he noticed that the old orders were only for eight Sundays and that they were repeated unsystematically and that some churches used shorter orders, he undertook the compilation and arrangement of twenty-four orders from many books and copies.

[5] David had knowledge of astronomy. He was still alive in 1485.

after having consecrated fourteen metropolitans and bishops. I found a few lines of verse of his in the heptasyllabic meter, expostulating his friend the monk David of Ḥomṣ.[1] In 1496 an anonymous writer who may be one of his disciples or a relative wrote his life story in eighteen pages in a correct but rather involved and ungraceful style.[2]

265. Metropolitan George of Basibrina (d. 1495)

George became a monk at the Qarṭmin Monastery. In 1450, he was consecrated a metropolitan with the name John. He was the most prominent among the bishops of his time. Twice he went on pilgrimage to Jerusalem and bought a house for two hundred golden dinars and made it an endowment for our St. Mark's Monastery in Jerusalem.[3] He died at Mar Ḥananya Monastery in 1495. In 1462, he compiled a liturgy from nine liturgies by doctors of the church, all of whom share the name John, including him. To this compilation he contributed five pieces. The compiled liturgy begins thus: "O Lord the giver of safety and the Lord of peace." It contains four prayers by a bishop named John Bar Būṭāḥī, who may be a fourteenth-century bishop from Tur ʿAbdin. The compositions of both [John (George) of Basibrina and John Bar Būṭāḥī] are good.[4] John also compiled a liturgy from seven liturgies written by seven fathers of the church, all of them named Jacob.[5]

266. The Monk David of Ḥomṣ (1500?)

David was the son of ʿAbd al-Karim, son of Ṣalāḥ known as the Ḥimṣi (or the Phoenician).[6] He was born at al-Qaryatayn in 1431 and moved to Ḥomṣ when he was a young boy. He studied under the priest Moses Mukaysif and entered the Monastery of Mar

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[1] MS. at Diyarbakir dated 1520 and MS. at our library.

[2] Cambridge MS. 3-82.

[3] *The Book of Life* at Basibrina and a deed at the library of St. Mark's Monastery No. 1 dated June 1493.

[4] MSS. at Isfes, Mar Malke's Monastery and Basibrina.

[5] An imperfect copy which we found at the Monastery of Mar Malke.

[6] In 1930, we wrote and published a detailed biography of David in Syriac.

Moses in al-Nabak where he became a monk and concentrated on learning. He was ordained a deacon. While still young he went to the Zaʻfaran Monastery in 1459 to study. He remained at the monastery for a while, was ordained a priest and then he moved to the Monastery of the Cross near Ḥiṣn Kifa. For a time he became the secretary of the Maphryono ʻAziz [Bar Sobto] and experienced changing vicissitudes until he reached Constantinople in 1481. He met with misfortune until he died around 1490 or about 1500.

David was a man of learning. His verse and prose style are of good and bad quality, particularly his prose which is saturated with rhetorical techniques like paronomasia and juxtaposition of contrasting ideas.

Of his excellent writing are five *ḥusoyos* for the Saints Stephen and Aaron and three for Easter. One of these three, which is rather lengthy, is on the eighth Sunday after Easter. It closes with a supplicatory prayer arranged alphabetically. It has entered the church rite.[1] He also has commentaries on the *Chronicle*, the seven times of prayer and the Psalms.[2] He wrote his autobiography until his middle age[3] and the biography of John Dalyatha the Nestorian ascetic as related by his master.[4] Furthermore, he abridged the commentary on the Psalms by Daniel of Ṣalaḥ, adding unto it some commentaries of Bar Ṣalibi and Bar Hebraeus. In this abridged commentary he punctuated the Biblical verses following the method of Bar Hebraeus in his *The Treasure-house of Secrets* and wrote an excellent introduction to it.[5] Chabot thought that this abridgement was written in the tenth century. It has three old copies[6] as well as new copies, the most recent of which are two in Boston.[7] In this abridged commentary on the Psalms he related some of the affairs of Muhammad Beg Ibn al-Rumi the philosopher.[8]

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[1] MSS. at Tur ʻAbdin.

[2] MS. in our library transcribed from a copy in Midyat in 1483.

[3] Copies of the *Ethikon* in Beirut, Diyarbakir and at our library.

[4] Published by Raḥmani in his *Studia Syriaca*, 1: 41-43.

[5] Zaʻfaran MS. 192.

[6] Jerusalem MS. 47, the Monastery of St. Matthew MS. 44 dated 1468.

[7] Boston [Houghton Library, Harvard University] MSS. 4002 dated 1675 and 4003 dated 1755.

[8] MS. at the Cross Monastery in Bethel and MS. at our library.

Of his excellent verse are two odes: the first on sojourn[1] in ten pages in the heptasyllabic meter and rhymed; the second on repentance, alphabetically arranged,[2] two odes in the twelve-syllabic meter on a eulogy of Patriarch ʿAziz Bar Sobto),[3] the second is a dismissory prayer at the end of the Mass;[4] a few lines censuring those who seek learning because of their failure in life,[5] an ode in the heptasyllabic meter composed in 1466 praising his contemporary ascetics of Tur ʿAbdin,[6] and a song to the tune of *Qum Phawlos*, lamenting the sciences of the Syrians and the loss of their manuscripts.[7]

Of his strange verse are two odes in the twelve-syllabic meter he composed in 1462. The words which begin the lines of these odes are arranged according to the letters of the alphabet. They also could be read forward and backward following the practice of ʿAbd Yeshuʿ of Ṣoba,[8] which is, in fact, a trivial ornamental style, in which he failed.[9] He also wrote eulogies to be said during the bishops' reading of the Gospel called *koruzutha* which he filled with Greek terms, making them unpalatable. These eulogies were dropped a long time ago, thank God! Finally he translated into mediocre Arabic two or three *ḥusoyos* and wrote in Arabic a treatise on the priest, the divine liturgy, vows, tithes which are not free from grammatical mistakes.

[1] Paris MS. 209, Oxford MS. 361, Sharfeh MS. 7-8 and MS. at our library.

[2] MS. at Constantinople, MS. at our library and MS. at the Edessene library.

[3] Sharfeh MS. 7-7.

[4] See above, the chapter on the *Books of Liturgies*.

[5] MS. at our library transcribed from a copy in Midyat in 1483.

[6] MS. at Beth Manʿim. in a *Beth Gazo* and MS. at our library.

[7] *Ibid.*

[8] Despite his great linguistics and learning, ʿAbd Yeshuʿ made a mistake by deliberately imitating in his poetry that of al-Ḥariri. If you free his verse from the ornamentation which has burdened it, you would then appreciate his literary and poetical proficiency. The same thing could be said about Khamis Cardahi.

[9] MS. at our library, Diyarbakir, and Sharfeh 7-9.

267. The Priest Addai of Basibrina (d. 1502)

Addai was the son of the priest Malke, son of the priest Addai. He was born at Basibrina and studied Syriac under his uncles, Malphono George and the monk Yeshuʿ. He was ordained a priest in 1464 and for a time taught at the school of his town which had more than three hundred pupils.[1] He became reputed for his learning and many students were graduated under him. He was also known for his neat thick handwriting.[2] In 1490 he went to Jerusalem to perform the pilgrimage and died shortly after 1502. Some of his sons became priests.

In correct but unsophisticated style, he wrote some *ḥusoyos*, two of which are for the morning service of the Saturday of Lazarus,[3] one for the festival of Mar ʿZazaʾel and eight for the festivals of the Saints Awgen and Basus, Thaddaeus, i.e. Addai of Basibrina.[4] I have come to believe that he is the anonymous writer who continued the *Chronography* and the *Ecclesiastical History* of Bar Hebraeus. He is also to be commended for writing the history of a period when historical facts were rare.[5] He wrote the biographies,

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[1] MSS. at Basibrina.

[2] MS. at the Church of Anḥil.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] MS. at the Church of Ḥbob.

[5] Our evidence of the attribution of historical tracts to him is as follows:

1) The manuscript of Bar Hebraeus's *Ecclesiastical History* completed by the monk Denḥa Sayfi around 1498 ends with the biography of Bar Wuhayb, which indicates that the additions to that history are new. So does the Cambridge MS. 3-18 transcribed at the beginning of the fourteenth century. It is appended by a tract in another handwriting with some errors in historical accounts. The writer would have never made such errors if he was a contemporary to the events. Most particular of these events, is his confused narrative about the consecration of the Patriarchs who succeeded Patriarch Nimrud.
2) The scarcity of the chronicles of the Patriarchs in the fourteenth century and the loss of Addai's chronicle.
3) The author was from Tur ʿAbdin because of his comprehensive knowledge of the secular and ecclesiastical affairs of Tur ʿAbdin and his brief treatment of the biographies of the Patriarchs of Antioch in Sis and Syria because they were remote from his

which have been published, of Patriarchs and Maphryonos from 1285 to 1496. Furthermore, He wrote three short tracts which have been appended to Bar Hebraeus' *Chronography*. They are as follows:

1. The invasion of the Mongols (Huns) of Diyarbakir.

2. On the destruction of Tur ʿAbdin by Timur Lang (Tamerlane).

3. A historical tract in thirty-seven pages covering the period from 1394 to 1492. These three tracts have two copies[1] and were published by Bruns in 1790. The third tract, which is the longest, was re-published by Behnsch in 1838. The correction of the relapses we found in his edition compared with the manuscripts we have come across are slight.[2]

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native country. Furthermore, there is his prejudicial account of the whole fourteenth century against the Patriarchate of Mardin from which the See of Tur ʿAbdin seceded.

4) He is a native of Basibrina because he relates in the third tract insignificant events connected to his village with the exclusion of other countries of which he knew little and his use of no fewer than twenty colloquial terms peculiar to Basibrina only.

5) He is the priest Addai because he related in detail the chronicles of his family and the things that happened to him and his companions during their pilgrimage to Jerusalem, whether they were significant or not. Most of these chronicles are recorded in the *Book of Life* which he personally wrote. (He may have withheld his name because of his harsh criticism of some of the church dignitaries of his time). However, the first and the second tracts, which consist of ten pages, may have been written by the priest Isaiah of Basibrina.

Finally, what should be observed about the appendix to the history of the Patriarchs is that the Florence MS. 136 and Vatican MS. 387 dated 1761, are slightly different from the published text and are free from redundancies which cause us to believe that the author of the published text is our priest Addai. It is not unlikely that some writer of his time changed this text by relating in detail the biography of the Patriarch Bar Shay' Allah and exaggerating his praise, which stretched this text to five pages.

[1] Jerusalem MS. 211 and Oxford MS. 167.

[2] In 1505, an anonymous priest from Ḥabsnas composed a good ode in the heptasyllabic meter on the invasion of the two princes of Ḥiṣn Kifa and al-Ṣawar of Tur ʿAbdin, which we have copied from a manuscript in Meddo.

268. Sergius, Metropolitan of Ḥaḥ (d. 1508)

Sergius was the son of Joseph Qaruna of Ḥaḥ. He became a monk in 1470 at the Cross Monastery where he was trained in asceticism by Masʿud the head monk of Tur ʿAbdin and reached a high degree of ascetic life. He was ordained a priest and performed the pilgrimage to Jerusalem twice, in 1489 and 1495. He also visited Cyprus. He was consecrated a metropolitan of Ḥaḥ in 1505 under the name Dionysius. He most likely died in 1508.

He was a good writer and calligrapher, praised by his contemporaries. He wrote a useful tract on his trip to Cyprus and Jerusalem in which he described some places and the holy shrines. Only a fragment of it survives in his own handwriting.[1] He also drew up, in 1504, two *ḥusoyos* for the Epiphany and the Saturday of Lazarus and composed some metrical supplicatory prayers and a rather involved metrical puzzle on Jerusalem.[2]

269. Patriarch Nuḥ the Lebanese (d. 1509)

Patriarch Nuḥ was a prominent church dignitary known for his piety and good administration. He was also a writer and a poet but some of his verse is marred by the unnaturalness of style which was prevalent in his time. He was at the village of Baqufa in the mountain of Lebanon in 1451 and was converted from Maronitism to orthodoxy. He studied the Syriac language and religious sciences under the monk-priest Thomas of Ḥomṣ in the Monastery of Mar Moses the Abyssinian. He was ordained a priest and then a metropolitan for Ḥomṣ in 1480 under the name Cyril. He was consecrated a Maphryono of the East in 1489, ascended the Patriarchal throne in 1493 and was named Ignatius. He died at Ḥoms on July 28, 1509, after having consecrated thirteen metropolitans and bishops.

Patriarch Nuḥ has an anthology in ninety-two pages, containing rhymed odes and verse pieces in the twelve-syllabic meter, some of which are arranged according to the alphabet as well as to his name. They are on supplication, repentance, the state of the soul

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[1] MSS. in Jerusalem and at our library.

[2] Oxford MS. 361, MSS. at Diyarbakir, Mar Eugene Monastery, at our library and Zaʿfaran MS. 248.

and how to control it, complaint against vicissitudes and the injustices of the rulers who are the descendants of the Huns and Kurds, description of roses, sojourn and communication with friends. Among these are two odes which he delivered to Ḥomṣ and Lebanon as well as eulogy of the ascetic priest Thomas of Ḥomṣ. Another ode declares that the Lord is life and that He offers it to those who believe in Him; yet another, consisting of 136 lines on the universal and particular natures, which he composed in response to the request of Malke, metropolitan of Maʿdan. It contains some poor usages as a result of his adherence to one rhyme. He also wrote some puzzles which are rather poor.[1] A number of manuscripts in his neat handwriting have survived, as well as a hymn in Arabic on the Virgin and a very brief historical tract.

270. The Monk ʿAziz of Midyat (1510)

Monk ʿAziz was the son of the monk Ṣaliba, son of Basus. He was born at Midyat and later joined the staff of Patriarch Masʿud by whom he was trained for the ascetic life and whom he served for forty-five years at the Monastery of the Cross and at Salaḥ after he had become a monk in 1465 and a priest. In a polished style he wrote the biography of his instructor, Patriarch Masʿud, after he became a metropolitan. This biography consists of six pages. He compiled the ascetic treatises of Patriarch Masʿud in a book entitled *The Spiritual Ship*, which otherwise would have been lost. He also recorded the calamities which befell the Middle East in general and Tur ʿAbdin in particular, together with political and ecclesiastical events from 1501 to 1510, in four tracts, which we copied from his manuscripts in Amid, Edessa and Tur ʿAbdin.[2] He died shortly after 1510.

271. Patriarch Masʿud of Zāz (d. 1512)

Patriarch Masʿud was the son of Simon. He was born at the village of Zāz in 1431. In 1453, he resided at the Monastery of the Cross

[1] MS. at our library, Vatican MS. 174 dated 1600, Paris MS. 180 dated the eighteenth century which contains some of his poems.

[2] MS. at the Sayyida (The Virgin) Monastery.

in Bethel where he lived a strict ascetic life. At the beginning he was an illiterate but when he took to ascetic life in some caves he was enlightened through divine providence and began to dictate to his companions wonderful spiritual treatises without his knowledge. Later he studied the Syriac language and was ordained a priest. In 1464, he was made the superior abbot of all the monks of Tur ʿAbdin and trained more than a hundred men in the ascetic life, to follow strictly ascetic rules. For this reason, Patriarch Masʿud is considered an innovator of monasticism in his time. In 1481, he was consecrated a metropolitan of Zarjal and Ḥiṣn Kifa under the name Basilius. Through his efforts the number of monks increased in Tur ʿAbdin and its monasteries which were either built or renovated until they numbered more than two hundred by the end of his life. In 1493, he became the Patriarch of Tur ʿAbdin. But he made a mistake by consecrating a Maphryono for Tur ʿAbdin and twelve bishops, most of whom had no dioceses. As a result he was opposed by the incumbent bishops as well as by the dignitaries who pledged allegiance to the Patriarch of Antioch. He shut himself for a time in a monastery in Kharput but later resumed his church affairs until his death on February 11, 1512.[1]

He wrote a book consisting of seven hundred pages entitled *The Spiritual Ship*, in a smooth style, into which he incorporated several treatises on asceticism and worship. The original copy of this book is in the Sayyida (the Virgin) Monastery.[2] It was completed in 1481, but is slightly imperfect. It has also a new copy[3] and fragments as well.[4] We found in Amid five odes composed by him: three in the twelve-syllabic meter and two in the heptasyllabic meter,[5] as well as an ode in Paris.[6] We read at the church of Qellith in 1909 his long liturgy beginning with "O Lord God who art the fountain of blessings and the sea of beneficence." This liturgy consists of thirty-five pages, transcribed in 1615. It is preceded by a *ḥusoyo* beginning with, "Praise and thanks to the Holy Trinity," which was lost during the World War I. His biographer and some of his

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[1] Jerusalem MS. 112.

[2] MS. 130.

[3] Birmingham MS. 91 dated 1903.

[4] Zaʿfaran MS.

[5] MS. at our library.

[6] Paris MS. 16.

contemporaries mentioned that he had written several *ḥusoyos* and two liturgies, one short and the other of medium length.

272. Jacob I, Patriarch of Antioch (d. 1517)

Jacob was the son of the monk ʿAbd Allah, also known as Ibn al-Muzawwaq. He was born at al-Aḥmadiyya village in al-Sawr and became a monk at the Monastery of Mar Moses in al-Nabak. He studied under the *Malphono* and Metropolitan Moses ʿUbayd of Ṣadad.[1] He became efficient in calligraphy. He was ordained a priest and went to the Monastery of Mar Ḥananya and then in 1480 to the Monastery of Mar Abḥai. In 1496, he was consecrated a metropolitan of Amid under the name Philoxenus.[2] He was installed as Patriarch in 1512 under the name Ignatius Jacob.[3] He died in 1517.[4] He was an efficient writer. One of his writings is a historical tract containing some of the chronicles of the monk David of Ḥomṣ which we have copied from an old manuscript in his own handwriting.[5] He also wrote comments on some festivals and composed a few verses in the twelve syllabic meter in which he calls himself to repentance.[6]

273. Joseph al-Gurji, metropolitan of Jerusalem (d. 1537)

Metropolitan Joseph al-Gurji was born at Aleppo and was raised by the Patriarch John XIV after the death of his parents. He studied under the Patriarch Jacob I, became a monk at the Zaʿfaran Monastery where he was ordained a priest in 1495.[7] He became proficient in grammar, literature and calligraphy. We found precious manuscripts transcribed by him at the Church of Ḥiṣn Kifa and at the Oxford and Zaʿfaran libraries. In about 1510 or

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[1] According to his own story written in some manuscripts.

[2] According to a comment by the Metropolitan Joseph al-Gurji.

[3] According to a history in a Gospel in Azekh.

[4] Related by the priest Simon of Ḥirrīn in a copy of the Gospel in Mardin.

[5] At the Monastery of the Cross in Bethel.

[6] According to a grammar book in Midyat.

[7] According to the account he wrote about himself found in a copy of the Gospel at the Church of Diyarbakir.

1512, he was consecrated a metropolitan for Jerusalem under the name Gregorius. For a time, Ḥomṣ, Damascus, Tripoli and Mardin were added to his own diocese. He died in 1537, leaving behind great accomplishments to immortalize his name.[1]

Of his writings are three eloquent *ḥusoyos*, one of them, written in 1507, in eight pages, is for the festival of Mar Zokhe (Nicolaus) , was arranged according to the alphabet and could be read forward or backward.[2] He also wrote comments on the chronicles of his contemporary fathers of the church and a neat and effective introduction to the *Cream of Wisdom* by Bar Hebraeus, which he transcribed in his own handwriting.[3] Furthermore, in 1533, he revised the order of assuming the monastic leather habit by collating it with the Coptic and Ethiopian originals. He composed some rhymed verse on the path of the perfect ones, but they are forced and complicated.[4]

274. ʿAbd al-Ghani al-Manṣuri (d. 1575)

ʿAbd al-Ghani was born at the village Manṣuriyya near Mardin. His father was the priest Stephen. He became a monk at the Monastery of Mar Ḥananya and studied Syriac grammar and etymology under some masters of his time. He devoted his time to the reading of religious sciences in which he became proficient and was made a priest. He was consecrated a metropolitan and chosen as a deputy Patriarch. At the beginning of 1557 he assumed the Maphrianate of the East under the name Basilius. He died on June 19, 1575.

Maphryono Manṣuri wrote a lengthy liturgy in seventy pages in which he used rhetorical ornamentation. It is a testimony of his profound knowledge of the Syriac language and composition. It is, indeed, unequalled among the liturgies of the same kind. It begins thus, "Eternal intellect whose existence is imperative."[5]

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[1] See his biography by this writer in *al-Majalla al-Baṭriyarkiyya* (*The Patriarchal Magazine*), 1: 145-152.

[2] The manuscripts of the Church of Ḥiṣn Kifa.

[3] Oxford MS. 1.

[4] They are to be found in an old medical book at our library.

[5] MS. at the al-Ṭāhira Church in Mosul, Cambridge MS. 2887 and MS. at our library.

275. Patriarch Niʿmat Allah (1587)

Niʿmat Allah [Syriac, Ṭaybutheh d-Aloho] was the son of Maqdisi John Nur al-Din. He was born at Mardin and in 1535, while still young, he went to the Zaʿfaran Monastery where he became a monk. He studied church sciences and Syriac literature and was ordained a priest. He also studied a little of history, logic, astronomy, geodesy, medicine and the art of drawing. He was consecrated a Maphryono of the East in 1555 and later elevated to the Patriarchal throne at the beginning of 1557 under the name Ignatius. He resided at Amid but also administered the dioceses of Edessa and Syria. In 1562 he went to Jerusalem for the pilgrimage. He became popular for his good conduct, impressive stature and pleasant company. After having consecrated nineteen metropolitans and bishops he was afflicted by a misfortune on March 10, 1576, which forced him to relinquish his position and leave secretly for a monastery near Sivas. He composed an ode eulogizing himself and his misfortune and his separation from his relatives. He left the East helpless and broken-hearted because of injustice and arrived in Rome in October, 1576. In Rome he became known for his knowledge. He assisted astronomers in amending the Gregorian calendar. But he spent his life in grief. He most likely adopted the Roman doctrine and having become a Roman Catholic, died shortly after 1587.[1]

Patriarch Niʿmat Allah's prose is excellent although it is involved and intricate in some parts. One of his writings is a letter apologizing for himself[2] and a tract he wrote in 1580 describing in detail the kingdoms of Europe, especially Italy,[3] and a treatise on the Gregorian calendar.[4] His Syriac poetry is clear and his rhymed ode in the twelve syllabic meter is a fine one. Only fifty lines of it have reached us.[5] He also has some writings in Arabic which are not entirely free from grammatical mistakes.[6]

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[1] Our *History of the Patriarchs*, still in manuscript form.

[2] Cambridge MS. 3-72 DD and MS. at our library.

[3] MSS. at Diyarbakir and at our library.

[4] MS. at Constantinople, Berlin (Sachau) MS. 81 and MS. at our library.

[5] Birmingham MS. 282 which is an old copy and MS. at our library.

[6] In 1592, Bishop Timothy of the family of Nur al-Dīn, deputy of the Patriarch, who wrote the biography of his brother Patriarch David Shah died. Cambridge MS. 82-3.

276. John Wanki, metropolitan of Cappadocia and Edessa (1624)

John was the son of Maqdisi Mardiros Najjar the Armenian. He was born at Wank, a village in Karkar and in 1566, became a monk at the Virgin and Mar Zakka Monasteries situated in the mountains of the province of Karkar. He studied the Syriac language and literature and wrote in a pleasant style. He was ordained a priest and twice performed the pilgrimage to Jerusalem. For a while he resided at the Monastery of Mar Abḥai, but he spent a great deal of effort in renovating the Monastery of Mar Zakka, in 1588. In 1590, he became the abbot of Mar Barṣoum Monastery, but later returned to his monastery. In about 1599, he was consecrated a metropolitan of Cappadocia and Edessa under the name Gregorius. He died about 1624. He was known for his piety. He mastered the fine yet beautiful Karkarite script.[1] We found in his own handwriting, in extremely fine script,[2] four Gospels and a book of Psalms. He also wrote brief historical tracts and comments on the monasteries of Karkar[3] as well as the events in his time, the most useful of which is the account of the trouble between the two Patriarchs Pilate and Hidayat Allah and their reconciliation in the year 1591-1593.[4]

277. Deacon Sargis Bar Ghurayr (d. 1669)

Deacon Sargis was the son of the bishop John, son of ʿAbbud, son of Ghurayr al-Zirbabi. He was born at Damascus and under his father he studied the fundamentals of the Syriac language and its

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[1] Our *History of the Patriarchs*, still in manuscript form.

[2] MSS. at Jerusalem, Mosul, Aleppo, Boston MS. 4904. At the Edessene library, we found two Gospels of larger size which he completed in two months' time in 1592.

[3] MS. at the Edessene library containing a Gospel which he completed in 1588.

[4] Jerusalem MS. 169. Of those who have acquired a knowledge of Syriac literature and calligraphy at this time are the Metropolitan Musa of Ṣawr (1587), Patriarch Pilate al-Manṣuri (d. 1597), the two Maphryonos Basilius Isaiah of Anḥil (d. 1635) and Basilius Bahnam III the Bati (d. 1655) and the Priest ʿAbd al-Nur, son of the Deacon Stephen Dairally (1624).

literatures. He was ordained a deacon. What attests to his proficiency in the Syriac language and its literatures is his venture, around 1669, to translate Bar Hebraeus's *Lamp of the Sanctuaries* into Arabic. His translation is partly good, partly of medium quality and partly poor because of his inadequate knowledge of the Arabic language. This translation is extant in several manuscripts, the oldest of which are the two manuscripts at Paris[1] and Zaʿfaran.[2] Deacon Ghurayr died about 1669, a young man. His father, the bishop of Damascus (1668-1684) composed a metrical discourse in the heptasyllabic meter criticizing a group who turned against orthodoxy.[3] But this discourse is in some ways poor. Deacon Ghurayr also wrote useful polemic letters in Arabic[4] and made some poor translations.

278. Bishop Hidayat Allah of Khudayda (1693)

Bishop Hidayat Allah was the son of Shammo. He was born at Khudayda (the village of Qaraqosh near Mosul, Iraq) and studied Syriac under the priest ʿAbd al-Masiḥ Jumuʿa. He was ordained a deacon and then a priest. When he became a widower in 1661 he became a monk at the Monastery of Mar Bahnam. He moved to some other monasteries and in 1685, he accompanied Basilius Yaldo the Khudaydi to Malabar in India. Yaldo consecrated him a bishop and named him John. He succeeded Yaldo in Malabar. He died in 1693. He composed an ode in the hepta-syllabic meter in praise of the Virgin and a letter containing general canons for the Malabar Church.[5]

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1 Paris MS. 211 dated 1661.

2 Zaʿfaran MS dated 1679.

3 MS. at our library transcribed from the copies at Aleppo and Arbo. [By "turning against orthodoxy," the author means the renunciation of the belief of the Syrian Orthodox Church in the One Incarnate Nature of Christ and also leaving this church to join a church which adheres to the Chalcedonian doctrine. (tr.)]

4 MS. at our library dated 1882.

5 At our library.

279. Isaac, Patriarch of Antioch (1724)

Patriarch Isaac was the son of Maqdisi ʿAzar. He was born at Mosul and became a monk and was ordained a priest at St. Matthew's Monastery. He became a bishop of this monastery and was elevated to the Maphrianate of the East in 1687 and later to the office of the patriarchate in 1709 and was named Ignatius. He resigned his position because of old age in 1724. He was an energetic church dignitary who performed good deeds.[1] While still a Maphryono before 1699, he wrote a little book in fifteen chapters,[2] on Syriac etymology and derivatives.

280. The Priest John of Basibrina (d. 1729)

John was the son of the priest ʿAziz, son of the priest Isaiah, nicknamed Qardash the Qalanzi by origin, but was born and raised in Basibrina. He studied under masters of his time and was ordained a priest in 1702. He died in 1729. He composed two rhymed odes, the first in the dodecasyllabic meter on prayer;[3] the second, in the heptasyllabic meter, on the invasion of Tur ʿAbdin in October, 1714.[4] His verse is of mediocre quality.

281. Maphryono Simon (d. 1740)

Mar Basilius Simon, son of Malke of Manʿim, was a unique learned man of his time. He became a monk at a monastery in Tur ʿAbdin before 1695 and was ordained a priest. Because of his ascetic and virtuous life, he was consecrated a Maphryono for Tur ʿAbdin in 1710 under the name Basilius. In the following year he returned to his ascetical life and worship. About 1727, he resumed the administration of his diocese until he was killed by the tyrant

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[1] We wrote his biography in *al-Majalla al-Baṭriyarkiyya* (*The Patriarchal Magazine*), 5: 250.

[2] MSS. at Midyat, Mosul and Birmingham 238 dated 1772. There is a very short book of etymology by Cyril Rizq, son of the Chorepiscopus Matthew, bishop of Mosul (d. 1772). We found three copies of this etymology in Mosul and in Paris MS. 300 as well as in Berlin.

[3] MS. at Meddo, Jerusalem MSS. 158 and 162 and MS. at Mar Eugene Monastery.

[4] MSS. at our library and at Meddo.

ʿAbdal Agha the Kurd on April 6, 1740. He died a martyr for his religion and canon law.[1] He was a good church father who mastered the Syriac language in which he wrote and composed poetry. His poetry is clear and pleasant. He also obtained a fair knowledge of religious sciences by reading the books of the church learned men. Following are his books:

1. *Theology*, in twelve parts, each divided into ten chapters written in eloquent language. It discusses the Trinity and the unity of God, the procession of the Holy Spirit, the Incarnation, the Nativity, the Redemption, the refutation of purgatory, the end of the world, the resurrection, eternal bliss and hell. He finished it on July 15, 1719. It consists of three hundred seventeen pages. We found a copy of it in his neat handwriting at the Mar Eugene Monastery.[2]

2. *The Chariot of Mysteries*, eight treatises, on the intellect, an interpretation of the cherubim chariot which Ezekiel saw, the creation of the world, angels, devils and Adam and the benefit we gained from the Incarnation of Christ, resurrection, the kingdom of heaven and hell.[3]

3. *Silāḥ al-Dīn wa Turs al-Yaqīn* (*The Armor of Religion and the Shield of Conviction*), in sixteen parts, on the Holy Trinity, Incarnation, that faith cannot be obtained through knowledge, a refutation of purgatory, a refutation of those who maintain that punishment and reward apply only to the soul and not the body, on repentance and on leavened bread for Communion. This book contains some weak and refutable ideas.[4]

4. Discourses or homilies on the interpretation of the wings of the seraphim, the talents, the last farthing, the Lord's prayers, as well as a refutation of purgatory and the end of the world. These discourses consist of one hundred eighty pages.[5]

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[1] We wrote his biography in *al-Majalla al-Baṭriayrkiyya* (*The Patriarchal Magazine*), 6: 23-30.

[2] MSS. at the village of Tamars and at our library.

[3] He finished this book in 1727 or 1729 in Syriac, but we could not find a copy of it.

[4] It is said that he wrote this book in Syriac and then translated it into Arabic in 1723. It is also reported that he wrote the original in Arabic.

[5] MS. at the village of Karboran (in Tur ʿAbdin) dated 1733 and MSS. at the village Bati and at our library.

5. An anthology containing many odes in the three meters (the five, seven and twelve syllabic meters) most of which are of excellent quality with only some of mediocre quality. Of these we found more than one hundred fifteen odes, the most famous of which is his lengthy ode beginning thus: "Lord who through His Son created the world from nothing."[1] The second famous ode is a rhymed one beginning thus: "The Father is light, the Son is light and the Spirit is light."[2] The anthology also contains fine and pleasant pieces[3] and a metrical discourse on repentance in the melody of *Qum Phawlos*.[4]

6. An abridgement of Bar Bahlul's lexicon, made in 1724.[5]

7. Thirty-six homilies written in poor and ungrammatical Arabic.[6] Nevertheless, some of his contemporaries translated his first two books.[7]

282. Chorepiscopus ʿAbd Yeshuʿ of Quṣur (1750)

ʿAbd Yeshuʿ was the son of Niʿmat Allah. He was born at the village Quṣur and studied the Syriac language and mastered its calligraphy. In 1718 he was ordained a priest for Diyarbakir and a chorepiscopus in 1738. He died after 1751. He composed six rhymed odes in the heptasyllabic meter in praise of some dignitaries of his time. In the first ode, which he composed in 1713 while still a deacon, he praised the achievements of the Patriarch George II.[8] In another ode he eulogized the two martyrs

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[1] MS. at Meddo and Birmingham MS. 26.

[2] MS. at Meddo, Birmingham MSS. 26 and 404, Cambridge MS. 2026 and MS. at the Edessene library.

[3] Jerusalem MSS. 161, 162 and 163, Zaʿfaran MS. 44, Sharfeh MS. 8-19 and Berlin MS, pp. 520 and 590 of the index. He also composed a *sughitho* in October, 1702.

[4] Nineteen lines at Mar Eugene Monastery and MS. at our library.

[5] MS. at Tamars dated 1819, MS. at Arbo, MS. at our library, Berlin (Sachau) MS. 137, Birmingham MS. 496 and the Brit. Mus. MS. 4097.

[6] MSS. at Arbo, Mar Elijah Monastery and Berlin MS. 259.

[7] The translation of the book of *Theology* is to be found in Paris MS. 327, *The Chariot of Mysteries* in Cambridge MS. 202 and *Silāḥ al-Dīn* is in Berlin, p. 791 of the index. Other copies are in the libraries of the East.

[8] Birmingham MS.

Maphryono Simon and Metropolitan Rizq Allah.[1] His verse is good but involved in some parts.

283. The Monk ʿAbd al-Nur of Amid (d. 1755)

Monk ʿAbd al-Nur, son of Niʿmat Allah of Amid, became a monk at Mar Malke's Monastery in Tur ʿAbdin in 1700. After his ordination as a priest he traveled the countries, reaching Rome and Paris. He returned from his trip and resided at the Zaʿfaran Monastery and for sometime at Mar Jacob Monastery (from 1722 till his death in 1755). He had a good knowledge of Syriac and a mediocre knowledge of Arabic. He translated into Arabic Bar Ṣalibi's *scholia* on the Gospel and the book entitled *The Cause of all Causes* and Bar Kepha's *A Commentary on the Mysteries*, *The Ranks of Angels* and *On Paradise.*[2] His translation is partly good and partly poor. But the handwriting in which he transcribed many manuscripts is good.[3]

284. Maphryono Shukr Allah of Aleppo (d. 1764)

Maphryono Shukr Allah was the son of the Deacon Moses al-Qaṣabji. He was born at Aleppo in which he also studied Syriac, becoming proficient in it and in Arabic, though not excelling in it. He also studied religious sciences, became a monk and later was ordained a priest. He was consecrated a Maphryono for Malabar in India in 1748 under the name Basilius. He died in Malabar in 1764. He was of commendable deeds and character. His general knowledge was extensive. In 1751, he wrote his journey to Malabar in Syriac, consisting of eleven pages, which we have published.[4] He also wrote in Arabic a good book on the catechism.[5]

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[1] MS. at our library.

[2] MS. at Midyat.

[3] His translations and transcriptions are found at the Zaʿfaran library.

[4] *Al-Majalla al-Baṭriyarkiyya* (*The Patriarchal Magazine*), 7: 125-133.

[5] MSS. at the town of ʿAqr [ʿAqra] in Iraq, Qalʿat al-Imra'a and at our library.

285. Chorepiscopus Jacob of Quṭrubul (d. 1783)

Chorepiscopus Jacob was the son of Deacon Thomas known as Ibn al-Khawaja. He was born at Quṭrubul, a village of Amid. He studied Syriac under masters of his time and mastered its fundamentals and literature. He was ordained a deacon and later an archdeacon. In about 1771, he was ordained a priest and eight years later he became a chorepiscopus. He died in 1783. In 1764, he wrote a book on Syriac etymology, entitled *The Rose of Learning*. It consists of three hundred seventy-eight large size pages, divided into twenty-three parts, which in turn are subdivided into one hundred sixty-three chapters. It was studied by both students and teachers. Its original copy in his own handwriting is at Diyarbakir.[1] From it he abridged a book on conjugation.[2] Furthermore, he composed three fine rhymed odes, one of them in the heptasyllabic meter on the Trinity and the unity of God, arranged according to the alphabet. The second covered five pages on divine wisdom in the dodecasyllabic meter. It contains some good verse and is appended to the book of his work.[3] The third consists of eighteen lines in which he laments the decline of learning among the later Syrians.[4] In 1766, he composed the obligatory prayer and five *ḥusoyos* for the festival of Mar Malke, written in his very beautiful handwriting. They are extant at the Church of Diyarbakir. His composition is efficient but it is marred by complexity and his frequent use of Greek terms, which appear incongruous.

286. Metropolitan Jacob Mirijan (d. 1804)

Metropolitan Jacob Mirijan was born at the village ʿUrnus. He became a monk in a monastery in his native country and was ordained a priest. About 1778, he was consecrated a bishop and headed the diocese of Midyat. He died in 1804. I have read eleven odes composed by him in the three meters (the five, seven and dodecasyllabic meters) on repentance, on the vicissitudes of his

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[1] A copy of it is at Birmingham MS. 113 dated 1795.

[2] Berlin MS. 93, Jerusalem MSS. 225 and 226, MS. at our library and at the Sayyida Monastery MSS. 298, 299 and 300.

[3] MS. at our library.

[4] *Ibid.*

time and on the two righteous men Job and Joseph. These odes are partly good and partly poor.[1]

287. Bishop John al-Bustani of Manʿim (d. 1825)

Bishop John was the son of the priest ʿAbd Allah, known as Ibn al-Bustani. He was born at Manʿim and studied under masters in his native country and was ordained a priest. After he became a widower he was consecrated a bishop in 1783 under the name Severus. For a time he resided at the villages of Arbo and later Ḥbob which became his diocese. He was a pious, God-fearing man who loved the poor. He died after August 11, 1825. He composed four odes consisting of forty-five pages, two of them in the hepta-syllabic meter. One of them, which he composed while still young, is on repentance. It is arranged according to the alphabet, six lines for each letter. He also commented on it.[2] The second ode is in the form of a dialogue between wisdom and the composer.[3] The other two odes are in the dodecasyllabic meter. One of them, his best, is a lengthy but fine ode on divine wisdom. He called it *The Cream of Wisdom*. It begins thus, "Delightful sun which has illuminated our land by its light."[4] The other one which he composed in his youth is on repentance. It contains marginal notes explaining the strange terms in it.[5] He also composed a piece on the conflict between the soul and the body.[6] His verse is generally good and only occasionally poor.

288. George, bishop of Azekh (d. 1847)

Bishop George was a priest of the church of Azekh in 1832. After he became a widower he became a monk at the Zaʿfaran Monastery. In 1842, he was consecrated a bishop for Azekh under the name Cyril, to assist his brother Yeshuʿ, metropolitan of the

[1] Most of these odes are in the Jerusalem MS. 161. The others are at Meddo and Arbo. One ode is in the Paris MS. 377.

[2] MS. at Badabba.

[3] MS. at Mar Malke Monastery.

[4] MSS. at Qarṭmin Monastery, Azekh, Kafra and at our library.

[5] MS. at Mar Malke Monastery.

[6] MS. at Kafra.

Jazira. Five years later he was treacherously and perfidiously murdered by the governor of the Jazira, Badr Khan Beg the Bakhti. He, may God have mercy on him, was a virtuous man. With his knowledge of Syriac, he composed an ode in the heptasyllabic meter on the invasion of Muhammad Pasha of Rowanduz of his country.[1] It is also reported that he composed two lines of verse describing the water pipe.

289. Metropolitan Zaytun of Anḥil (d. 1855)

Metropolitan Zaytun was born at the village Anḥil in Tur ʿAbdin. He studied under teachers of his time, particularly the Metropolitan ʿAbd al-Nur of Arbo. He also acquired a fair knowledge of literature, church rituals and calligraphy. He became a monk and was ordained a priest at the Qarṭmin Monastery. In 1848 he was consecrated a metropolitan under the name Philoxenus and in 1851 he headed the diocese of Midyat. He died, a middle-aged man, in April 1855. He was a pious and venerable person. While still a monk, he composed an excellent ode comprising one hundred twenty-two lines in the dodecasyllabic meter praising the virtues of St. Gabriel of Qarṭmin.[2] While in Paris, I read an ode on St. Philoxenus of Mabug. Although some of its lines are poor, I think it is the composition of our Metropolitan Zaytun.[3]

290. Chorepiscopus Matthew Konat (d. 1927)

Chorepiscopus Konat was born at Pampakuda in Malabar, India, in 1860. He studied the Syriac language and religious sciences under some of his relatives. In 1883, he was ordained a priest and began teaching at the seminary in Kottayam. Then he established and operated a small seminary in his own village, from which a group of priests graduated. In 1926, he became a chorepiscopus and died in 1927.

Chorepiscopus Konat wrote a book on church festivities and letters. He translated from Syriac into Malayalam, chapters from Bar Ṣalibi's *Scholia* on the Gospel according to St. Matthew, the

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[1] MSS. at Mar Eugene and at our library.

[2] Berlin (Sachau) MS. 192.

[3] Paris MS. 377.

Nomocanon by Bar Hebraeus, the *New Testament* (except Revelation) which was published in 1936 and a selection of church rituals and hymns. Furthermore, he published the *shḥimo* (*Regular Weekday Service Book of Prayers*), some anaphoras, the service of deacons, the orders of baptism, marriage and funerals as well as the service book for principal feasts and the service book for the Week of the Passion.

291. Deacon Na"um Fa'iq (d. 1930)

Deacon Na"um was the son of Elias Palakh. He was born at Diyarbakir in 1868, where he studied and mastered the Syriac language, which he became greatly fond of. He also mastered the Turkish language. In 1889, he was ordained a deacon and for twenty years taught in the school at Diyarbakir. In 1912 he immigrated to the United States and resided at West New York, New Jersey. He died on February 5, 1930. We have read twenty lines of his verses which are a translation of some of the *Ruba'iyyat* (*Quatrains*) of 'Umar-i-Khayyam into Syriac.[1] He composed a rhymed song in the heptasyllabic meter on Beth Nahrin. He also compiled some Arabic and Turkish anthologies.

292. The Priest Ya'qub Saka (d. 1931)

Ya'qub was the son of Buṭrus (Peter), son of the Deacon Saka (Isaac). He was born at Barṭelli in 1864 and studied under some of his contemporaries, especially the Chaldean Chorepiscopus Buṭrus of Karmlays. He became well versed in etymology. He was ordained a deacon in 1906 and taught at the school of his village as well as at the school of St. Matthew's monastery. He became a priest in 1929 and died in April, 1931.

He was proficient in composing poetry and his early poems show the influence of old poets. However, his themes were restricted to friendship, congratulations, praise and eulogies. He also wrote an ode on divine wisdom. His verse would have been more pleasant if he had not adhered tenaciously to using rhyme. He

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[1] See Murad Chiqqi, *Na"um Fa'iq* (1936), 300-304.

composed an anthology comprising two hundred pages. This anthology survives in two copies.[1]

[1] MS. at our library and MS. at Barṭelli.

Epilogue

PART I

On Orientalists and Oriental Writers who Published Syriac Books

The first European who served our Syriac language and who had a knowledge of it was the Minister John Albertus Widmanstadius the Austrian, through whose effort Ferdinand I, Emperor of Rome [sic], Germany, Hungary, and Bohemia (1555-1564) offered a handsome sum of money to the Syrian Metropolitan Moses al-Ṣawri to publish the New Testament in 1555.

The first Orientalist learned man who studied it was, we think, Andreas Masius (d. 1573) who translated *The Book of Paradise* by Moses Bar Kepha into Latin and published it in 1569. But the first Orientalist who recognized its excellence and treasurers was the French priest Eusèbe Renaudot (1646-1721), who translated thirty-seven liturgies into Latin and published the translation in 1716.[1]

In 1719-1728, the Maronite Metropolitan Joseph Simʿan al-Simʿani (Joseph Assemani) wrote his famous work entitled *Bibliotheca Orientalis* in four volumes in Latin and published it in Rome. He incorporated the biographies of Syrian learned men into it, regardless of their denomination and also included detailed Syriac and Arabic texts. Thus he stimulated and directed scholars to the place of these men of learning. But if he had kept his pen from extreme doctrinal criticism which reached the point of defamation, it would have been more commendable and appropriate to a man of his scholarly stature. Assemani's work was abridged, edited and published by Gustav Bickell in 1871. The French priest Jean Chabot stated:

> After contemplating the Syriac manuscripts which Renaudot had prepared for publication but were not

[1] We mentioned above that Renaudot published the text as well as the translation of these liturgies. But the truth is that he published both the texts and their translation.

> published and remained in their original state at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, we come to the conclusion that Renaudot was more learned and well versed in Syriac studies than Assemani who died in 1768.[1]

A group of European learned men devoted their effort to the study of Syriac. They published what they desired of the writings of its learned men and translated them into Latin, French, German, English and Italian. Only two books were translated into Russian. Most of these writings were published in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. These Orientalists represent different nationalities. Some of them translated many manuscripts, while others translated only a very few.

[Barṣoum lists here the names of about 100 Orientalists and ten or so Eastern scholars who published Syriac texts. (tr.)]

[1] J. B. Chabot, *La Littérature Syriaque* (Paris, 1934), 10.

PART II

On The Incoherence of Some Orientalists and Their False Charges Against Our Learned Men and Their Refutation

Although we recognize the excellence of Orientalists, their industry, effort and adroitness in studying our Syriac sciences and literature as well as the manuscripts which they edited or translated into their living languages, we find it imperative to allude to the incoherence of some of them and their false charges against our learned men or against historical facts connected with our dear country. They were motivated either by pride in their learning and skill, or vanity, or for extremism in their modern principles and their attempt to subjugate the learned men of ancient times to modern criteria, an unfair practice. Or, they do so for negligence in investigations or even still out of great prejudice toward the Syrian Orthodox. As learned men, they should avoid such prejudice. Following are some examples:

1. William Wright, the Englishman, claimed that: "the literature of Syria is, on the whole, not an attractive one. As Renan (the French atheist and free thinker) said, 'The Syrians shone neither in war, nor in the arts, nor in science.' There was no al-Farabi, Ibn Sina, nor Ibn Rushd, in the cloisters of Edessa, Ken-neshre, or Nisibis. The Syrian church never produced men who rose to the level of a Eusebius, a Gregory Nazianzen, a Basil, or a Chrysostom and that their historians John of Ephesus, Tell Maḥre and Bar Hebraeus are humble chroniclers."[1]

We refute this allegation by stating that when the Syrians became Christians they did not have a kingdom to defend and for which they would write select speeches or compose fiery poems. If by art Wright and Renan meant architecture, our surviving ancient churches stand as a testimony for the Syrians' skill in architecture.

[1] William Wright, *A Short History of Syriac Literature* (London, 1894), 1-2.

Of course, Renan and Wright have not seen the monasteries of Qarṭmin, Salaḥ, Mar Bahnam and the churches of Ḥaḥ, ʿUrnus and Kfarze, particularly the two churches of Edessa considered by the geographers and historians as two of the wonders of the world.[1] They did not see the churches in Baghdad which were adorned with wonderful pictures and ornaments and which became the attractions of visitors from far-away countries.[2] Neither did they see the Monastery of Mar Barṣoum in Melitene for whose building and decoration the Patriarchs, especially Michael the Great, spent a great deal of effort.[3] And could these two men realize the condition of the twenty thousand of our churches which survived until 1236 or Mar Barṣoum Church in Sis voluntarily built by the Edessene physician ʿIsa about 1244,[4] let alone the churches we had in our golden age?[5] And if they meant by art the mastery of pictorial art, they failed to know about the precious gold and silver objects and the magnificent embroidered vestments described by the priest Aaron of Arzenjān about 1364 and which is only a small part of that great legacy. How could they forget the splendid ornaments and pictures which enhanced the value of the copies of our Gospels? Or how could they overlook the calligraphy of our manuscripts which they saw and which have achieved a universal record in perfection and beauty? If they mean by art, sculpture in which the Romans and the Italians alone have excelled, then, the Syrians as well as other nations such as the English and the French, are to blame for not taking it up.

Wright's claim that our histories are of little substance and benefit is refuted by the consensus of the Orientalists who studied and published these histories and stated that their writers have preceded the Christian historians of ancient and medieval times and that they are most comprehensive and beneficial for the historian. These histories, consisting of no fewer than seventeen

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[1] *The Chronicle of the Edessene*, 1: 179, *al-Masālik wa al-Mamālik* by Ibn Khurradadhbih, 161, Ibn Ḥawqal, 154, and *Aḥsan al-Taqāsīm* by Abu ʿAbd Allah al-Muqaddasi al-Bishari, 141.

[2] *Muʿjam al-Buldān*, by Yaqūt, 4: 141.

[3] *The Chronicle of the Edessene*, 2: 314-15

[4] Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 479.

[5] See the letter of Cyril III in a reply to Ignatius III at the library of the Coptic Patriarchate and at our library.

volumes, have added new chapters to world history and corrected old mistakes.[1] Indeed, Wright himself has not read the histories of Michael the Great and the anonymous Edessene. Even the writer to whom he attributed the history of Tell Maḥre was written by a monk from the Zuqnin Monastery. And if this is what Wright thinks of our histories, why does he regret the loss of the histories of Jacob of Edessa and Moses Bar Kepha? Furthermore, could he show us what histories are better and more comprehensive than ours? Have European historians of various nationalities written before later times? Is there anything found in their histories until the Crusades except insignificant subject matter?

Wright's claim that our church did not produce the likes of Eusebius and other writers whom he mentioned is to be refuted by the opinions of authoritative critics. These critics said that although Eusebius's fame derives from his history, yet he was neither a great historian nor a genius; he was a proficient and thorough compiler. His history, they say, is weak and his style is aesthetically poor.[2] Furthermore, we recognize that Gregory Nazianzen derives his fame from his charming discourses and wonderful poetry. And Basilius is famous because of his theological writings, letters and discourses of skillful composition. Although these two writers have excellence reserved to geniuses alone, yet they were not the only ones in the world whom no one could emulate. Indeed, the writings of Ephraim, Jacob of Sarug, Philoxenus of Mabug, Jacob of Edessa, Moses Bar Kepha, and Bar Hebraeus, not only equal their writings but even surpass them except for the writings of Chrysostom, the prince of orators in Christendom. I do not know whether Wright had the chance to read the superb homilies of Ephraim in order to see whether they would fascinate him. We do not want to argue with him over the writings of Severus of Antioch in Greek although they reached the world in our tongue (Syriac) and astonished eminent speculative thinkers. Regarding philosophy, how could Wright designate the excellence of Sergius of Rish ʿAyna and the philosophers of the Monastery of Qenneshrin like Severus Sabukht, Jacob of Edessa and George,

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[1] Chabot, p. 159.

[2] Pierre Batiffal, *La Littérature Grecque* (Paris, 1901), 205 and 207, Tixeront, *Compendium of the Patrologia* (1920), 245-247 and Bardy, *Littérature Grecque* (1928), 103.

bishop of the Arabs, to whose thorough commentaries Renan himself has directed the attention of writers, let alone Bar Hebraeus whose book, *The Cream of Wisdom*, Wright did not see because no copy of it was available in all the European libraries at that time.

On the other hand, it was not easy for the Syrians in the fourth century to get to the schools of Caesarea, Cappadocia, Alexandria, and Athens. But when the circumstances were more propitious, from the end of the sixth to the end of the ninth centuries, during which they built great monasteries and exhausted their efforts for the attainment of philosophy, the masterpieces of Greek learned men became available to them. They studied them and were even sought for their proficiency in philosophy. How could Wright then deny their genius? Finally, if we did not have the likes of the eminent learned men whom he mentioned, did the rest of the Christian nation have men like them? It is proved that the opponent who did not thoroughly study the writings of our people has produced only a feebie and unsuccessful opinion which is rejected by European historians themselves.

2. You have already seen what we have related about Chabot's opinions. While Chabot denied the creativity of Bar Hebraeus[1] we find that he himself has become a slave of uncreativity by imitating those writers who preceded him, like Duval. However, Baumstark and Sprengling hold a different opinion of Bar Hebraeus. Part of Chabot's incoherence is his claim that Syrian poets after the ninth century became greatly absorbed in using strange and ornamental usages in their language to vie with the Arabic language. This, he maintains, spoiled their poetry, which thus lost charm and lofty thinking. This opinion does not apply to the Western Syrians with the exception of Jacob of Barṭelli and except for the composers of verse in the middle of the fifteenth century as we have previously stated. Prior to Jacob of Barṭelli our verse composers excelled in composing most beautiful poems. What led Chabot to this erroneous impression is his unawareness of the odes of Bar Qiqi, Bar Ṣabuni and his overlooking of the odes of Timothy of Karkar, Bar Andrew, Abu Naṣr of Barṭelli, and others. One of his arbitrary opinions is his doubt about the discourses of Moses Bar Kepha although they were preserved in a manuscript available in his time.

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[1] J. B. Chabot, *La Littérature Syriaque* (Paris, 1934), 133.

As a learned man, it would have been more appropriate for him to avoid sectarian backbiting,[1] ingratitude,[2] and the slightest mistakes.[3]

3. Most of the Orientalists including Anton Baumstark, the German, claim that the story of the martyr Bahnam is fictitious. They even denied the existence of some saints or their stories. Their pretext is that no manuscripts about them have survived. This is the utmost arbitrariness since these Orientalists have become certain of the loss of many manuscripts. Furthermore, ecclesiastical histories no matter how detailed, were not able to include the biographies of the multitudes of the select men of God in the far-flung countries of the East. The just critic should not expect the biographers of these saints to be proficient in the science of criticism, for he who attempts such a thing is in fact seeking the impossible. And how many a historical event was doubted by some of them, but later was proved to be authentic by a newly discovered old manuscript which forces the Orientalist to affirm its authenticity. If for some selfish purpose or lack of subject matter or inadequate learning a writer or a parasitical scribe interpolated a story which does not correspond with the true condition or time of its central figure, it should not be used as a pretext to deny the whole story. For it should not be difficult for the prudent and intelligent writer to sift out the interpolations made by ignorant writers or scribes and realize that what remains

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[1] Chabot, p. 85.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 60.

[3] Such as placing the Zuqnin Monastery in Tur ʿAbdin and Fsilta Monastery in Mount Izla. Also his claim that the village of Harkel is identical with the city Heraclea, that Daniel of Ṣalaḥ was from the village Ṣalaḥ and that the compendium of his commentary was written in the tenth century, that the metrical story of Basus was composed in the twelfth century, that the date of the death of Bar Shumanna is 1172, that the date of the Maphrianate of Bar Maʿdani is 1348 and that the history of Ignatius of Melitene ends with 1118. See Chabot, *ibid.*, 21, 68, 89, 122, 126 and 130. The correct information is that Zuqnin is in Amid, Fsilta is near Tella, Harkel is a village in Palestine, Daniel of Ṣalaḥ is named after Ṣalaḥiyya and that the compendium of his commentary was made in the fifteenth century, that the metrical story of Basus was composed in the fifteenth century, that Bar Shumanna died in 1169, Bar Maʿdani was consecrated a Maphryono in 1231 and that the history of Ignatius of Melitene ends in 1095.

of the original should be invulnerable. Moreover, the science of criticism is not the invention of contemporary European writers nor is it completely theirs. If you read some of the letters of Jacob of Edessa and George, bishop of the Arabs, you will find in them scientific criticism and thorough examination of ancient events since the beginning of Christianity. We do not boast if we state that four years after comprehensive study of our language, we obviously realized many historical facts in the manuscripts which we had read before the Orientalists produced their opinions about them.

4. Part of the incoherence of the French priest François Nau is that he thought that John of Ephesus exaggerated his praise of the heroism of the captives and martyr virgins who preferred to drown in the river Khabur than fall into the hands of the infidel Magi, for adherence to their religion and for the protection of their virginity, both of which deserve to be protected by precious life. Nau has falsely and shamelessly described the writer (John of Ephesus) as a "semi-savage monk,"[1] claiming that he has exalted suicide. But Nau has blindly overlooked Basilius and St. John Chrysostom's exaltation of the martyrs of religion and virginity, Proedeci and Domnina of Antioch and their daughters. Is it not proper for John of Ephesus to have found an example in the martyrdom of these women?

5. Henri Pognon has unjustly accused Michael the Great of prattle and lack of understanding.[2] Indeed, it is a silly accusation, demonstrating the arrogance and error of the writer. Elaboration in the writing of history is commendable and is not considered prattling except by a raving chatterbox. The history of Michael the Great, for whose publication learned men have vied and for whose printing the Art University of Paris spent a substantial amount of money, is a rare treasure not to be denigrated by the few events copied by the author from weak sources and from which other histories are not free. No one can criticize this history whose author is an eminent church dignitary, unless he is of little understanding. But Pognon, in his shortsightedness, has imagined that there was a discrepancy in Michael's list of bishops. His pretext is that the author has neglected to mention eight out of

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[1] See his historical tract on the Qarṭmin Monastery (1915), 5.

[2] Henri Pognon, *Inscriptions Semitique de la Syrie* (1907), 47, footnote 1.

twenty-eight bishops who attended his consecration as Patriarch in 1166. In fact, four of these bishops were consecrated by Maphryonos of the East and the rest are not known. These four bishops are Basil, John, Ignatius and John, bishops of Edessa, Mar Gabriel's Monastery, Albira and Baremmana, respectively.[1] His claim is refuted by the fact that Basil is Bar Shumanna, bishop of Kesum, who was transferred to Edessa and the fact that John is the bishop of Tur ʿAbdin mentioned in the Basibrina *Book of Life* by his nephew Gabriel, Pognon should have called him the bishop of Qarṭmin. Furthermore, Ignatius was bishop of Tell Arsanius, which then included the adjacent diocese of Albira, John was bishop of Sibaberk and was ordained in 1135. After his diocese was annexed to that of Edessa in 1155,[2] he was given the diocese of Baremmana. All of these bishops were listed as bishops under the Patriarchs John XI and Athanasius VII. Moreover, we have collated the list of bishops with the copy at Cambridge and with our comments which we derived from the oldest manuscripts and did not add to it except for five bishops. And what is this number in comparison with nine hundred-fifty bishops? This is sufficient to prove the falsehood of Pognon's assertions. What makes him look even more deficient in the science of history is his claim:

1) that Mar Gabriel's Monastery was called the "ʿUmar" Monastery because its abbot obtained a decree from the Caliph ʿUmar Ibn al-Khattab, authorizing him to be in charge of the Christians in that country.[3] In fact, the Caliph ʿUmar did not travel beyond Damascus, Gabriel did not leave Tur ʿAbdin and these two men did not meet at all. Moreover, the right word is *ʿUmr*, meaning a monastery in both Arabic and Syriac and not ʿUmar.

2) Pognon claimed that the Monastery of the Pillar, renovated by Moses Ibn Ḥamdan in 1257, is at al-Raqqa, that the village of Dirah Elijah is the village of Anḥil in Tur ʿAbdin and that the Maphryono Dioscorus is an Arab.[4] The truth is that the monastery is that of St. Michael in Mardin, that the village Dirah Elijah is very near to that city and that Maphryono Dioscorus belongs to the village ʾArbo in Tur ʿAbdin.

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[1] *Ibid.*

[2] *The Chronicle of the Edessene*, 2: 323.

[3] Pognon, *ibid.*, 39.

[4] *Ibid.*, 188, 189 and 134.

3) A copy of the *Book of Life* fell into Pognon's hand, but he could not know its name. However, he drew from it an historical event about the pillage of Mar Gabriel's Monastery by the Turks or the Persians in 1100. But he became suspicious about this incident because Ibn al-Athir did not mention it.[1] As if Ibn al-Athir covered in his history everything that befell the East particularly the affairs of the Christians and their monasteries. When were Muslim historians concerned about the affairs of the Christians?[2]

6. Some Orientalists, like the French Rubens Duval, in his book *La Histoire d'Edessa* and Jerome Labourt, in his book *Le christianisme dans l'empire Perse sous la dynasti Sassanids*, have been criticized for denying the Christianization of the city of Edessa before the fourth century. Apparently, they found in the *Doctrine of Addai* interpolations made by some scribes which made them quick to deny the truth about the conversion of Edessa to Christianity. Labourt has even maliciously denigrated the historical integrity of Bar Hebraeus while he has fearlessly declared his bias against the opponents of his own doctrine.[3]

7. At the beginning the Orientalists made many mistakes. For example, they confused Isaac with Balai and considered Daniel of Ṣalaḥ an eighth-century learned man and David Bar Paul a thirteenth-century writer and incorrectly determined their affairs and dates. Most of them imitated Assemani even in his harsh defamation of our learned men.[4] Furthermore, the priest Gabriel Cardahi, who in his *Liber Thesaurus* provided a hodgepodge of biographies which he fabricated and garnished in his younger days,

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[1] *Ibid.*, 50.

[2] Pognon also held as truthful a false episode about the Patriarch Isma'il (d. 1366), which he received orally from ordinary ignorant people, regarding the conversion of the Maḥelmoye clans to Islam, an event which does not extend beyond the third decade of the seventeenth century, that is 250 years after the time of Ismail. See Pognon, 63, footnote 1. 27.

[3] J. Labourt, pp. 148, 149, 153, 191 and 219. [the author gives no quotation of Duval. (tr.)]

[4] See Wright, p. 76. [This translator has carefully checked p. 76 of William Wright's book, but could not find any information corresponding to what Barṣoum has stated in the text. (tr.)]

did not even think of correcting his mistakes later.[1] Baumstark's misunderstanding of the term Siluba has already been mentioned.[2] In fact, Siluba was a term used by Western Syrian writers, but it was neglected later.[3] Like Baumstark, Mingana made this same mistake.[4] He also misunderstood the meaning of the term *Noṭar tarʿo*, meaning the head of a diocese, a term which has been used in this context by our later transcribers. But Baumstark translated it as the doorkeeper.[5] Some Orientalists maintained that the term *Ṭubana* which occurred in the Lives of the Eastern Ascetics means *Tubawi* that is blessed, while in reality *Ṭubana* means ascetic, the same as *Ṭuraya* which occurred in the poems of St. Ephraim. There it means an ascetic and not mountain man, because many ascetics lived in cells in the mountains.

It should also be remembered that some Orientalists cannot read two pages of Syriac let alone write it, as we have found out ourselves. They do study it in a mechanical manner and with great patience and for this reason their translations could not be free from incongruous terms which disagree with the original.[6] It is obvious that the acquisition of the right meaning and the savoring of it are not afforded except to the natives and foreigners who are well versed in the language. It is not afforded to those who carry dictionaries under their arms which they consult in order to obtain the right meaning while they are not sure of what is wrong and what is right. We have not mentioned this to magnify the mistakes of Orientalists but to show that they do have weaknesses. Therefore, they have no right to be dogmatic on everything that comes to their mind, wrongly imagining that they are infallible. It is true that deliberation and moderation is the principle of scholars who possess independent judgment.

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[1] See his *Liber Thesaurus* (Rome, 1875). Cardahi was a grammarian and philologist, not an historian or a critic.

[2] Anton Baumstark, *Geschichte der Syrischen Literature* (Bonn, 1922), 294. See also above, p. 140.

[3] See *The Book of 'Rhetorics* by Antonius of Takrit, treatise 1, chapter 26.

[4] See the *Catalogue* of the Birmingham library, column 917.

[5] *Ibid.*, columns 670 and 672.

[6] Like F. Nau's mistranslation of *qātat* [the author does not give the Syriac form (tr.)] as 'someone who committed adultery'. See *Revue de l'Orient Chretien* 16: 3 (1911), 293-294.

What is appropriate to mention here is that some contemporary European writers[1] have attempted in their historical or religious writings to gain fame by defaming eminent (Syrian) writers. They are motivated by prejudice and vindictiveness against these Syrian learned men whose only fault is that they are not of their own theological doctrine. But they praise their contemporary European opponents, either out of flattery or out of fear of their adverse reaction. This is sheer hypocrisy. After all, what is the use of knowledge if it does not refine man to the point where he would refrain from profaning that which is sacred to other people. Above all they claim that they belong to an age which has achieved a great degree of refinement and civilization. Yet how ill their deeds and how false their words. For every just person of good taste knows that dignitaries and learned men, particularly the proficient among them, have an esteemed position for their virtue and for their role in enlightening the path for other people. Without these learned men we would, in many respects, be in complete darkness. On the other hand, we found a group of Orientalists who are moderate, like Brooks, Hayes, Sprengling, Graham, Mingana (at the end of his life) and Gustave Bardy.

May God have compassion on those who tell the truth and benefit people with their knowledge, using authentic evidence to support their views. This is more appropriate for them, more efficient in preventing shortcomings and achieving one's goal. May God enlighten us to acquire beneficial religious and secular knowledge. We pray to Him to keep us away from faults and errors and to guide the thoughtless and the irresponsible to the right path. He is defending us enough. We render Him deep gratitude as we finish this treatise.

[1] See Kugener's introduction to the seventy-seventh homily of Severus of Antioch, which he translated into French and published in the *Patrologia Orientalis* (1921) 767; Labour and J. Pargoire, *L'Église Byzantine* (Paris, 1905), 27, 28 and 29, and Jenine.

PART III

A TABLE OF FAMOUS CALLIGRAPHERS

The Fifth Century

Jacob in the city of Edessa	411
Samuel the ascetic*	—
Jonathan the ascetic*	—

* Both were at the Monastery of the Edessenes in Amid. Both became abbots of the Monastery of John the Orti in the first quarter of the fifth century.

Deacon Isaac of Edessa	462
Deacon John	464

The Sixth Century

The monk Jacob of Amid, in the Monastery of Fanʿūr	509
Cosmas the abbot	522
The monk John, from the vicinity of Antioch, in the Monastery of St. Eusib in Kafr al-Bira	535
Barlaha the Edessene, residing in Sirmin	552
The priest of Bishop John of Edessa	564-594
Deacon Thomas of the Gubba Baraya Monastery	584

The Seventh Century

The priest Sergius	—
Joseph of Dara	603
The monk Severus, scribe of the village of Dayr Kawkab Ḥīna	611
Theodorus, the Edessene scribe	683
St. Marutha, Maphryono of Takrit	d. 649
The priest Sarjuna, solitary of St. Eupros Monastery*	688

* This monastery is probably the one built at the gate of Antioch in the middle of the fourth century.

Jacob, the scribe of Mardin	692

Lazarus	—
Deacon David, son of the priest Denḥa of Arzun	—

The Eighth Century

John the ascetic	720
The deacon Saba, scribe of Rish ʿAyna	726
John of Qaṣiṭra Orim	736
The priest Anastasius of Amid	789
Comita	—

The Ninth Century

The deacon Abraham of Beth Ṣuryā	c. 800
The deacon George	804
Brother Charkhi	820
The monk Theodosius, from the Pillar Monastery	806
The priest Theodosius	801-830
Theodorus	823
Aaron al-Jazri of Dara	823
The deacon Addai of Amid	827
The priest Dioscorus	837
Arabi , metropolitan of Samosata, from the Qarqafta Monastery	839
The monk Ephraim, stylite ascetic in the province of Kafrtut near Zughma	845
The monk Ḥabib, the abbot of St. Quris, a monastery in the East established in the sixth century	—
The monk Severus, from St. Barbara Monastery in the mountain of Edessa	861
The priest Jacob of Balad	862
Severus of Manʿim	855-884
The monk-priest Job of Manʿim*	—
The monk-priest Ayyar of Manʿim*	—
The monks Simon, Yeshuʿ and ʿĀʾish*	—
* These three monks are calligrapher artists from the Kafrtina Monastery outside Ḥarran.	
Daniel Kundayraybi, the chief scribe of Tur ʿAbdin	—
The monk Simon from the Monastery of Solomon of Duluk	875
The monk-priest Jacob, son of Jonathan of Narsibad	877
Basīm	—
The monk John	—

The Tenth Century

The priest Ḥasan Thomas	913
The priest Stephen Matthew, from Qaryatayn	932
The deacon-monk David, from the village of Orin in the Jirān province	980
John	c. 990
The monk Gabriel, secretary of Patriarch Athanasius IV	994-999
Deacon Joseph of Melitene, the skillful artist	997
John of Basibrina, metropolitan of Qarṭmin	998-1043
The monk-priest John Saʿīd Killizī	1000
The monk Romanus, pupil of Patriarch Athanasius IV	1000
Abraham al-Furātī, from the Sarjisiyya Monastery	1000

The Eleventh Century

Matthew John of Takrit	—
The monk Thomas Joseph Madawwī	1002
The monk Yeshuʿ Andreas, from Ḥiṣn Ziyād	1007
The monk-priest Qasyān, from the Monastery of Ibn Jājī	1014
The monk-deacon Emmanuel of Basibrina, chief scribe of Tur ʿAbdin, from the Qarṭmin Monastery	1041
The monk-priest Peter*	—
The monk Yaʿīsh the artist*	—
* Brothers of the monk-deacon Emmanuel.	
The monk Ṣaliba, from the Cross Monastery	1015
Deacon Abraham	—
The priest Jacob	1024
Deacon Peter, son of the priest Gabriel, the martyr of Melitene	1055-1058
John Bar Shushan, Patriarch of Antioch	1058-1072
Deacon John, son of the priest Mawdyana of Melitene, from Bar Jaji Monastery	1061
Phelixene, metropolitan of Sijistān	1068
Constantine	—
Athanasius Barṣoum the scribe, grandson of Jesse, metropolitan of Edessa	1075-1100

The Twelfth Century

The ascetic priest Samuel Quryaqos in the Scete desert	1102

The monk Abraham, son of Paul Qazazi	1116
The monk-priest Kasrūn of Edessa, living in Maragha	1127-1139
Lazarus Saba of Basibrina	1133
Ignatius Romanus of Melitene, metropolitan of Jerusalem, from the Monastery of the Magdalene	1138-1183
The priest Yeshu' 'Abd al-Masiḥ of Edessa, from the Monastery of the Magdalene	1144
Dionysius Jacob Bar Ṣalibi	1148-1171
Ignatius Sohdo of Edessa, metropolitan of Jerusalem	1149-1207
Barṣoum	—
Basilius Fāris the Edessene, metropolitan of Edessa	1164-1204
The monk-priest Yeshu' from St. Abraham Monastery in Midyat, who may be Yeshu' the scribe, metropolitan of Ḥiṣn Ziyād	1165
Michael the Great, Patriarch of Antioch	1166-1199
Deacon Karīm Ḥūshāb, son of Wahab of Barṭelli at St. Thomas Church in Mosul	1168
The monk-priest 'Abd al-Masiḥ, from the Monastery of St. George in Mardin	1169
Ḥabīb of Ḥabsnas	1170
The priest Sa'īd Shamlī of Ḥiṣn Ziyad	1171
The monk Isaiah of Beth Khudayda, from St. Matthew Monastery and then from the Magdalene Monastery	1173
The priest Barṣoum, living in Ḥiṣn Ziyād	1173
The monk-priest Abu al-Faraj Ibn Abraham Ibn Abi Sa'īd of Amid, secretary of Michael the Great	1174-1206
The monk Bāsīl, son of Sa'īd Maqdisi of Edessa, from al-Bārid Monastery	1174
Bishop John David of Amid	1174-1203
Deacon Barṣoum of Beth Khudayda	1175
The monk Aaron, son of Sabrun, from the village of Kafryab	1177
The monk John Yeshu', son of the priest Romanus from Tell Arsanius, metropolitan of Ra'bān	1177-1210
The priest Daniel, son of Joseph of Baṣekhra	1177-1223
The monk-priest Simon of Ḥaḥ, from the Qarṭmin Monastery	1182-1205
The monk Abu Ṭāhir of Mosul, from the Monastery of St. Sarjis in the Barren Mountain	1188
The monk-priest Yeshu' Kiso, from the Monastery of Jacob, the doctor of the church	1188

Patriarch John XII, formerly Yeshuʿ the scribe	1191-1220
Simon Badibi	1194
The monk-priest Simon ʿĀʾish Mudawwi, from the Qarṭmin Monastery	1194
The monk Bahnam, pupil of John, metropolitan of Beth ʿArbaya	1194
The monk Yeshuʿ of Barṭelli	1196
Yeshuʿ of Midyat	—
The monk-priest Stephen from the Qarṭmin Monastery	c. 1200
Deacon Zʿura of Barṭelli	1200

The Thirteenth Century

The monk-priest Peter, son of Deacon Abu al-Faraj, of the Saba family of Basibrina	1201
The priest Emmanuel, brother of Peter	1202
The monk Theodorus of Ṣalaḥ	1203
The monk-priest Zebina of Shabaldīn	1208-1227
The monk-priest, son of Abraham of Arbo, from St. Sharbil Monastery at Kafr Shamiʿ	1210
Deacon Denḥa Maʿrūf, living in Sijistan	1210
The subdeacon Abraham of Ḥarran, from the Monastery of St. Jacob Nawawīs in the Edessa Mountain	1210
The priest Abraham, son of priest Joseph Bagdashi, from the Monastery of St. Dimet in Ṭibyāthā	1210
The monk Masʿūd Yalda Mawhūb	1212
The monk Bacchus Ṭawwaf of Beth Khudayda, in the Monastery of Ascetics in Edessa and later at the Scete	1213-1257
The monk Simon Shūlum of Arbo, from St. Malke Monastery	1214
Dionysius Ṣaliba of Kafrsalṭ, Maphryono of the East	1215-1231
The monk-priest David Ṣaliba of Ḥaḥ, from the Monastery of the Cross	1217
The deacon scribe Bāsīl, son of priest John of Melitene	1218-1224

The deacon or master Simon of Kafrsalṭ, from the Monastery of St. Sharbil in Kafrshami	1218
The monk Mubarak David of Barṭelli, from the Monastery of St. Matthew	1220-1239
The monk-priest Bahnam, known as Abu al-Ḥasan, son of priest Joseph Ibn Abi al-Faraj of Sijistan	1222-1254
The monk-priest Simon, from the Monastery of Jacob, the doctor of the church, in the Mountain of Edessa	1223
Dioscorus Theodorus, son of Priest Michael, son of Basil, metropolitan of Ḥiṣn Ziyad	1224-1273
The monk Sahdo Thomas of Tur ʿAbdin, from the Ṣalaḥ Monastery	1227-1241
Deacon Barṣoum John, the scribe and periodeutes of the church of Melitene	1229
The monk David Ḥalīm, from the Monastery of St. Daniel Jalshi	1230
Deacon Daniel of Duluk	1234
Isaac, from the Qaṭra Monastery	1235
George the monk	1242
Jacob, son of Maqdisi Solomon, from the village of Talqbāb near Mardin	1245
The priest Simon John of Barṭelli, minister of the church of the Takritians in Mosul	1246-1280
The monk Manṣūr of Bajbāra, from Muʿallaq Monastery in the Barren Mountain	1248
The monk Jacob, son of priest John Zabdiqi	1250
The monk ʿAziz, from the Monastery of St. Matthew	1264
The priest Joseph Khamis of Sinjar, from the Forty Martyrs Monastery in Barṭelli	1269
The priest Barṣoum	1269
Deacon John Saru of Barṭelli	1275-1292
Addai of Tur ʿAbdin	1280
The monk Simon Isaiah of Barṭelli, from The Monastery of St. Matthew	1280
John Bacchus of Barṭelli	1280
Deacon Abraham Job Dunaysari	1285
The monk-priest and ascetic Zakhi Ḥabbo Kanni, known as Abu Naṣr of Barṭelli	1290
Deacon ʿAbd Allah ʿAbdo of Barṭelli	1269-1345

The monk-priest Yeshuʿ, son of priest Barṣoum ʿArbāni	1298
Abu al-Ḥasan Ibn Abraham Ibn Maḥrūma of Mardin	1299

The Fourteenth Century

The priest Abraham, from the village of Bagdashiyya	1314
Deacon Masʿud Turkumani of Arbo	1314
The monk-priest Ṣaliba Khayrūn of Ḥaḥ	1323-1340
The monk-priest Yeshuʿ Khayrun of Ḥaḥ	1323-1235
The priest Gabriel, son of priest Sergius of Baqesyan	1324
The monk-priest John Isaiah of Barṭelli	1328
The monk-priest Yeshuʿ John Ballidari, pupil of the Khayrun brothers	1330
The monk Yeshuʿ, son of priest Aaron from the village of Shiʿb, from St. George Monastery	1332
Simon	—
Manṣūr	—
Joseph Sbāṭ of Amid	1352
The monk Joseph, from the Qaṭra Monastery	1354
The monk-priest Daniel of Mardin, the philosopher	1357-1382
The monk ʿIsa of Hattakh	1357
Dionysius Joseph Gharīb, metropolitan of Amid	1357-1375
The monk-priest Jacob, son of priest Bahnam of Manʿim, from the Monastery of Scete	1382-1404
Patriarch Phelixene II	1382-1421
Priest David Ibn Abu al-Munā of Qellith	1389
The monk Abraham of Ḥaḥ	1389

The Fifteenth Century

Deacon David Joseph, son of Lazarus the Egyptian Syrian	1403
Patriarch Basilius Simon Zwida of Manʿim	1421-1444
Patriarch Bahnam of Ḥidl	1425
The monk-priest Mubarak of Amid, from the Monastery of St. Ḥananya	1420-1425
Deacon-monk Simon Mubārak of Manṣūra	1436
The priest-monk Yeshuʿ Kughaym Basibrina	1439-1492
The monk Joseph, from the Qaṭra Monastery	1443
The priest John Sulaymān Masʿūd, from Qaryatayn	1446

The monk-priest Joseph, son of priest Ṣaliba of ʿUrnus	1457-1459
The monk-priest David ʿAbd al-Karīm of Ḥomṣ	1461-1492
Cyril Qufir, son of Benjamin Kafri, metropolitan of Karkar	1464-1468
The monk-priest Bahnam, son of priest Saba of Midyat	1465-1473
The priest Zakhi Gabriel of Ḥiṣn Kifa	1464
The monk-priest Abraham Bahnam Zunbur of Basibrina	1465-1512
The monk Joseph of Midyat	1466
Dioscorus Simon, son of priest Ṣaliba of ʿAyn Ward, metropolitan of Jazira	1468-1501
The priest Barṣoum, living at Ḥomṣ	1470
The priest Addai, son of priest Malke of Basibrina	1472-1502
The monk-priest Ṣaliba of Karkar	1472
Patriarch Nuḥ the Lebanese	1473-1509
Basilius Musa ʿUbayd of Ṣadad, metropolitan of Ḥomṣ	1474-1510
The monk Ṣaliba of Midyat	1474
The monk-deacon Gabriel Yeshuʿ of Basibrina	1474
The monk-priest Malke Sāqo Kughaym of Basibrina	1476-1490
The monk-priest ʿAzīz Ṣaliba of Midyat	1474-1510
Metropolitan Cyril Joseph, son of Peter of Kafr Ḥawwar	1477-1513
The monk-priest Ṣaliba, from the Monastery of ʿUmr	1478
Metropolitan Ḥabīb of Ṣalaḥ	1481-1508
Patriarch Jacob Muzawwaq	1482-1517
Bishop Clemis David Bāti	1483-1502
Philoxenus Jurjis Qarmān, metropolitan of Ḥardīn and Ḥama	1483-1504
The monk-priest Moses the Lebanese, from the Monastery of the Syrians in Egypt	1484
Metropolitan Sergius, son of priest Joseph Qaruna of Ḥaḥ	1484-1508
Patriarch Yeshuʿ of Qellith	1488-1530
The ascetic priest Thomas of Ḥomṣ	1490
Master Denḥa, son of priest Malke Sayfi of Salaḥ, from the Cross Monastery	1496-1498
Basilius Sulaymān Albanus of Mardin, Maphryono of the East	1498-1518
Joseph the Gurji, metropolitan of Jerusalem	1498-1537

The Sixteenth Century

Metropolitan John	1504
Philoxenus Abraham Ḥudayban, metropolitan of Ḥardin and Ḥama	1505-1524
The priest Faraj Jacob the Lebanese, resident of Aleppo	1510-1537
The monk-priest John Simon of Manṣūra	1512-1519
Priest Simon, son of priest Abraham Shumays, native of Ḥirrin and resident of Quṣur	1517-1523
The Iconomus Saʿd Allah of Ḥomṣ	1518
The priest Barṣoum Hilāl of Ṣadad	1521
Athanasius Abraham Ḥalawa of al-Nabk, metropolitan of Ḥims, Ḥama and Ḥardīn	1526-1564
John ʿAbd Allah of Mardin, metropolitan of Jerusalem	1531-1577
The monk-priest Qawma Simon, the monk of Zāz	1537-1559
Metropolitan Moses, son of priest Isaac Qaluqi of Ṣur	1542-1587
The monk-priest ʿAbd al-ʿAziz Silakhi of Quṣur	1546-1550
The monk-priest Elijah John Pack of Qalʿat al-Imraʾa	1547-1560
Deacon Abu al-Ḥasan	1549
The monk-priest Alyan Zalṭa of Nabak	1549
Metropolitan Cyril Bishara Zalṭa of Nabak	1556-1578
Dioscorus Michael of Nabak, metropolitan of Damascus	1559
Patriarch Pilate Manṣuri	1566-1597
Elijah, son of priest Manṣur of Zāz, metropolitan of the Monastery of the Cross	1567-1608
The master monk Paul ʿAbd al-ʿAziz Manṣuri, abbot of St. ʿZazaʾel Monastery	1567-1585
Bahnam Ḥabīb, native of Arbo and resident of Quṣur, metropolitan of Jerusalem	1567-1614
The monk-priest ʿAbd al-Aḥad of Beth Khudayda	1572-1580
The monk Khushaba Hormizd of Beth Khudayda	1575
Ephraim Daniel Qawimi, metropolitan of Ṣūr	1575
John ʿAbd al-Masiḥ of Beth Khudayda, metropolitan of St. Bahnam Monastery	1567-1625
The monks Yeshuʿ, Daniel of Quṣur and Abraham of Aleppo (Secretaries to Patriarch David Shah).	1577
Vanes Mardiros Najjar Wanki, metropolitan of Cappadocia and Edessa	1577-1624
Master Abraham Maqdisi Yeshuʿ Ghawzi of Quṣur	1579-1607
The priest ʿAbd Allah, son of priest ʿAbd al-Ghani Manṣuri	1580?
Malke	1580?

Deacon Ḥasan ʿAbd al-Aḥad, son of Maqdisi Jacob of Quṣur	1581-1588
The priest ʿAbd Allah of Mardin	1584
The monk-priest Pilate Mukhtār ʿUrbishi of Karkar	1584
The priest ʿAbd al-Nur, son of Deacon Stephen Dayrali	1588-1624
Metropolitan Gharīb of Basibrina	1589-1592
Master Mikha Najjar Dawlatshah Wanki of Karkar	1589-1606
The monk Barṣoum Istwazadur of Karkar, abbot of St. Barṣoum Monastery	1590
Gregorius Michael Barṣoum of ʿUrbīsh, metropolitan of Karkar	1590-1618
The monk-priest Abd Allah Maṭlūb Ṭarārīkha of Mardin, known as the Mashlul (Paralyzed)	1592-1621
Basilius Isaiah, son of priest Moses of Anḥil, Maphryono of the East	1593-1635
The monk-priest Sahdo, son of Maqdisi Vanes of Karkar, from the Monastery of St. Barṣoum	1594-1599
Metropolitan Dionysius ʿAbd al-Ḥayy, son of priest John of Mardin	1594-1621
The monk-priest Rizq Allah Ibn Abraham, from Qalʿat al-Imra'a	1595
The priest ʿAbd al-Sayyid Dayrali	1596

The Seventeenth Century

The monk ʿAbd al-Azīm, son of Deacon Joseph Killini, resident of St. Bahnam's cell	1601-1612
The monk-priest Quryaqos, son of the monk Abd al-Karīm Manṣūri	1611-1640
The monks ʿAbd al-Da'im and ʿIsa, brothers of monk Abd al-ʿAzīm	1612
Ephraim Johannes Wanki of Karkar, metropolitan of Hattakh	1612-1675
Deacon Niʿmat of Mardin	1616
Chorepiscopus Aslan Murabbi, native of Mardin and resident of Aleppo	1638-1659
Bahnam, son of Ḥabib Bāti, Maphryono of the East	1645-1655
Metropolitan Murād Abd al-ʿAziz Dabbāgh Dayrali	1657-1673
The monk Paul of Mardin	—

Chorepiscopus Moses Ḥāṭūm Ibn Alkan of Nabak	1661
The monk-priest Yeshuʿ, resident of St. Bahnam's cell	1666
The priest ʿAbd al-Aḥad, son of Jacob al-Qizil of Qellith	1668-1690
Patriarch George II, son of ʿAbd al-Karīm of Mosul	1678-1708
The priest ʿAbd Allah, son of Maqdisi Abraham	1686
Maphryono Simon, son of Malke of Manʿim	1696-1740

The Eighteenth Century

The monk-priest ʿAbd al-Nur of Amid	1700-1755
The monk-priest Joseph Gurji of Aleppo, secretary to Patriarch George II	1705-1730
George, son of Abraham ʿAbd al-Nur of Aleppo, metropolitan of Bushayriyya	1707-1737
Athanasius Aslan of Amid, metropolitan of Diyarbakr	1707-1740
Chorepiscopus ʿAbd Yeshuʿ Ibn Niʿma Ṭanṭīn of Quṣūr	1713-1751
The priest Thomas ʿAbd al-Nur of Amid	1721
Metropolitan John, son of Deacon Shahīn of Amid	1732-1755
The monk-priest Abraham al-Akhras of Ṣadad	1757-1764
Moses, son of the priest John of Aleppo	1761
Chorepiscopus Jacob, son of Deacon Thomas Khawaja of Quṭrubul	1764-1783
Bishop Clemis Abraham, son of ʿAbd Allah Yaziji of Ṣadad	1764-1821
Deacon Abraham Khidr of ʿAqra	1779-1786
Elijah Shlāḥ of Mardin, metropolitan of Bushayriyya	1790-1805

The Nineteenth Century

Metropolitan ʿAbd al-Nur Ḥaddad of Arbo	1805-1841
The priest Nicholas Bwārid of Karkar	1820
Malke of Anḥil, bishop of Midyat	1841-1864
Zaytun of Anḥil, metropolitan of the Patriarchal Office and then of Midyat	1842-1855
The monk Barṣoum, son of priest Shabo Krigho of Midyat	1844
Metropolitan Ṣaliba, son of Deacon Joseph of Basibrina	1853-1885
Patriarch ʿAbd Allah II of Ṣadad	1864-1915
George Faraḥ Kassab, metropolitan of Jerusalem	1866-1896
The priest George, son of priest Peter Cholchi of Amid	1869

The subdeacon Aaron Boghoṣ Kashīsh Oğlu of Edessa	1877
Deacon Matthew Paul of Mosul	1889-1943
The priest ʿAbd al-ʿAziz, son of priest George, native of Ḥbob and resident of Baʿshīqa	1890-1921
The priest Jacob Saka of Barṭille	1895-1931
The monk-priest Yeshuʿ, son of Maqdisi Gharibo of Manʿim, from the Zaʿfaran Monastery	1900-1916

PART IV

GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES OF COUNTRIES, TOWNS, VILLAGES AND MONASTERIES

Places other than Monasteries

Agel: a small town north of Diyarbakir.

Amasya: a town fifty miles south of Samsun, on the bank of Yeşil Irmak.

Amid (Diyarbakir): an ancient fortified city, virtually surrounded by the Tigris.

ʿĀnah: a town in Iraq, west of the Euphrates and southeast of Dayr al-Zur.

Apamea: once a large city northeast of Ḥama, it is now in ruins and is called Qalʿat al-Madīq.

ʿAqr: a citadel two days journey north of Mosul. It is known as ʿAqr al-Ḥumaydiyya.

Aksaray: a town sixty miles northeast of Konya.

ʿArbān: a town on the west bank of the Khabur River in al-Jazira, opposite al-ʿAjjāja.

Arbil: a town about two day journey southeast of Mosul.

Arsamosata a village in the vicinity of Diyarbakir which was populated by Syrians. It was destroyed in World War I.

ʿArqa: a town, formerly west of Melitene; still inhabited.

Arzenjān: a town southwest of the province of Erzurum. The natives call it Erzincan.

Arzun: a large city, formerly northwest of Seʿert. Its ruins can still be seen.

Athārb: a citadel between Aleppo and Antioch, some three leagues distant from Aleppo. It no longer exists.

ʿAyn Dābā: a town in the district of Antioch whose location is unknown; birthplace of the learned Jacob of Edessa.

ʿAyn Zarba (Anāzarba): a town in Cilicia, on the river Jījān. Today it is a small village called Anāzūra.

Azekh: a large ancient village in the province of Bazabdi (Beth Zabdai), about seven hours journey from Jazirat Ibn ʿUmar. It is inhabited by Syrians. [Modern name, Idil. (tr.)]
Azerbayjan: a vast territory whose boundaries extended from the Caspian Sea in the east to Lake Van in the west.
Baʿarbāyā: a small territory between Nisibin and Sinjar.
Baʿshīqa: a village north of Mosul.
Badlīs (Bitlis): a town near Khalāṭ, southeast of Lake Van.
Bagdashiyya: a village near Kafrtūt, in the province of Mardin.
Bajabbara: a village north of Mosul on the Khuser Creek, ruined in the middle of the thirteenth century.
Balad: an ancient town above Mosul on the western bank of the Tigris, ruined in the fourteenth century. It is now called Eski Mosul.
Bāls (Bālsh): a town in Syria between Aleppo and al-Raqqa, known in antiquity as Perpalisos, it is now called Maskana.
Baltan: an extinct village in the province of Josya, seven hours journey south of Ḥomṣ.
Bānuhadrā: a town north of Mosul, now called Duhuk.
Bāqūfā: a village in the mountains of Lebanon.
Baremmān, Beth Remmān (Barumma): a village on the Tigris, now in ruins, five hours journey northeast of Mosul.
Barṭille: a large village in the province of Nineveh, north of Mosul.
Barumana (or Rumana): an ancient town in Karkar (in Iraq).
Baṣekhrā: a small village east of Barṭelli (in Iraq).
Baṭnān: an ancient town, formerly located near Sarug.
Beth Arsham: an extinct town south of Baghdad, near Ctesiphon. Its exact location is unknown.
Beth Bātīn: an extinct town outside Ḥarran.
Beth Khudayda: a large village in the province of Nineveh, north of Mosul; now called Qaraqosh.
Beth Shāhāq: an ancient town in the province of Mosul.
Black Mountain, The: a mountain near Antioch in Seleucia, which is now called Suwaydiyya.
Blessed Mountain, The: a mountain in the district of Melitene.
Bushayriyya: a town two day journey north of Diyarbakir.
Buṣra: a small town in Ḥawrān, now called Eski Shām.
Caesarea: a town southeast of Ankara, known today as Kayseri.
Claudia: a citadel near Melitene, destroyed and rebuilt by al-Ḥasan Ibn Quḥṭuba in 141 A.H. Around the citadel was built a town

bearing the same name, but it was laid to ruin after the thirteenth century.

Cyzicus: an ancient city on the Sea of Marmara, destroyed by an earthquake in 943.

Dara: a town situated at the foot of the mountain between Nisibin and Mardin. Built in 506, it remained a seat of Syrian bishops until the middle of the twelfth century. Today it is an insignificant village.

Dāwlū: a small town northwest of Mersin.

Dayr Elijah: a farm south of Mardin, at the foot of the mountain of Mardin. It was named after the prophet Elijah, because of a church in it bearing the name of this prophet. Today it is called Çiftlik in Turkish.

Dayr Hābil: a village in the province of Seʿert, which I do not believe is inhabited.

Dulūk (Doliche): a small town in the province of Aleppo, twelve miles from Samosata.

Dunaysar: situated south of Mardin, Dunaysar was a large town in the thirteenth century. Today it is a small village, called Koç Hisar, near Tell al-Arman.

Edessa: a famous city, five day journey eastward from Aleppo, now called Urfa.

Farzmān: an ancient town north of Biricik on the river Farzmān, a tributary of the Euphrates called Marzīmān.

Fayrūza: a village north of Ḥomṣ, heavily populated by Syrians.

Gabbul: a town north of Aleppo, near the Euphrates, from which salt was brought to the province of Aleppo.

Ḥafar: a village in the province of Ḥomṣ, an hour journey south of Ṣadad.

Ḥarkel: an ancient town in Palestine, whose location is unknown.

Ḥardīn: a village in the Batrun in Lebanon, six hours journey from Tripoli.

Ḥarrān: once a great city, a day's journey south from Edessa. It was considered the capital of Diyar Miṣr, but now is a small village.

Haṣṣāṣa: an ancient village in southern Iraq, near Qaṣr Ibn Hubayra, in the vicinity of al-Kūfa.

Hattākh: a citadel and a small town north of Miyapharqin, in the Sufniyyin province; popularly called Antakh.

Ḥerrīn: a village south of Mardin.

Ḥidl: a village of Bazabdi, above Isfes.

Ḥīra: an ancient city, three miles from Kufa and east of al-Najaf.

Ḥiṣn Baṭrīq: a town formerly located between Aleppo and al-Raqqa.

Ḥiṣn Kifa: a town and a great citadel overlooking the Tigris, between Amid and Jazirat Ibn ʿUmar. Once the capital of a branch of the Ayyubid state until the beginning of the sixteenth century, it is now a small village.

Ḥiṣn Manṣūr: a town north of Samosata on the west bank of the Euphrates; also called Adyaman.

Ḥiṣn Ziyād: the town of Kharput in Armenia, between Amid and Melitene. Its people moved to the nearby new town of Maʿmūrat al-ʿAzīz.

Holy Mountain, The: a mountain east of Edessa which became famous for its many monasteries.

ʿIrqa: a town on the seashore between Raphina and Tripoli, about four leagues from the latter city.

Isfes: a village in the province of Bazabdi, one hour journey from Azekh.

Jarābulus: the ancient Europa, a town west of the Euphrates and north of Mabug (in Syria).

Jazira, Upper (Diyār Rabiʿa): a district between the rivers Khabur and Tigris. In ancient times it was the abode of the bani Taghlib, a large Arab tribe which was Syrian Orthodox and remained Christian until the tenth century. One of its members is the famous poet Ghiyath Ibn Ghawth, nicknamed al-Akhṭal (c. 710). It became desolate in the fourteenth century, but was resettled about 1921. New towns such as Ḥasaka, Qamishli and others were built in it.

Jazirat Ibn ʿUmar: a town between Mosul and Diyarbakir, in a deep valley on the west bank of the Tigris.

Josya: a district about six leagues from Ḥomṣ, towards Damascus, situated between the mountains of Lebanon and Sinnir. Today it is a small village, recently built near the ruins of ancient Josya.

Jūbās: a ruined city near Melitene.

Kafr Ḥawwār: a village in the province of Tripoli.

Kafrṭāb: an ancient town in the Muʿaṭṭasha desert between Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān and Aleppo.

Kafrtibnā: an ancient village near Ḥarran.

Kafrtūt: a town between Dara and Rish ʿAyna, southwest of Mardin; now only a village.

Kandanad: a town in the northeastern part of Malabar, in India.

Kaniq: A village in the province of Nisibin; it is called Qaniq in Syriac.

Karkar (Gargar): an ancient citadel and town near Melitene, between Samosata and Ḥiṣn Ziyād, west of the Euphrates.

Karkh Slukh: the present city of Kirkuk, in Iraq.

Kesum: an ancient town in the province of Samosata, between Aleppo and Edessa. It also had a citadel.

Khābārā': a large territory containing many towns, extending between Rish ʿAyna and the Euphrates on the banks of the Khabur in al-Jazira, from which it derived its name. Among its ancient towns are Qarqīsiyyā, Macine, Majdal and ʿArbān.

Kharshana: a town near Melitene.

Killiz (Kilis): a town in the northern part of the province of Aleppo.

Kishir: a village in the province of Antioch, birthplace of the Syriac poet Simon the Potter (514).

Klaybin: a village about seven hours' distance south of Mardin, heavily populated by Syrians in the sixteenth century.

Kondar: perhaps Kandiri, north of Ismit, near the Black Sea.

Konya: a city in central Anatolia, south of Ankara.

Kornasha: a village in the district of Baʿarbaya adjacent to the Izla Mountain.

Kufa (Aqula): in southern Iraq; no longer in existence.

Laqbīn: an ancient town in the province of Melitene.

Maʿdan: a town in the vicinity of Sherwan, in the province of Seʿert; now a village.

Maʿsarte: a village six hours' journey north of Mardin.

Majdal: an ancient town near the river Khabur, below Rish ʿAyna. Yaqut al-Ḥamawi mentions a contemporary poet from this village.

Malabar: a territory in southwest India, on the coast of the Indian Ocean [sic]; it includes the provinces of Travancore and Cochin.

Manazgird (Manzikert) : now called Malazgirt, a town north of Lake Van.

Mabug: once a large town in the northeastern part of the province of Aleppo, three leagues from the Euphrates. Today it is a small town.

Mansūriyya: a village northwest of Mardin.

Marʿash: the ancient Germanicia, north of Aleppo and south of Sivas. [Modern name, Kahramanmaraş. (tr.)]

Maragha: a most famous town of Azerbayjan, south of Tabriz and east of Lake Urmiya.

Marga (Marj): a place northeast of Mosul, formerly a big province.

Mashhad Kuḥayl: Yaquṭ says, "Kuḥayl was a big city on the Tigris between the two Zabs, above Takrit, going southwards. Today it is no more." Kuḥayl was the birthplace of the Syrian learned man Moses Bar Kepha (d. 903).

Maṣṣīṣa: a town on the Jijan, just east of Adana.

Mayuma: an ancient port on the Mediterranean, near Gazza.

Melitene [Malatya]: a city in the province of Maʿmurat al-ʿAzīz, near the Euphrates. In the past it was large and famous. It was one of the largest centers of the Syrians, who in 1049 had fifty-six churches there. It was also the birthplace of a number of Syrian learned men. Today it is a small town. (See the biography of Christodolus by Michael, Coptic bishop of Tinnis [d. 1069], in Assemani's "Confession of the Fathers," *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, 2: 145-152, and in the Coptic Patriarchal Library).

Miyapharqin: once the most famous city in the northeastern part of the province of Diyarbakir, now a small town.

Najran: an ancient city in northeastern Yaman.

Narsībād: perhaps Naryān or al-Nars, or possibly another location, a territory between al-Kufa and Wasit in southern Iraq.

Niksār: a town in Turkey, northeast of Tokat.

Nisibin: a town in the Jazira, five days' journey from Mosul; today it is a small town. Nisibin is also the name of a village on the west bank of the Euphrates, west of Biricik, formerly known as the Byzantine Nisibin. [Modern name, Nusaybin. (tr.)]

Orim: a ruined town on the Euphrates, near Samosata.

Philippi: an ancient city in the easternmost part of Macedonia; it lay in ruins after the thirteenth century.

Qalʿat al-Imra'a: a village north of Mardin, on the way to the Zaʿfaran Monastery.

Qalʿat al-Rum: an ancient fortified citadel and town west of the Euphrates, opposite al-Bīra. The name of the citadel was Zughma.

Qallisūra: an ancient town in the vicinity of Melitene.

Qālūq: a town in the province of al-Ṣawr, populated by Syrians until the middle of the seventeenth century.

Qar Shar (Qir Shar): a town southeast of Ankara.

Qarikara: a village in the province of Melitene. Master Ṣaliba Qarikari (d. 1164) is thought to have come from there.

Qarqisun (Qarqisyya): a town near the place where the Khabur joins the Euphrates; it no longer exists. On its site lies the village of Abu Saray (Busayra).

Qaryatayn, al-: a small town in the province of Ḥomṣ, about ten day journey from there on the way to the desert between Sukhna and Arak.

Qawartam: a village on the Euphrates, the birthplace of Jacob of Sarug (d. 521).

Qawim: a village in the vicinity of Mardin, inhabited until 1635.

Qellith: a big village about a day's journey north from Mardin, heavily populated by Syrians.

Qinneshrin: a district and a town between Aleppo and Ḥomṣ; no longer in existence.

Qronta: an ancient town on the east bank of the Tigris, near the Great Zab.

Quṣur (al-Kawliyya): a village about two hours journey south of Mardin, heavily populated by Syrians.

Quṭrubul: a town on the Tigris, opposite the city of Diyarbakr. Its Syrian population left it in 1928.

Raʿbān: a town between Aleppo and Samosata, near the Euphrates, no longer in existence

Raqqa, al-: the ancient Callinicus, it was a big city near the Euphrates. Today it is a small town, more nearly a village.

Rish ʿAyna: a town located at the source of the river Khabur in the Jazira. It was settled in the thirteenth century, but was laid waste in 1869. It was later resettled by a Circassian tribe and then by Syrians and Armenians, who built churches in it.

Romaniya: a village in the Sawar district, populated by Syrians until the end of the sixteenth century.

Rudwan: a village northeast of Ḥiṣn Kifa.

Ruḥīn: a village near Antioch.

Ṣadad: an old, small town southeast of Ḥomṣ, about one day journey from Damascus.

Ṣalaḥiyya: a town east of Yarbuz in the Adana province.

Salamiyya (Salamya): a town southeast of Ḥama, toward the desert.

Ṣaliḥiyya: a large village which was situated in the Ghūta of Damascus, at the foot of Qasyun Mountain. It has now become part of Damascus.

Saliḥiyya: a village near Edessa, established by ʿAbd al-Mālik Ibn Ṣāliḥ al-Hāshimi. Al-Khālidi states that it was near al-Raqqa, near Batyas and the Monastery of Mar Zakka. The first person to build palaces there was the Abbasid Caliph al-Mahdi.

Samando (Semando): a town in central Anatolia.

Samosata: a city in the Roman territory on the Euphrates. To its east lies Balū and to its west Kharput, contiguous to Armenia.

Samosata: a town on the Euphrates, north of Edessa.

Sarug: a small town in the Mudar territory, between Ḥarran and Jarabulus. [Modern name, Suruç (tr.)]

Ṣawr: a town and citadel about one day journey northeast from Mardin. [Modern name, Savur. (tr.)]

Scete: a desert west of Cairo, once the abode of Egyptian ascetics.

Seʿert: a town south of Bedlis. [Modern name, Siirt. (tr.)]

Seleucia-Ctesiphon: two connected cities. They were the capital of the Sassanids, situated about six hours journey south of Baghdad. Both these cities were destroyed at the beginning of the Arab conquest. Near their site is the present village of Salman Pak.

Semqa (Semqe): a village two hours journey northeast of Diyarbakr. It may be the village called Summaqli.

Sermin: a small town in the province of Aleppo.

Sidos: a village in the Manazgird [Malazgirt] territory

Sijistan: a vast territory, ten days' journey south of Herat.

Sinjar: a town situated at the foot of the Sinjar mountain, three days' journey from Mosul.

Sozopolis: a town in Pisidia in Asia Minor, west of Konya, no longer in existence.

Sus: a town in Khuzistan (Ahwaz); the ancient Susa.

Swayrik: a town in Karkar, about two days journey southwest of Diyarbakir. It may be Sibaberk.

Tabriz (Tawriz): a very famous town of Azerbayjan, in Persia.

Taḥal: an ancient village in the province of Bajermi (Beth Garmai), which is the Liwa of Kirkuk (in Iraq).

Takrit: an ancient city west of the Tigris, between Baghdad and Mosul. In the golden age of the Syrians, it was the seat of the Maphryonos of the East from 628 until the end of the twelfth century.

Tell Arsenius: on the Euphrates, near Kharput.

Tell Baṭriq: a town formerly in Roman territory, one of many which formed the line of fortification between Roman and Muslim territories near Melitene.

Tell Maḥre: a small town between Ḥiṣn Maslama Ibn ʿAbd al-Malik and al-Raqqa, now called Tell al-Manakhir.

Tell Qbab: a village near Mardin; it had a substantial population in the thirteenth century.

Tālbsam (Tālbsma): a town in the district of Rabiʿa, later Shabakhtan, northwest of Mardin.

Tella (Tell Mawzalt, or Mawzan): once a flourishing town between Mardin and Edessa, about two leagues from Mardin. Today it is a small village called Wayran Shahr.

Tiflis: an old city in Georgia, in Russia.

Tinnis: an ancient city southwest of Port Saʿīd, ruined in 1227.

Tur ʿAbdin: a mountain connected with the mountain of Izla, which overlooks Nisibin. The territory of the same name harbors a great number of monasteries and cells, as well as some fifty villages large and small. Two-thirds of the inhabitants of these villages are Syrian Christians; the rest are Muslims and Yezidis. The capital of Tur ʿAbdin is Midyat. Following are the names of the villages mentioned in our book: to the east of Tur ʿAbdin are situated Anḥil, Fifyath and Qarṭmin; to the west are Bāti, Habsnas, Salaḥ, ʿUrnus, ʿAynward, Kafra, Kafarze, Kafrsalta, Kafrshami and Kandarib; to the north are Ālīn, Baqsyan, Ḥaḥ, Ḥiṣn Kifa, Dayr Ṣalib, Zāz and Karburan; to the south are Arbo, Badebe, Basibrina, Banimʿim, Tamars, Ḥbob, Sari Awastir, ʿArban and Meddo. The ruined villages and those whose location is unknown, are Ḥāliḥ, Zabdīqā, Kafryab and Kalasht.

ʿUrbish: a big village in Karkar, inhabited by Syrians until recent times.

Wank: a village in the province of Karkar, also called Dayr Abu Ghalib

Zarjal: a large village in al-Bushayriyya, in the province of Diyarbakir.

Monasteries[1]

Aaron Monastery: in the Blessed Mountain near Melitene, was built by St. Aaron of Sarug, the ascetic, in 389. It produced six bishops between 1088 and 1289.

Aaron Monastery: in Shaghr, in the province of Qallisura. Two patriarchs and five bishops graduated from it between 986 and 1170.

Abai Monastery: the Persian martyr, is north of Qellith. It was a large monastery, established in the sixth century. In 1250 it had about sixty monks. Later, it became an episcopal see and from it came one Patriarch and eleven bishops. It was abandoned in 1700 and its ruins can still be seen.

Abḥai Monastery: or the Monastery of the Ladders, is on the right bank of the Euphrates, a half-hour journey from the village of ʿUrbīsh, near Karkar. It was established sometime after the fifth century and was first mentioned by historians in the beginning of the ninth century. It produced one Patriarch and fourteen bishops. It was inhabited until the beginning of the eighteenth century. Some of its ruins are still standing.

Abraham and Abel Monastery: an old monastery near Midyat, built about 763. It produced three bishops.

Abū Ghālib Monastery: or the King's Table Monastery, in Karkar, was built in 1138 and remained in existence until 1600.

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[1] Our discussion of monasteries, which is derived from different manuscripts and commentaries, though brief, contains a summary of information which can be easily understood. The number of bishops we have mentioned includes only those who have come to our knowledge. No doubt, the correct number is more than those we have enumerated, for many of these names have been lost and history has forgotten the association of many bishops with their monasteries. All of this material has not been compiled in a book, as any expert in Syriac history knows (see Chapter 3). Many of these monasteries have been ravaged by time and little trace of them is left; however, they are the truest evidence of the glory and qualities and high state of this Syrian nation and its excellence in bygone ages. We have been able to count 83 monasteries.

In 1170, Patriarch Michael the Great rebuilt its church. It produced five bishops

Arabs' Monastery: between Tell Mawzalt and Tālbsam, nearer to Tell Mawzalt. It was built in the fifth century and is described in history as having been inhabited from 521 to 854. Four bishops graduated from it.

ʿArnīsh Monastery: in the vicinity of Kesum and Raʿbān, was usurped by the wicked Gurtij the Armenian, who persecuted and expelled its monks, converting it into a citadel in 1114, but the monks were able to regain it. Between 1095 and 1132, six bishops graduated from it.

Bahnam Monastery: also called the Pit Monastery, is situated about six hours' journey southeast of Mosul. It was built in the beginning of the fifth century. From it graduated one Maphryono and seven bishops. In 1839, it was usurped by a group which seceded and joined the Catholic church. It was deserted for some sixty years, but is now populated.

Baqismāt (or Phaqismāt) Monastery: is situated in Sīs, Cilicia. Patriarch John XII resided there in 1108. Between 1266 and 1279, it was burned three times by Egyptian troops, who also killed twenty-five monks. (See Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, pp. 523, 531, 542). Gregorius, metropolitan of Sīs, may have belonged to this monastery around 1290.

Barbara Monastery: in the Mountain of Edessa. There is another monastery by the same name. This one was established in the beginning of the fifth century, but was not mentioned by historians until 1191. From it graduated Basilius Fāris, metropolitan of Edessa (d. 1204).

Bārid Monastery: was built in the province of Melitene in 969 by the Patriarch John VII, who lived and died there. A magnificent monastery, it produced one Patriarch, one Maphryono and eighteen bishops and metropolitans. We find no mention of it after 1213.

Bar Jājī, Monastery: on the Dry river, in the province of Melitene. It was established in 960 by the monk Elijah Ibn Jājī, in commemoration of the Forty Martyrs. There the monk John, the pupil of Marun, taught linguistics and philosophy (c. 980-999). Sixteen eminent men of the church graduated from it until 1105. In 1085, however, it was destroyed in an attack by three thousand Turkish soldiers against Melitene.

Barṣoum Monastery: built on top of a mountain near Melitene, it looks like a citadel, a fact which has led some writers to call it the Monastery of the Cave. It was first mentioned in church history in 790. It was the Patriarchal see from the eleventh century until the thirteenth century. A great monastery, it produced five patriarchs and forty-three metropolitans. It remained populated until the middle of the seventeenth century, when it was abandoned.

Bāsūs Monastery: near Ḥārim, between Euphemia and Ḥomṣ, is a famous and great monastery which was built in 480 through the private donation of the eminent Syrian Peter bin Joseph of Ḥomṣ, who bequeathed a great deal of property for the sustenance of its monks. In the third decade of the fifth century, its monks numbered 6,300. It remained populated until 830 and produced three bishops

Bāʿūth (or Banu Bāʿūth) Monastery: near Kharput, first was mentioned in history in 1057. It produced four bishops. In 1290 it was ransacked by a group of Muslims and Muslims finally occupied it in 1311

Beth Bātīn Monastery: in Ḥarran. A synod met there in 793. It produced one Patriarch and three bishops and remained active until 975

Beth Malke Monastery: in the province of Antioch. It was in this monastery that Dionysius II resided in the middle of the seventh century and translated books of philosophy into our Syriac language.

Cross, Monastery of the: between Zāz and Ḥiṣn Kifa in Tur ʿAbdin, was first mentioned in history in 775. It was the see of the bishops of Ḥaḥ from 1089 to 1873. One Patriarch of Tur ʿAbdin, a Maphryono and six bishops graduated from it. In the middle of the last century it became the site of a small village, but its church still exists.

Cross, Monastery of the: a small monastery near the village of Dafna on the way to Ḥiṣn Kifa, now called Makhr or Wadi in Kurdish. Its church, built in 770, was destroyed in World War I and the last of its monks was killed. Three bishops graduated from it.

Daniel the Jalshian ascetic (d. 439), Monastery of: in the mountain of Matīniyya, northwest of the village of Dairkah, a day's journey north of Mardin. It was rebuilt by John,

metropolitan of Mardin, and was inhabited until 1230. Its magnificent remains can be seen to this day.

Dawā'r (Circles) Monastery: in the province of Antioch, is first mentioned in history in 1112. From it came one Patriarch and four bishops.

Dimet Monastery: in Claudia, first mentioned in history in 1000. Dionysius V was consecrated there in 1034.

Easterners, Monastery of the: one of the biggest and most important monasteries in the Mountain of Edessa, was built in the fourth century. In 600 Domitian, the Greek of Melitene, persecuted and killed about four hundred of its monks for holding a belief contrary to his. It remained in existence until the middle of the thirteenth century and produced eleven bishops.

Eugene Monastery: at the foot of the Izla mountain, which overlooks Nisibin. Built at the end of the fourth or the start of the fifth century, it suffered many vicissitudes. The Nestorians held it for a long time, but we regained it at the end of the eighteenth century. It produced two bishops. At present it is inhabited by only one monk.

Eusebius Monastery:[2] near the village of Talʿada, in the vicinity of Antioch. It was built by the noble monk Eusebius the Great and Amian, who established a school for the teaching of philosophy about 340. St. Simon the Stylite entered this monastery at the beginning of his monastic vocation. In 409 it had 120 monks. It produced Patriarch John III and two bishops in the ninth century.

Faʿnūr Monastery: the location of this monastery is unknown; however, it was inhabited between 510 and 575.

Fsīltā Monastery: or the Quarry Monastery, outside Tell Mawzalt, was built in the fifth century and it produced five metropolitans. Nothing is known about it after 880.

Fsīltā Monastery: near Antioch, was first mentioned in history in the sixth century.

Fusqīn Monastery: also called the "Barefooted" Monastery: on the left bank of the Euphrates, near Mor Abḥai Monastery in Karkar. Master David and a group of monks renovated it at the beginning of the eleventh century. To this monastery are attributed five bishops in the tenth century. Its nave was built

by the monk Habakkuk (fl. c. 1160). The monastery was still populated in 1565, but was abandoned a few years later.

Gubba Baraya Monastery: located in the Euphrates desert between Aleppo and Mabug, was built at the end of the fifth and the start of the sixth century. Nothing is known about it after the middle of the ninth century. It produced four patriarchs and three bishops.

Gugel Monastery: believed to be in Tur ʿAbdin, was also called Beth Gugi Monastery. It remained active until the beginning of the sixth century, but then was deserted. On its ruins the Nestorian monastery of Abraham of Kashkar was built, but it was regained by the Syrians at the beginning of the nineteenth century. They also regained possession of the Monastery of St. John Ṭayoyo, near the Monastery of St. Eugene, and renovated both of these monasteries.

George Monastery: south of Mardin, was renovated by Abu ʿAli, the chief physician in the twelfth century. It is no longer in existence.

George Monastery: located in a valley south of Mardin, was renovated by John, metropolitan of Mardin, in the middle of the twelfth century and remained active until 1332. It produced one bishop.

Harbaz Monastery: also called George Monastery: in the province of Samosata. Its name first appears in history at the end of the seventh century, but nothing is known about it after the ninth century. From it graduated one Patriarch and five bishops.

Ḥananya Monastery: perhaps named for Ḥananya the ascetic (d. 500). Peter III was consecrated as the Patriarch at this monastery in 581.

Jacob, the Doctor of the Church, Monastery: first mentioned in history in 1165 and still active.

Jacob Monastery: near Kesūm, was first mentioned in history at the end of the seventh century. Ten bishops graduated from it between 810 and 925.

Jacob the Solitary Monastery: near the village of Ṣalaḥ in Tur ʿAbdin, is a big monastery built by St. Jacob the ascetic shortly before 419. Its nave, however, was not built until 770. This monastery became the see of the patriarchs of Tur ʿAbdin in

1365. Two Patriarchs, a Maphryono and seven bishops graduated from it. It is still inhabited.

Jacob, the Doctor of the Church, Monastery: also called the Nawawīs Monastery, in the Mount of Edessa, an hour and a half south of the city. It was built in the fifth century and was mentioned by John of Ephesus in his history in 519.[1] It was renovated by its abbot, John of Sarug, who was elevated to the office of Maphryono of the East in 1164. It remained inhabited until 1223. Its ruins are still visible.

Kafrtina Monastery: outside Ḥarran, south of Edessa, was mentioned by historians for the first time in 710.

Khanushya Monastery: in the mountain of Sinjar, is first mentioned in history in the sixth century. From it graduated Maphryono Paul in 722 and the monk David Bar Paul in the beginning of the ninth century

Kasliyud Monastery: in the province of Marʿash. Between 1100 and 1200 four bishops graduated from it.

Kuwaykhat Monastery: near al-Maṣṣīṣa in Cilicia, was first mentioned in history in 1208. Two Patriarchs, Ignatius IV (d. 1282) and Michael II (d. 1312), came from it. It was in this monastery also that Phelixene II was consecrated as Patriarch in 1389.

Magdalene Monastery: in the Bab al-ʿĀmūd district of Jerusalem, is an old monastery, first mentioned in history in 1000. It was the seat of the metropolitan of Jerusalem. In 1235, it housed seventy monks. Four metropolitans graduated from it. In the fourteenth century it was usurped by a group of Muslims, with the help of the Mamluks; they then converted it into a school called al-Maymūna. Parts of its ruins were still to be seen until the last century, but they no longer exist

Mādhīq Monastery: built in the name of the Virgin and the Forty Martyrs in Claudia, near the village of Sinjis, was first mentioned in history in 986. Ten metropolitans graduated from it. In 1257 the henchmen of Ahmad Ibn Ballās burned this monastery.

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[1] Presumably Barṣoum intends here that John of Ephesus cited 519 as the date of some noteworthy event, since John wrote his history during the last twenty years of his life. (tr.)

Malke Monastery: in Tur ʿAbdin, near the villages of Arkaḥ and Badabbah. This monastery was built about the sixth century and became a bishopric see in the fourteenth century, but was finally destroyed in 1926. It produced ten bishops.

Mark the Evangelist Monastery and the Virgin Monastery: both located in Jerusalem. St. Mark is also known as the Monastery of the Syrians. It is an old monastery, built in the fifth or sixth century, according to an Estrangelo Syriac inscription on a stone discovered in 1940. Today it is the see of our metropolitan and it has been the home of our monks since 1472. The monastery has a magnificent library and a press. It has produced seven bishops.

Matthew Monastery: a large monastery, built at the end of the fourth century, it became a metropolitan see and still holds that honor today. At the beginning it housed a great number of monks. It suffered many changes and calamities until it was renovated in 1845. It produced two Patriarchs, six Maphryonos and thirty bishops.

Mother of God Monastery: or the Monastery of the Solitary Strangers: in the Mount of Edessa, south of the city of Edessa and the Nawāwīs Monastery. The chronicler monk of Zuqnin mentioned it in his history (c. 751). One Patriarch and some bishops graduated from it. It remained active until the thirteenth century.

Muʿallaq, or St. Sergius, Monastery: is thought to have been built in the fifth century in the name of the ascetics Sergius, Zura and Bāʿūth, on the crest of the Barren Mountain above Balad, three leagues from Sinjar, west of Mosul. It produced one Maphryono and some bishops and was a bishopric see from 1167 to 1345, after which it became deserted. [See "Rihla ila Athar Dayr al-Muʿallaq" ("A Trip to the Ruins of al-Muallaq Monastery"), *Al-Mashriq* 3: 7 (1951), 214-220. Although this article is unsigned, it was written by the late Bishop Gregorius Bulos Bahnam, (d. 1969), while he was still a monk in Mosul. This translator was among the group which visited the monastery with Rev. Bahnam (tr.)].

Murayba Monastery: Murayba is a big village in the province of Ḥarran. Two bishops graduated from its monastery in the first half of the ninth century.

Moses the Abyssinian Monastery: in the Smoke Mountain, an hour and a half from the town of al-Nabak in Syria. This monastery was built in the sixth century and renovated in 1556. It became a metropolitan see at the end of the fourteenth century. It was inhabited until 1832, when it was usurped from us (by the seceding faction which joined the Church of Rome) through political influence and later was deserted. Two Patriarchs and twenty bishops graduated from it.

John Nayrab (Nārab) Monastery: the location of this monastery is unknown to us. We know, however, that Anba George was its abbot from 563 to 569.

John Orti Monastery: John the ascetic built this monastery in 390 near Diyarbakir. It produced three bishops, the most famous of whom is John of Ephesus, the historian (d. 587). We know nothing about it after 600.

Mount Sinai Monastery: built on top of Mount Sinai by Justinian, now belongs to the Greeks. Fifteen monks presently live in it. It has a magnificent library, containing about 280 old Syriac manuscripts, most of which are written in the Estrangelo and Malkite scripts. It is also a bishopric seat whose metropolitan resides in Cairo.

Ousib Monastery: in Kafr al-Bīra, in the province of Apamea. It was built in the fifth century, but received no mention by historians before 535.

Ousopholis Monastery: also called Fghimta: near Rish ʿAyna in the Jazira. It was built in the fifth century, but was reduced to ruins shortly before 1203. It produced two Patriarchs and eleven bishops.

Pillar Monastery: in al-Raqqa, on the west bank of the Euphrates. The Empress Theodora (d. 548) gave money for its construction and in 635 it was enlarged by the monks. By 956, one Patriarch and ten bishops had graduated from it.

Qanqart Monastery: built in the name of the prophet Elijah near Qanqart, a journey of an hour and a half from Diyarbakir, was first mentioned in history in 1050. It was twice renovated, once by Patriarch Michael the Great in 1173 and again in 1730 by Patriarch Ignatius Shukr Allah. It was abandoned at the start of the nineteenth century and on its site today stands a village called Qara Kelisa ("The Black Church," because of the black

stones of the area). Its remains are still visible. See the *Patriarchal Magazine*, VI, 144-153.

Qarqafta Monastery: between Rish ʿAyna and Majdal in upper Jazira, was built by St. Simon and became famous at the beginning of the eighth century. By the middle of the tenth century, six bishops had graduated from it. It fell to ruin a long time ago.

Qarṭmin Monastery: four hour journey east of Midyat, is the most famous monastery in Tur ʿAbdin. It was built in 397 by the two ascetics, St. Samuel and St. Simon. It is commonly called the Monastery of St. Gabriel, after its abbot and bishop Gabriel (d. 667). This monastery was the metropolitan see of Tur ʿAbdin from 615 to 1049. Afterwards, its metropolitan was the ecclesiastical leader of a large part of Tur ʿAbdin; still later, however, his jurisdiction was restricted to a private diocese until 1915. This monastery claims four Patriarchs, a Maphryono and seventy bishops. It is still inhabited.

Qaṭra, or Nāṭif, Monastery: was built in the name of the Virgin and St. Theodorus. It is a small monastery hewn in the rocks in a mountain overlooking the Zaʿfaran Monastery and housed a group of monks. We have a great deal of information about it since the fourteenth century. At times it was administered by a bishop. It became empty, however, about 1927.

Qenneshrin Monastery: built in the name of the Apostle Thomas on the bank of the Euphrates, opposite Jarabulus, about 530. It was a famous monastery until the ninth century and at its high point housed about 370 monks. It was burned by some dissenters, but was restored by Patriarch Dionysius I in 822. By 930, seven patriarchs and fifteen bishops had graduated from it. About 1025 it was attached to the diocese of Samosata. It is probable that it remained active until the thirteenth century, after which it was abandoned. See our article in the *Patriarchal Magazine*, 4: 265-278.

Qidr (or Qidar) Monastery: near Rish ʿAyna, was first mentioned by historians in the sixth century. One of its graduates is the chronicler-priest Thomas, in 636. Its monks later moved to the Pillar Monastery.

Qūbā Monastery: also called the Monastery of the Domes: in the Mountain of Edessa, south of St. Cosmas Church. Built at the beginning of the fifth century, it was destroyed by Ibn al-

Bukhtūrī in 751, but was later restored. By 873 it had produced three bishops.

Quryaqos Monastery: near the village of Zarjal in al-Bushayriyya, in the province of Diyarbakir, lies about two day journey northeast of Diyarbakir. From the beginning of the fifteenth century to the beginning of the present century it was a bishopric see. It is still standing, although no one has lived in it for two years.

Sarjīsiyya Monastery: of the Monastery of the Martyrs Sergius and Bacchus: its construction was begun by the monk Kiso Ashnawi of Azerbayjan Jubas in 958, but was not finished until 1001. One of the professors at its school was John, the pupil of Marun. From its founding until 1170, one Maphryono and ten bishops graduated from it.

Sharbil Monastery: in Kafr Shami in Tur ʿAbdin, was first mentioned in history in 1210 and must have remained in existence until the end of the sixteenth century. It produced one Maphryono.

Shila Monastery: built in Sarug and named after St. Shila (d. 506). Two synods were convened in this monastery, in 706 and 846, and between 698 and 930 it produced nine bishops.

Shina Monastery: in Marʿash. Seven bishops graduated from it between 805 and 1110.

Shiro Monastery: was built in the name of St. Shabtai, a fifth-century ascetic, opposite the Monastery of Mor Abḥai, near the Monastery of Fusqīn in Karkar. It was restored by Athanasius Denḥa, metropolitan of Edessa (1171-1191). While a monk, Patriarch John XII resided in this monastery and in it he was consecrated Patriarch, it remained populated until the beginning of the seventeenth century.

Sinun (Sinin) Monastery: near Edessa, was mentioned in history in 512 and 565. It was destroyed in 751 by the tyrant ʿAbd Allah al-Bukhtūri

Solomon Monastery: in al-Thaghr, near Duluk, overlooking Marj al-ʿAyn, was inhabited between 875 and 1000. Thirteen bishops graduated from it.

Syrians, Monastery of the: this monastery was built in the name of the Virgin in the Scete desert in Egypt, perhaps in the fifth century. In the middle of the sixth century the Syrian merchant Marutha of Takrit bought it and dedicated it to the Syrian

monks, whose number reached seventy in 1084. Inhabited by Syrian monks until the seventeenth century, it is presently inhabited by Coptic monks.

Talʿada Monastery: also known as the Great Monastery, is situated south of Siman mountain, a twenty-minute walk north of the village of Talʿada, in the province of Antioch. It was built before 340 by Amian the ascetic and in it resided Eusebius the ascetic (both men are mentioned above). This monastery is mentioned by chroniclers Theodoret of Cyrus and John of Ephesus. In 942, Patriarch John built a tower there. It produced nine bishops. Its remains can still be seen today.

Tarʿīl Monastery: very near Aleppo, towards the gate known as Bab Allah ("The Gate of God"), from which its Syriac name is derived. It was built in the sixth century and among its inhabitants was Thomas of Harkel, the famous translator of the Bible. It produced two Patriarchs and fifteen bishops. Nothing is known about it after 975.

Zaʿfaran Monastery: or St. Ḥananya Monastery, was built by Ḥananya, metropolitan of Mardin, between 793 and 800 on the site of an old monastery north of Mardin. This great and populous monastery in 1293 became the Patriarchal see for some six hundred years. It claims twenty-one Patriarchs, nine Maphryonos and 110 bishops. In 1917 we published its detailed history, entitled *Nuzhat al-Adhhān* (The Excursion of Minds). In its immediate neighborhood there are three small monasteries close together:

Zakka Monastery: in al-Raqqa, surrounded by the Balikh river. It was once a great and famous monastery; John of Talla became a monk there in 508. From this monastery graduated Patriarch John IV and twenty bishops, but it declined after 954. The Abbasid Caliph Harun al-Rashid visited it one day, liked it and bestowed favors on its monks.

Zakka Monastery: in Karkar, also called the Monastery of the Virgin, was rebuilt in 1588 and produced two bishops.

Zuqnīn Monastery: outside Diyarbakir, is a famous, great monastery. Patriarch John I (d. 775) and fourteen bishops graduated from it.

General Index

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